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EGYPTIAN CHRONICLES

VOL. II.

LONDON

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NEW-STREET SQUARE

SCHEME of PTOLEMY of MENDES (B.C. 100 ?)

Then [341 and] 16 before Menes + 2906 + 217 + (27 + 443 =) 470 of the current Cycle thrown up + 1881 + 13 to B.C. 332 = 5844 mixed or 5033 chronological years.


SCHEME PRESERVED BY DIOGENES LAERTIUS (ending in B.C. 332)



One month of xxx Great Days or Cycles of 1461 Egyptian years each given to the Sun = 43,830 fictitious years + 5033 (= 2922 + 217 + 1881 + 13) to B.C. 332 are 48,863 mixed or 5033 chronological years.

SCHEME of ANIANUS (A.D. 412)

12,696 as if months of 30 days = 1058 years + 11,934 as if months of 29½ days = 968 years 208 days [969 years] + 2574 as months of 30 days = 214½ [215] years, in all 2242. Then the remaining 6349 nominal years and 59 of the [341] fictitious years of the Chronicle, treated as months of 30 days = 534 years; and with 72 of Mizraim + (210 + 217 + 1866) = 2293 years of kings, the whole sum is 5141 to Aug. 29 in b.c. 360.



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EGYPTIAN CHRONICLES

WITH A HARMONY OF SACRED
AND EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY AND AN APPENDIX ON BABYLONIAN
AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES

BY

✓
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EGYPTIAN CHRONICLES.

CHAPTER IV.

PTOLEMY OF MENDES; THE MANETHO OF JULIUS AFRICANUS.

AFTER the Old Chronicle, the original Manetho, and the Theban list of Eratosthenes, there still remains the latest of all the Egyptian schemes, that namely which is represented by the lists of Africanus. And, taking it thus in its true order, we shall find no great difficulty in accounting for its origin and construction; while on the other hand, after such of its kings and years as are merely fictitious have been distinguished, its remaining peculiarities will both throw light on the original Manetho; and in conjunction with the original Manetho and with the Turin Papyrus they will help us to make out in detail that Hieratic scheme itself which was above 1000 years older than the Old Chronicle, and which, so far as appears, was never fully exhibited in any Greek form. At present, whenever Manetho is spoken of, the lists and dynasties meant are either those of Africanus and Eusebius together, as if they both represented one and the same scheme (whereas they differ widely), or at best they are those of Africanus, as more faithfully transcribed by Syncellus. The "Manetho" of Africanus is taken to be older than the list of Eratosthenes, and both these together are taken to be older than the Old Chronicle; so that the latest of the three documents is made to be the earliest and the earliest the latest, while the genuine and original Manetho is unknown and omitted. The result has been the envelopment of the whole subject in such uncertainty as has emboldened some modern writers even to introduce a new

Manetho of their own who is not Egyptian but *German*. Hence the inexperienced reader, when he finds mention, for instance, of “Dyn. XIX,” either thinks of Dyn. XIX of Africanus (when in truth the allusion is to the later kings of Dyn. XVIII), or accepts as if from authority a senseless innovation, by which a confusion needing before only disentanglement is rendered hopeless and irremediable. These vagaries are mentioned only by way of caution. But even without them it is difficult to be always distinct and intelligible in referring to the Egyptian dynasties of kings by any scheme of numeration. With this preamble let us go on now to the Manetho of Africanus.

Apollodorus of Athens, who may be called the continuator of Eratosthenes, ended his own chronography with Olymp. clviii. δ', in B.C. 144, or according to himself 1040 years after Troy (Troy being put at B.C. 1184), in the year of Rome 610, the 2nd of Ptolemy Euergetes II., and the 16th of Attalus Philadelphus. From him, as we have seen above, Syncellus transcribed that portion of the Theban list of Eratosthenes which has been considered in the last chapter; and Eratosthenes, or his assistants, in constructing it, had used the genuine work of Manetho, whose XXIII dynasties of kings, covering in appearance 3555 years, had been abridged and placed by them as if in one chronological series within the limits of $(XV + LXXVI =) XCI$ generations and $(443 + 1881 =) 2324$ years of the scale of the Chronicle.

So until after the time not only of Eratosthenes, but also of Apollodorus, there is no reason to suspect that the *Αἰγυπτιακά* of Manetho had been abridged or re-edited with alterations. But Josephus the Jewish historian in the first century of our era, towards the end of his life, when he was writing against Apion, having occasion to name Manetho, may be thought to distinguish between the original Manetho, a copy of whose genuine work had then recently, as it seems, been brought from Alexandria to Rome, and some other compilation going under the same name which was popularly better known, and which had been cited by his adversary. And in the second century after Christ, Julius Africanus, bishop of Neapolis in Palestine (who tells

us of himself that he had visited Egypt and had bought there at least one Egyptian book), inserted in his *Chronicon* those lists of Manetho which have been preserved to us from him by Eusebius and by George Syncellus. Eusebius indeed has so altered them, in order to make them agree with the last fifteen dynasties of the *Chronicle* and with his own scheme of sacred and profane chronology, as to lead Syncellus into the error of supposing that he must have had before him some separate edition; but by Syncellus the same lists have been transcribed faithfully. And these lists on examination exhibit the outline of a re-edition of Manetho differing in a number of points from the original, but probably the same with that which was best known and most cited in the time of Apion and Josephus.

As regards the details of its composition, we see or infer that this scheme was in three books, like the *Αἰγυπτιακὰ* of the original Manetho, of which it was in point of bulk an abridgment, Manetho's work having been written in a diffuse style, while this is sometimes called a "*Chronicle*." We see too from internal evidence that it was composed after Eratosthenes and Apollodorus had reduced Greek chronology to a scientific form, with an eye to their chronology, and with a special attention to Greek synchronisms. Also, that it attempted to defend or account for the "myriads of years" of Manetho and of the Old *Chronicle* (which last document its author seems to have inserted) by reducing the first XXI Cycles or 30,681 years of the *Chronicle*, as if they were only months, to one twelfth part of their apparent bulk. The number of full years thus obtained being 2556, with a remainder of 9, and this number not suiting exactly, 357 more fictitious years were added, and these, with the 9 above mentioned, making 366, hinted their own fictitious character by the likeness of the whole sum to one solar year, consisting of 365 *days* and part of a 366th. In the $(2556 + 366 =)$ 2922 years thus obtained, answering to the first 2922 years of real time given by the *Chronicle* to its XIII Gods of the family of *Cronus*, the author of the scheme placed the Gods, Demigods, and Manes, or perhaps the Gods and Demigods only of Manetho. This space was intended, no

doubt, to answer to the older and distinct world of the antediluvians, some knowledge of which must have been diffused in Egypt both through the long settlement there of multitudes of Jews, and by the septuagint translation of their sacred books from the Hebrew into the Greek language. At the same time, as if in anticipation of the question how any knowledge of the times of the Gods had been preserved, a fable borrowed either now, or it may be earlier, from Berosus was put forward (still probably without any direct mention of the Flood), mentioning how certain pillars or stelæ inscribed in sacred characters by the first Thoth in the land of Assyria had afterwards (Berosus says plainly "after the Flood") been translated into Egyptian hieroglyphics by Agathodæmon, son of the second Thoth, and father of a son also named Thoth or Tat, and so preserved in the sanctuaries of Egypt, till at length their contents were made known in the vulgar or in the Greek tongue. While the awkwardness of asserting an unbroken succession of kings in Egypt from the first Gods to Menes, and thence downwards, in an incredible space of time, was thus palliated, Egyptian antiquity *below the Gods and Menes*, instead of being curtailed to something like the meagre dimensions of the Chronicle, as Eratosthenes, in the spirit of a sceptical and envious Greek, had attempted to curtail it, was extolled and amplified far beyond even the scheme of the original Manetho. As if to make amends for having confessed the myriads of years of the Chronicle and of Manetho to be only months, it was thought fair and reasonable to represent at any rate all the xxx dynasties of the Chronicle and of Manetho (instead of only fifteen or twenty-three of them) as dynasties of mortal kings, successors of Menes, who had reigned consecutively after him during a space of $(1932 + 1674 + 1881 =) 5487$ years, a sum devised for this end that, with the 357 fictitious years above-mentioned prefixed, it might exhibit four cycles or $(357 + 5487 =) 5844$ years. And the two sums of $(2556 + 9 + 357 =) 2922$ of the reduced myriads of the old world being added to the 5844 of the existing world made a total of 8766 years, reminding one of the 8000 or 9000 of Plato, and of the 330 generations of Herodotus, to which, it may be sup-

posed, he attributed only by a mistake of his own too high an average, when he made of them 11,000 years. The date of this work should not be earlier than the reign of Augustus; at least not if the title "*Augustus*" (Σεβαστὸς) is given in it, in a letter purporting to be written from Manetho to Ptolemy Philadelphus. And the same letter shows that it was cast in a cyclical form, like the "astrological period" of the ἀποκατάστασις of the Chronicle, of which in its earlier part it was a reduction. For the author sends it, accompanied, no doubt, with other matter which has not reached us, as if in answer to certain inquiries of the king respecting events still future; that is, according to Egyptian ideas, respecting the recurrences to be expected, under celestial influences, of events already past. The letter itself shall be given below when we come to treat of the pseudo-Manetho's *Book of Sothis*, from which it is extracted by Syncellus.

Putting together a number of indications which all point in one direction, we may infer with probability that the real compiler of the "Manetho" of Africanus was the same person who is otherwise known as "*Ptolemy*, a priest of Mendes." In one passage of Tatian, a Christian writer of the first century, where any one from the context would have expected Manetho to be named, the writer named as the great authority for Egyptian history is "Ptolemy of Mendes:" "Αἰγυπτίῳν δέ εἰσιν αἱ ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς χρόνων ἀναγραφαὶ, καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς πραγμάτων ἑρμηνεύς ἐστι Πτολεμαῖος, οὐχ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἱερεὺς δὲ Μένδητος." And already in this passage his name and work are connected with a certain ἀκρίβεια or *exactness* in respect of chronology and Greek synchronisms. The same quality of ἀκρίβεια is alluded to by Africanus and by Eusebius (who transcribes from Africanus) in connection with an attempt to explain the myriads of the Chronicle and Manetho by reducing them as if from months to solar years: "Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ κομπωδέστερον χρόνων περιττὰς περιόδους, καὶ μυριάδας ἑτῶν, κατὰ θέσιν τινα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀστρολογουμένων, ἐξέθεντο· ὥς τινες τῶν ταῦτα ἀκριβοῦν δοξάντων συστέλλοντες σεληνιαίους εἶπον ἐνιαυτούς." And he proceeds to mention more particularly the sum of years made by the authors or author alluded

to, the plural form (*τινες*) meaning perhaps no more than this, that the author alluded to was not alone, nor the first, in saying that the vast periods were really for the most part composed of months, and were to be divided by 12 if it were wished to obtain the true sum in solar years: — “οἱ οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἀπονευκότες συμπίπτουσι ταῖς ὀκτῶ καὶ ἑννέα χιλιάσιν ἐτῶν ἅς Αἰγυπτίων οἱ παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἱερεῖς εἰς Σόλωνα καταριθμοῦντες οὐκ ἀληθεύουσιν.” The myriads of nominal years, being said to be connected with “a certain *astrological period*,” we may put this together with the fact that Africanus, in that re-edition of Manetho which he followed, found the Old Chronicle, with its astrological period of 36,525 years, brought forward and used in such a way as to suggest the idea that it was the source of those myriads of years of the original Manetho which were equally stated in the same work. The “myriads of years” he found reduced as months, not from the sum of Manetho, but from the sum of their older source the Chronicle, and conjoined with this reduction a series of xxx dynasties of kings (instead of the xxiii of the original Manetho or the xv of the Chronicle), a thirty-first dynasty even being added; and the whole still professed to be originally from Manetho, being a Chronicle consisting mainly of lists extracted from his three books. And here we can see why the reigns of the Gods, Demigods, and Manes, though enumerated by Africanus and Syncellus as if from Manetho, are yet not expressly numbered at the same time as dynasties, because those numbers of the xxx dynasties which belonged to them in the original text of Manetho had been detached and transferred to seven new dynasties of mortal kings after Menes.

That the form of Ptolemy’s work was similar and parallel to that of the original Manetho in this respect, that it contained the history of the kings of Egypt in three books, we learn from a passage cited from Apion, an Egyptian by birth, and as such a hater of the Jews, a contemporary of Josephus, against whom Josephus himself wrote. In the passage in question Apion also mentions one of the Greek synchronisms fixed by Ptolemy of Mendes, viz. that of the

Egyptian king Amosis, head of Dyn. XVIII, with the Exodus and Moses, (the original Manetho being followed in confounding the expulsion of the Shepherds by Amosis with the later Exodus of the Hebrews under Moses,) and also with Inachus of Argos:—"Ἀπίων ὁ γραμματικὸς, ὁ πλειστονίκης ἐπικληθεὶς, ἐν τῇ δ' τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ἱστοριῶν, καίτοι φιλαπεχθημόνως πρὸς Ἑβραίους διακείμενος, ἅτε Αἰγύπτιος τὸ γένος, ὡς καὶ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων κατατάξασθαι βιβλίον, Ἀμώσιος τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως μεμνημένος, καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν πράξεων, μάρτυρα παρατίθεται Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Μενδήσιον, καὶ τὰ τῆς λέξεως αὐτοῦ ᾧδε ἔχει· Κατέσκαψε δὲ τὴν Αὔαριν, κατὰ τὸν Ἀργεῖον γενόμενος Ἰναχον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις [i. e. χρονικοῖς] ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Μενδήσιος Πτολεμαῖος. Ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος οὗτος ἱερεὺς μὲν ἦν, τὰς δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέων πράξεις ἐν τρισὶν ὅλαις ἐκθέμενος βίβλοις, κατὰ Ἀμωσίν, φησι, Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα, Μωυσέως ἡγουμένου, γεγονέναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πορείαν." "Apion, the man of letters, he who is surnamed *Pleistonices*, being himself an Egyptian by birth, was naturally no lover of the Hebrews—nay, he hated them so heartily that he even wrote one of his books *'Against the Jews.'* This writer in Book iv. of his Egyptian Histories, while mentioning the Egyptian king named Amosis and the events of his time, quotes as a witness Ptolemy of Mendes, using these words: 'He destroyed Avaris, being himself contemporary with Inachus of Argos, as is stated in his Chronicles by Ptolemy of Mendes.' This Ptolemy was a priest, who wrote the acts of all the Egyptian kings in three books; and he says that it was at the time when Amosis was king that the Jews, led by Moses, went forth from Egypt." (*Clem. Alex. Stromat.*, i. c. 21. p. 138, *ed. Pott.* p. 378.) And Tatian, writing before Clement of Alexandria, in the same passage which has been given in part above, continues in similar words respecting Ptolemy of Mendes: "Οὗτος, τὰς τῶν βασιλέων πράξεις ἐκτιθέμενος, κατ' Ἀμωσιν βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου γεγονέναι Ἰουδαίων φησι τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πορείαν, εἰς ἧλθον χωρία, Μωυσέως ἡγουμένου· λέγει δὲ οὕτως· Ὁ δὲ Ἀμωσις ἐγένετο κατ' Ἰναχον βασιλέα." Tatian perhaps followed Justin Martyr (*Exhort. adv. Græcos*, § ix. t. ii. p. 38, *ed. Otto*), and from Tatian

Clement of Alexandria probably borrowed this quotation, which is reproduced also by Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* x. ii.), by S. Cyril (lib. i. *Contr. Julian.*), and by Tertullian (*Apol.* § xix.). Tertullian adds that Ptolemy of Mendes “followed Manetho.” We may go further, and collect from Suidas that the work, and even the person, of Ptolemy of Mendes were confounded with the true Manetho, and the true Manetho with Ptolemy of Mendes, so that there came to be two Manethos, both of them authors of a work called *Αἰγυπτιακὰ* in three books, but one of them (which was the true and original Manetho) a native of Sebennys, the other (who was Ptolemy) a native of Mendes. For in Suidas we find the following notices: “*Μανέθως Διοσπόλεως* [read ‘*Ἡλίουπόλεως*’] *τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἣ Σεβεννύτης.*” in like manner as he is made to style himself in the spurious letter to Ptolemy Philadelphus both “*γένει Σεβεννύτης,*” and “‘*Ἡλιουπόλιτης.*” And again Suidas has the following: “*Μανναίθως Μένδης.*” We have another hint, perhaps, of the close union of the two works and their authors in the designations of the last two dynasties (the last two, that is, of the original xxx dynasties) in the Manetho of Africanus, which we suppose to be the compilation of Ptolemy, Dyn. XXIX being there named *Mendesian*, as if in compliment to the native city of the author, Ptolemy of Mendes, while Dyn. XXX is named *Sebennyte* as if in compliment to the native city of the original Manetho of Sebennys. Whatever pretexts may have been available to justify these designations (and it is possible enough that there were pretexts), there is no trace elsewhere of either of the two cities Mendes or Sebennys having ever been the capital of any Egyptian king or dynasty: and in the Chronicle, the oldest document on the subject, the same two dynasties are designated simply and alike *Tanite*, from Tanis, which was the most ancient capital of the Delta and of all Egypt. Africanus, and Eusebius who copies from him, ascribes certain things to the author of the Chronicle, certain others again to Manetho, and lastly other things to some authors or author unnamed who had a reputation for “exactness,” which last we infer to be Ptolemy of Mendes. But some-

times they ascribe to Manetho what certainly belonged rather to the last of the three above-named and not to Manetho. And this is intelligible, if the work of Ptolemy was in fact a re-edition of Manetho, and yet contained passages and notices in which its compiler alluded to the true Manetho and to the author of the Chronicle as distinct from himself and from one another. As for Syncellus, he naturally follows Africanus and Eusebius in identifying the work used by Africanus, or at least the lists and other matter extracted from it, with the work of the original Manetho, though in so doing they are all sometimes at variance with the testimony of others respecting Manetho, and even at variance with their own. So, for instance, when Syncellus says that, "*Manetho* in his Book III. brought down a series of *thirty-one* dynasties to Ochus and Nectanebo" (elsewhere he says more correctly "to Darius") "in 1050 years," it is plain that he is here speaking not of the original Manetho, of whom Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus himself all testify that he ended in xxx dynasties (the number of the Chronicle) at Ochus and Nectanebo, but of a later writer, the compiler of a book which, as being an abridgment and re-edition of Manetho, was liable to be confounded with the original and genuine work.

But Syncellus confuses with the original Manetho not only the Manetho of Africanus and Eusebius, but also another distinct and later work of the same kind, which he found in the Chronographies of Anianus and Panodorus. This seems to have been entitled, the "Book of Sothis," and to have been cast in a cyclical form, based like the scheme of Ptolemy of Mendes on the period of the Old Chronicle. And it is from this latter work that Syncellus copies the spurious letter of Manetho to Ptolemy, which may nevertheless *possibly* have belonged *also* to the older work used by Africanus. But whether the letter itself, the contents of which certainly point to the Book of Sothis, was copied by the author of that book from Ptolemy, or fabricated by himself, the work of Ptolemy, and even as it seems that of the true and original Manetho, contained *something* of a similar kind, to which Josephus may allude when he intro-

duces Manetho himself as professing to have followed the monuments and archives of the Egyptian sanctuaries, and to have translated from the hieroglyphic and hieratic writings into Greek for the information of the king his master.

The last instance which we shall adduce of the name of Manetho being applied either to the work used by Africanus or else to the Book of Sothis, which last is here rather the case, is a passage from Jamblichus:—"Τὰς μὲν οὖν ὅλας ἀρχὰς Ἑρμῆς ἐν βιβλίοις [read ἔτεσι] τρισμυρίοις, ὡς Σέλευκος ἀνεγράψατο, ἣ τρισμυρίοις τε καὶ ἑξακισχιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις καὶ εἴκοσι πέντε, ὡς Μανεθῶς ἱστορεῖ, τελέως ἀπέδειξε." "Now as regards all the first principles and beginnings [of the universe], Hermes (Thoth) wrote a complete account of this whole subject in 30,000 books [read *years*], according to Seleucus, or in 36,525 according to the assertion of Manetho." (*Jambl. De Myst. Ægypt.* sect. viii. c. i.) On this passage it is to be noticed, first, that the 30,000 years named by Seleucus and the 36,525 named by the author called Manetho, are both equally to be referred to the sum of the Old Chronicle, whether it be that Seleucus expressed himself in round numbers, or that he distinguished the 30,000 years given in the Chronicle to the Sun-god alone as the proper period of the formation of the universe or cosmogony. Secondly, it is to be noticed that the reduction of the Old Chronicle being the common basis of the schemes both of Ptolemy of Mendes and also of Anianus and Panodorus, no argument can be drawn from the mere fact that its period is here ascribed to Manetho towards showing that the author intended is the one followed by Africanus rather than the one personated by Anianus and Panodorus. Only the word Ἑρμῆς seems to connect itself with the epistle quoted by Syncellus from the Book of Sothis, and with the notice contained in this same epistle of Manetho having derived his information about the earliest times from the stelæ of the first Hermes, translated in Egypt by the son of the second Hermes, who was also the father of Tat.

Assuming that the general idea of the reduction, as stated above, is intelligible to the reader, and that it seems in itself likely, the question will suggest itself,—Why should Ptolemy

of Mendes, or any other, have gone back to the *Chronicle* as the original source of Manetho's incredible myriads of years, in order to reduce its sum, rather than that of Manetho? Or, if this were because the original and unaltered sum was more suitable for division by 12 than that of Manetho, which had been altered, then why did he go back only to the *Chronicle*, which was *not* itself the true original, but altered from the original no less than that of Manetho? These questions are natural, and demand an answer; and the answer is not difficult to find.

The myriads of Manetho, viz. those 24,900 years which he gave to the Gods, Demigods, and Manes, and which Ptolemy of Mendes might assign tacitly to the old world, divide certainly by 12 without a remainder, but they produce, on being so divided, a sum of only 2,075 years, falling short by ($2922 - 2075 =$) 847 of the two cycles which in the original scheme of the ἀποκατάστασις were given to the old world, that is, to the antediluvians, including something more than the years by which they outlived the Flood. On the other hand, if the sum of the oldest and truly original scheme of an ἀποκατάστασις in xxv cycles and 36,525 years had been adopted, and its first xxiv cycles had been divided by 12, the result would have been a return to the naked historical truth, 2922 years being so produced for the Gods, and ($217 + 903 =$) 1120 more bringing one on to the cyclical epoch of B.C. 1322, and needing only the insertion of 341 fictitious years to make time seem to have run from the first in Sothic Cycles, and to complete the xxv cycles and 36,525 years, the whole "astrological period" of the ἀποκατάστασις. And for the real historical time which had been added since B.C. 1322, in the reign of Rameses III., viz. 978 to Nectanebo, +40 more to the date of the *Chronicle*, +300 more (as we may guess) to the date at which Ptolemy of Mendes wrote,—making in all 1318 years, there would have been no room in the scheme. But such results as these were far from suiting the purpose of the Egyptian author, who wished to maintain and to recommend by his ingenuity, not to expose, the pretensions of his predecessors and his colleagues to an antiquity far surpassing that of other na-

tions. What was plainly necessary to concede to the Greeks was alone to be conceded ; so that on the one hand neither should the sums of years exhibited be any longer regarded by them as simply incredible and ridiculous, nor the distinction between the old and the present world, now become more familiar, be so entirely ignored as before ; nor yet, on the other hand, should the antiquity claimed for the Egyptian dynasties of kings after Menes be curtailed, as Eratosthenes had sought to curtail it. In point of fact, so it might be said to Greek inquirers, even Manetho had omitted or consolidated many of the 331 kings, predecessors of Sesostris, who had been named by the priests to Herodotus and Hecataeus, and who were still enumerated in the hieratic papyri, or on the walls of the temples. It was not indeed necessary, nor reasonable, to reckon to every king a full generation of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, as had been done by Herodotus, so as to make 11,000 or 12,000 years from Menes to the time of Augustus ; but the kings themselves were named in papyri above a thousand years old, and had no doubt existed. They might therefore reasonably be added to those whom Manetho had enumerated, it being understood that he had omitted some subordinate but numerous dynasties, and had imitated the author of the Chronicle in transferring to Gods and Demigods some of the earlier of those xxx dynasties of kings which had really reigned in Egypt.

For both the purposes of Ptolemy the Chronicle, which though not itself the original cyclical scheme, was yet the immediate source followed and altered by Manetho, offered a convenient basis. It already contained in germ that reduplication of two cycles of solar years which was now to be more distinctly exhibited.

First it had a sum of 30,681 years, derived indeed from the month-years of an older scheme, but in it no longer really months, nor divisible by 12, but rather fictitious, or nominal, or cosmical years. And these, if treated again as months and divided by 12, would give 2556 full years, besides a remainder of 9, a sum short of 2 cycles, or 2922 years, by only 366 ; or if the 9 were allowed to retain their character of years, and were added to the 2556, by only 357 ; that is, by

only 16 years more than the 341 necessarily to be interpolated somewhere if all time was to have commenced from a cyclical epoch, and to have run from the first in the mould of the Sothic Cycle. So that in this space (given, it is true, by the Chronicle to the Sun-god alone, but by others before and after, as by Manetho, to the Gods, Demigods, and Manes), the period of the old world, for such as knew anything of its existence, might be conveniently shadowed; and the Gods, Demigods or Heroes, and Manes of Manetho might reign over an antediluvian Egypt, while all the kings from Menes downwards should people the existing world.

Then, for the existing world, there followed in the Chronicle two whole cycles or 2922 years of Cronus and the XII Gods his descendants, being in their origin those very years of the antediluvians which had been multiplied by 12 and expanded from 2922 solar into $(30,681 + 2922 + 1461 =)$ 35,064 month-years, and being equal to the quotient of 30,681, divided by 12, with the remainder of 9 and 357 besides added. These then, being vacated in a manner by the translation of the XIII Gods of the Chronicle into the 30,681 years of the Sun, might all be occupied by kings, as 1000 of them, or (which comes to the same thing) 22 of them with 978 other fictitious years, fabricated by reduplication from another source, had already been covered with kings by Manetho.

These 2922 years, with 341 fictitious years needed to make time seem to have run from the beginning in Sothic Cycles, + 217 of VIII Demigods, + 483 of the cycle current under the Ptolemies thrown up from between B.C. 345 and A.D. 139, + 1881 of kings from Menes to Nectanebo, amounting in all to 5844 years, make the last four of the XXV cycles of the Chronicle, to parallel which Manetho (if the years of his Gods, Demigods, and Manes be set apart) has only the 3555 years of his kings. Ptolemy therefore, if he wished to retain the cyclical scheme and to exhibit four complete cycles below the reigns of the gods answering to the last four of the XXV cycles of the Chronicle, would have to convert into reigns of kings those 1922 years of the gods of the Chronicle which Manetho had not either directly or

indirectly, converted already, also those 26 years of the interval between Alexander and the Lagidæ which Manetho had not followed the Chronicle in throwing up (though he threw up the 14 between Nectanebo and Alexander), and lastly, the 341 fictitious years needed to make time run from the first in the mould of the Sothic Cycle. So the whole sum to be added would amount to 2289 years.

But thus, it will be noticed, $(341 + 16 =)$ 357 of those $(341 + 26 =)$ 367 years of the Chronicle which are omitted by Manetho, are added not once only but twice in the scheme of Ptolemy. For first 357 years are added to make up the sum of the Gods from $(2556 + 9)$ to 2922; and again the same sum of 357 years is prefixed to the existing world. In this last exhibition of it, it intervenes between the Gods and Menes, and commences the sum of 5844 years or four cycles which is to be completed by an addition of 1932 years to the 3555 of Manetho's kings, in like manner as Manetho's sum of 3555 had been made up by an addition of 1674 to the original number of 1881 years of the kings as it stood in the Chronicle. So Ptolemy made in all 5487 years of kings; and the 357 years prefixed to these and given tacitly perhaps to the Manes, at any rate not given to kings, allowed time (for such as understood the need of an interval) for the repeopling of the earth and the growth of nations, languages, and religions between the Flood and Menes. The three schemes of the Chronicle, of Manetho (without the years of his Gods, Demigods, and Manes), and of Ptolemy will stand parallel one to another as follows; the additions made by each of the two later schemes to the years of the kings being printed in red: —

Chron.	12)	30,681	=	(2556. + 9 +	[341 + 16 + 10]	+	(1922 + 1000)	+	[14] + 217	+	[443] + 1881	
Man.	.....			.....	— — — —				1600 +	14 +	217 +	443 + 1881
Ptol.	{	.....	2556 + 9 +	{	[341 + 16] = 2922.							
		.....		{	[341 + 16] + 10 +	1922 +	1000 +	14 +	217 +	443 + 1881 +	1 = 5844.	

The real purpose of Ptolemy being in effect to reduplicate the first two cycles of the earlier schemes so as to gain two new cycles of his own for the old world, while the whole four cycles of the Chronicle being vacated completely by the antediluvians should be available for postdiluvian kings, it may seem at first sight a clumsy and round-about process

towards this end to divide by twelve 30,681 nominal years of the *Chronicle*, which in it are *not* months nor divisible by 12 without remainder, and which even though divided by 12, and having the remainder of 9 units added to the quotient, do not produce the sum needed, when the sum needed might have been obtained at once by dividing the original 35,064 month-years of a scheme older than the *Chronicle*. And if this had been done, the difficulty caused by the myriads of years of later schemes being so explained and removed in its very source, it would have been just as easy, one might think, and simpler, for Ptolemy to forge and insert if he pleased two whole cycles of fresh years, as to forge a supplementary sum of 357 years to help out the insufficiency of the $(2556 + 9 =) 2565$ years obtained by reduction from the *Chronicle*. But it is to be borne in mind that though the schemes of Eratosthenes, of Manetho, and of the *Chronicle*, were extant in Greek, and known or accessible, the older scheme which had served as a basis to the *Chronicle* was most likely altogether unknown to the Greeks; and it was for the Greeks alone that Ptolemy wrote. And the *Chronicle* being both the oldest document of the kind in Greek, and the document followed more or less both by Manetho and by Eratosthenes, while its myriads of years seemed to exceed those of Manetho, it was natural that the method of reduction, which had been hinted to some of the Greeks long before, should be applied to this document rather than to any other. And, the *origin* of the first XXI cycles or 30,681 years given by the *Chronicle* either expressly or indirectly to the Sun-god being unknown, these years *seemed to be* distinct, *though they were not really distinct*, from the two cycles following them, viz. the first two of human time, given by the *Chronicle* to Cronus and XII other Gods his descendants. Thus these 30,681 nominal years of the *Chronicle* offered to Ptolemy something like the reduplication which he wanted, or the greater part of it, ready made to his hand; and when the bulk of the years really created by himself *seemed* to have been obtained by a plausible explanation and reduction of an incredible sum not invented by him, but pre-existing in an older document, and

already in possession of the ground, the fabrication and addition of any small supplementary sum of his own would pass unnoticed. Whereas, if he had begun by reducing all those nominal years which were really in their origin only months, and therefore in their complete sum the proper subjects of such reduction, he would at once have overshot his mark in the amount of reduction, as has been already explained above, and any subsequent fabrication and insertion of fictitious cycles would have been too bold and open an imposture.

The supplementary sum needed to help out the 2565 years obtained by reduction from the Chronicle, so as to bring them up to 2922 (which would have been produced by dividing the original 35,064 month-years), being 357, this number, as has been remarked, exceeded by only 16 the sum of those 341 fictitious or cosmical years which were necessarily to be added to true human time (and *chronologically* to be *prefixed* at the head of all) in every scheme which pretended to make time run from the first in Sothic Cycles. And some such space as 341 years, *at least*, it was necessary also to leave vacant at the head of those four cycles originally lying (whether as time past or as time anticipated) between the creation antedated by 341 years and A.D. 139, but now given solely to the existing or postdiluvian world; and so given as to end with the fourth year of Darius Codomannus, i.e. 470 years too early. Hence it may have seemed to Ptolemy that it would be at once convenient and symmetrical, and in some sense an improvement upon the older schemes, if he took $(341 + 16 =) 357$ years instead of 341 of those standing at the head of the four cycles of the Chronicle, where the 341 ought to be reckoned and prefixed chronologically; and made of these 357 a joint or hinge as it were of double application; to unite into one series both the 2565 years, the creation of his own ingenuity, which he meant to give to the old world, and the remaining $(5844 - 357 =) 5487$ years of true human time in the Chronicle which he meant to give to Egyptian kings.

Standing thus in the midst between the two parts of Ptolemy's scheme, the fictitious of the old and the chro-

nological of the existing world, these 357 years might be equally made to coalesce with the 2565 fictitious years above (so as to bring them up to 2922, that is, to two cycles), or with the 5487 chronological years below (so as to make with them an exhibition of 5844 years, that is, of four Cycles). And the whole scheme, if the 357 years were reckoned only once, would consist either of $(2565 + 357 =) 2922 + 5487$, or of $2565 + (357 + 5487 =) 5844$, according as the 357 were used to fill up either the fictitious sum of the antediluvian or the chronological sum of the postdiluvian world, to two or to four perfect Cycles respectively. But if, which would be optional, and which would rather be the case, the 357 years were reckoned twice over, once as the supplement and complement needed by the antediluvians above, and again as the cyclical commencement necessarily to be prefixed to the uncyclical aggregate of human time given to the postdiluvians below, then the whole scheme would consist of $(2565 + 357 =) 2922 + (357 + 5487 =) 5844$; and the two sums 2922 and 5844 together would make 8766, feigned to end not with the last year of Nectanebo in B.C. 345, but with the Egyptian accession of Alexander in B.C. 332 (since 13 years between Nectanebo and Alexander, which had been thrown up by the Chronicle and by Manetho, were reckoned by Ptolemy in their true place and given to a thirty-first dynasty). And if to the sum of 8766 again we were to append those historical years which had intervened between the feigned cyclical epochs of B.C. 345 or 332 and the date of Ptolemy's writing, which we may guess to have been about 340 years later, we may collect that in the time of Augustus the scheme might be said to claim for Egyptian records an antiquity of $(8766 + 340 =) 9106$, or at the least of $(9106 - 357 =) 8749$ years, so exhibiting that coincidence with the 8000 or 9000 years of Plato and Eudoxus, which is noticed by Africanus.

This scheme, however strange the assertion may sound, is the first and only one out of six Egyptian schemes with which we are acquainted, which is irreconcilable, not only on the surface but internally, with historical truth. The rest, though designed, no doubt, to impose upon strangers, and even, it may be, upon the unlearned of the Egyptians,

contained no mere falsehoods for the priests, who understood the secret of their construction. But the scheme of Ptolemy of Mendes, in aiming after a certain end which regarded Greek readers only, admitted for the first time a plain falsehood and fabrication, placing it in contradiction with the true Egyptian reckoning of time preserved, under whatever superficial variations, by all his predecessors. It amounts to the same thing as if Ptolemy had openly pretended that whereas hitherto all had reckoned three Sothic cycles only (short at their head by 341 years) from the beginning of human time to the cyclical epoch of B.C. 1322, which would grow into four whenever the Cycle current under the Lagidæ and under Augustus should run out,—or, in other words, whereas they had all reckoned of time past or future four cycles from the beginning to the year 139 of our vulgar era, they *ought* on the contrary to have reckoned two cycles, or 2922 years more; the truth being that the whole four cycles given by the Chronicle to human time belonged to the postdiluvians alone, and were covered (all but the 341 inserted to make time begin from a cyclical epoch and 16 years besides, making together 357 years) by Egyptian kings; the Gods and Demigods having occupied two earlier cycles of years suppressed by Egyptian chronologers till the time of Ptolemy. And whereas in the older schemes the 341 years inserted to make time seem to have run in the mould of the Cycle, and those years of the Cycle current under the Ptolemies which were anticipated and thrown up, were understood by the learned to be years merely nominal, unchronologically placed, and easily distinguishable from the true chronology embodied in the same schemes,—this in the scheme of Ptolemy of Mendes was no longer the case. Six cycles (a false number) being exhibited, instead of four (the true), there was no longer any object to be answered in understanding (if any one still understood) that some of the dynasties of kings were placed in years anticipated and thrown up from below, and that the whole series of cycles was only feigned to begin and to end at epochs which were not really cyclical. Nor could even the 341 years, at least not *those* 341 years which had been inserted by the older schemes for a cyclical

purpose, and which in truth though not ostensibly were now prefixed at the head of the four postdiluvian cycles, be regarded any longer as a merely *nominal* addition; for if they were so regarded, then instead of an interval of 357 years between the Flood and Menes, we should have Egypt already repeopled, its language and religion formed, and Menes founding its monarchy in the 17th year after the Flood. If the subject were capable of being canvassed seriously, and Ptolemy had pretended that the 341 cosmical or nominal years necessary to make time run in the mould of the Cycle, and inserted in the older schemes, had been retained from them by himself *mutatis mutandis*, and were to be looked for and reckoned chronologically in his own, as in those older schemes, at the top of all, then, these years being so reckoned first, it would follow that his own peculiar addition of two cycles to the four of the Chronicle commences only after the 341 years have been reckoned, and ends only with the 341st year of his *third* cycle, answering to the 341st of the *first* cycle of the older schemes. And beginning hence, if we parallel the scheme of Ptolemy with that of the Chronicle, it will appear that at that point at which the Chronicle places or indicates the commencement of the 17th year of Cronus, or as we should say of Adam, Ptolemy of Mendes places the accession of Menes; and those $(2922 + 217 =) 3139$ years which in the earlier schemes, whether divided among XIII Gods and VIII Demigods, or in any other way, represent the whole time of the antediluvian world, and of the postdiluvian too, until the growth of nations and the rise of monarchies, are in the scheme of Ptolemy covered all alike by kings, successors of Menes. If Manetho could have returned to life to see Eusebius or Syncellus calculating how many of his 3555 years of kings were to be disallowed as running up before the Flood, and how many more as covering the space between the Flood and Abraham, or between the Flood and the Dispersion, he might have told them with a smile that, if they had had more wit, they might have saved themselves this trouble, since all those dynasties and reigns really contemporaneous which he had exhibited as consecutive he had at the same time ticketed and labelled for such

as understood, by giving to them years of the current Cycle reduplicated or thrown up, or years previously appropriated in older documents, which he alluded to, to the Gods or Demigods. But if Eusebius or Syncellus had lopped away after their fashion some of the 5487 years of kings feigned by Ptolemy of Mendes to commence in the year of the world 17, according to Egyptian reckoning, and yet to end at the cosmocracy of Alexander with the year of the world (5503 — 470 =) 5173, which implies again that they began (470 — 16 =) 454 years *before* the first year of Cronus or Adam, or *before the creation*, Ptolemy would have had no means of defending himself, the chronology of Egypt from which he had departed agreeing much more nearly, though still far from exactly, with the reckoning of Syncellus, and much more closely even with that of Eusebius than with his own.

Perhaps he would have said, that for such as were in the secret the 2922 years given by him to the old world, if he were understood to give to it two cycles, were all separable as fictitious, or all but 16, and those 16 reduplicated and thrown up from between Nectanebo and the year B.C. 329; and that the learned, after thus setting aside the fictitious space given to the old world, would find no difficulty in the fact that he had covered the four previously known and recognised cycles (all but 341 years fictitious or cosmical, and 16 of the years thrown up from between Alexander and the Lagidæ) with kings, seeing that in so doing he had only followed the example of Manetho and others, who had placed unchronologically, for whatever reason, reigns and dynasties of which many might be contemporaneous, but which perhaps had all, nevertheless, a true historical existence.

THE INTRODUCTION

of Ptolemy's own composition, in which he either spoke in his own name, or at least did not affect to personate Manetho, probably gave the reader to understand that the ridicule often directed by Greeks against the myriads of years of Manetho and other Egyptian chroniclers was prompted by a misunderstanding. It explained that those myriads of years consisted originally only of months, which might be reduced

by division to true civil years, and that when so reduced they gave to Egypt an antiquity greatly transcending, no doubt, that of other nations, but still not exceeding the bounds of credibility. It gave the outline of the *Old Chronicle* in the form in which it has reached us through Africanus and Syncellus (printed above in Greek at p. 9), as the oldest Greek document of the kind, the source which Manetho had followed in some respects, though he had varied from it in others; and it proposed to reduce the first 30,681 of its years, as if these had been the original and full sum of month-years from which the 24,900 of Manetho were derived as a variation and curtailment.

This reduction having been made, and the product being a sum of 2556 civil years, with a remainder of 9,—which, as seeming not to have been obtained by multiplication, might be treated as being originally and of themselves full years,—these 9 with the 2556 made 2565 civil years: to which 357, taken from the full years which follow next in the Chronicle after the 30,681, being added, there was obtained a sum of $(2565 + 357 =)$ 2922 civil years, or two complete cycles, over which probably were distributed those Gods, Demigods, and Manes which Manetho had placed in the first VII of his xxx dynasties, and in the first of his three books.

From this part of the Introduction it might be that Africanus took that enumeration of the seven groups of the Gods, Demigods, and Manes, with Manetho's own sums of their years unreduced, which has been given already in English at p. 91, and which in the Latin translation, made from the old Armenian version of the Chronicle of Eusebius (*Chron.* l. i. c. 19, ed. Mai, Rom. 1833), is as follows:—

... “*Ex Manethone* . . .

“*Primus Ægyptiorum Deus Vulcanus fuit, qui etiam ignis repertor apud eos celebratur. Ex eo Sol: postea Agathodæmon; deinde Saturnus: tum Osiris: exin Osiridis frater Typhon: ad extremum Horus, Osiridis et Isidis filius. Hi primi inter Ægyptios rerum potiti sunt.*

“*Deinceps continuatâ successione delapsa est regia potestas usque ad Bytin, per annos [Deorum omnium] tredecim mille ac nongentos. Lunarem tamen annum intelligo, vide-*

licet triginta diebus constantem: quem enim nunc *ensem* dicimus, *Ægyptii* olim anni nomine indigitabant.

" <i>Post Deos regnavêre Heroes annis</i> MCCLV	[MCCXXX.]
" <i>Rursusque alii Reges dominati sunt</i> annis	MDCCCXVII.
" <i>Tum alii triginta Reges, Memphitæ annis</i>	MDCCXC.
" <i>Deinde alii Thinitæ decem Reges annis</i>	CCCL.
" <i>Secuta est Manium Heroumque Domi-</i> <i>natio annis</i>	MMMMDCCCXIII.

"Summa temporum in undecim millia consurgit annorum, qui tamen lunares, nempe menstrui sunt."

"Sed reverà dominatio [quam narrant *Ægyptii*] *Deorum, Heroum, et Manium* tenuisse putatur lunares annos omnino *viginti quatuor mille et nongentos*, ex quibus fiunt solares anni MMCCVI." [Correct, and read "MMLXXV;" though in truth Manetho's sum, of 24,900 is a mixed sum made up of 900 full years, which need no reduction, but were once themselves in the older schemes multiplied into 10,800 month-years to which they are equivalent, and from which they were reduced again by Manetho, and 24,000 month-years reducible to 2000 full civil years. So the true value of the whole sum is MMDCCCC.]

What may have been the distribution of years made by Ptolemy to each of the above seven groups or classes, supposing him to have retained from Manetho the classes themselves, one cannot say, because the sum of the years which he had to distribute was not that obtainable directly by division from the 24,900 of Manetho (this would have been 2075), but that obtained from the 30,681 of the Chronicle, viz. $(2556 + 9 =) 2565$, either alone, or as increased by 357 to 2922, the sum which would have been obtainable from 35,064 month-years. The sums of Manetho, though mentioned as it appears by Ptolemy, are neither themselves divisible without remainders by 12, nor are there any indications that the whole space corresponding to their sum total in the scheme of Ptolemy was divided among the seven classes named by Manetho in the same proportions.

If indeed any inference were to be drawn from the dis-

tribution of Manetho, it would be this, that Ptolemy gave in his Introduction to the seven groups above enumerated the following sums of reduced or full years:—

To Group I. 900. — reduced [by Manetho] from 10,800

To Group II. 1083. 4^m. reduced [by Ptolemy] from 13,000

These two groups together making 1983 full years and 4 months, reduced from 23,800 month-years. Or, if the two methods are mixed together, as they are by Manetho, the 900 being reckoned in full years and 13,000 in month-years, they make together Manetho's nominal sum of 13,900. Then

To Group III.	102. 6 ^m .	reduced from . . .	1230
To Group IV.	151. 5 ^m .	reduced from . . .	1817
To Group V.	149. 2 ^m .	reduced from . . .	1790
To Group VI.	29. 2 ^m .	reduced from . . .	350
To Group VII.	484. 5 ^m .	reduced from . . .	5813
Besides	22. —	reduced [by Manetho] from	264
<hr/>			
2922. 0.			35,064

But whatever were in truth in Ptolemy's own scheme the subdivisions of this space of the Gods, Demigods, and Manes, one thing is clear, viz. that they did not, as in the work of Manetho, fill VII of the xxx dynasties, nor enter distinctly into the composition of what was still called in Ptolemy's work the "First Book of Manetho." On the contrary they were treated of only in Ptolemy's own Introduction, which was then followed by his re-edition and abridgment of Manetho's three books, or rather by the chronicle or lists of regal dynasties contained in them, extracted, altered, and added to by the compiler. For Ptolemy transferred to kings the first seven mythological dynasties of Manetho's thirty, besides appending a thirty-first; and he inserted as belonging to his new dynasties a sum of 1932 years.

After those notices taken from the mythological part of Ptolemy's Introduction which we have given from Eusebius, the lists of kings extracted by Africanus are given both by him and by Syncellus; by Eusebius with such extensive alterations of his own as to render his Manetho a new compilation, but by Syncellus faithfully. And as the lists of

Africanus according to the text of Syncellus have been already printed above in English (p. 91 to p. 98), so far as they were needed for illustrating the scheme of the original Manetho, they shall now be given in Greek.

Eusebius introduces them with these words: "Sequitur Triginta Dynastiarum a Mene ad Nectanebum enumeratio, quam statim addimus:" and Syncellus with these:

"Περὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν Αἰγύπτου Δυναστειῶν, ὡς ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς." For Africanus, as we learn indirectly by a passage of Eusebius probably borrowed from him, and as is here stated by Syncellus, considered that the years of the world before the Flood, and those after the Flood to the Dispersion and to Mizraim or Menes (the two names being identified), were covered by those vast periods of the Egyptians which consisted really of months, and which were to be reduced to as many years as the Hebrew reckoning might allow; while, as regarded any excess still remaining in the years given to the kings, it was to be carefully remembered that there might have been in early times a number of dynasties contemporary with one another in different parts of Egypt, besides joint reigns in one and the same local dynasty, both which causes together might easily produce a vast sum of years.

We are to bear in mind then that the last 357 of the mythological years contained in the Introduction of Ptolemy, those, that is, which were meant to be reckoned ambiguously either to the end of the old or to the beginning of the existing world, or to be reduplicated and reckoned to both at once, are understood by Africanus to cover the interval between the Flood and Menes. And the same perhaps may be hinted by a peculiarity in the designation of the seventh and last of the seven mythological groups given by Ptolemy from Manetho, which is repeated by Africanus. For after two groups of *Gods*, and after a third expressly given to "*Heroes*" or Demigods, who came "after the Gods," there follow next three groups of *kings*, who should therefore be *Nέκνες* or *Manes*, especially as some of them are named *Thinites* and *Memphites*, names which show them once to have been *men*, natives of two Egyptian capitals. But, after

these, the seventh and last group is described as a "*Domination*" or dynasty "of *Heroes* [i. e. *Demigods*] and *Manes*," so that some have taken occasion hence to suspect an error in the text, and that this last group and its sum are really only a recapitulation, adding up together the sums of the four distinct groups of *Heroes* and *Manes* which have preceded. But Africanus in passing on to the dynasties of kings takes up and repeats this same mixed designation; for he continues thus: "Μετὰ Νέκρας τοὺς Ἡμιθέους," that is, as we may paraphrase it, "After the *Manes* who are the *Demigods*," or "after the *Manes* who are also called *Demigods*;" and this too has been altered, as if by the help of Eusebius, because he distinguishes the *Gods*, and *Demigods*, and *Manes*, as three separate groups, as no doubt every author did who named them at all. But this by no means shows that the double designation of the last mythological group was unintended, or that the group itself is only a recapitulation. On the contrary, if the years of this group, or part of them, were meant to cover the interval between the old world and the commencement of the Egyptian monarchy, the double designation has a meaning; since, whatever might be the origin of the *Thinite*, *Memphite*, or other *Manes* of *Manetho*, the true holders of the chronological space between the *Flood* and *Menes* are the *VIII Demigods* of the *Chronicle*, whether considered as living on the earth together with the still surviving antediluvians, or as living and "reigning" on after their departure. So the addition of the title "*Demigods*" to *Manes*, who may really perhaps be *Nubians* from the hieratic lists, may be a hint that their $(484 + 22 =) 506$ years are identical chronologically with those 506 years of the *Gods* and *Demigods* which immediately preceded *Menes*.

ΤΟΜΟΣ Α' ΜΑΝΕΘΩ.

Μετὰ Νέκρας τοὺς Ἡμιθέους	β'. Ἀθῶθις υἱὸς ἔτη νθ'. ὁ τὰ ἐν Μέμφει βασιλεία οἰκοδομήσας, οὗ φέρονται βίβλοι ἀνατομικαί, ἱατρὸς γὰρ ἦν. <i>Athoth</i> .
Βασιλεία Α'	γ'. Κενκένης υἱὸς ἔτη λα'. but the sum total given for the years of the dynasty requires κα'.
καταριθμεῖται βασιλέων ὀκτώ, ὧν πρῶτος	δ'. Οὐνέφης υἱὸς ἔτη κγ'. ἐφ' οὗ λιμός
α'. Μήνης Θεινίτης ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ξβ'. οὗτος ὑπὸ ἱπποποτάμου διεφθάρη. <i>Mena</i> .	

κάτεσχε τὴν Αἴγυπτον μέγας·
οὗτος τὰς περὶ Κωχώμην ἡγεῖρε
πυραμίδας.

ε'. Οὐσαφαιδὸς υἱὸς ἔτη κ'. *Ouazepha* ?
ς'. Μιεβιδὸς υἱὸς ἔτη κς'. *Bad-si* ?
ζ'. Σεμέμψης υἱὸς ἔτη ιη'. ἐφ' οὗ φθο-
ρὰ μεγίστη κατέσχε τὴν Αἴγυπ-
τον.

η'. Βιναχῆς υἱὸς ἔτη κς'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη συγ'. (62+57+21
+23+20+26+18+26=
253.)

Syncellus adds: Τὰ τῆς α' δυνασ-
τείας οὕτω πως καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὡς ὁ Ἀφρι-
κανὸς ἐξέθετο.

Δυναστεία Β'

Θεινιτῶν βασιλέων θ', ὃν πρῶτος
α'. Βοηθὸς ἔτη λη'. ἐφ' οὗ χάσμα κατὰ
Βούβαστον ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀπώλοντο
πολλοί. *Βαίου* .. ?

β'. Καιεχῶς ἔτη λθ'. ἐφ' οὗ οἱ βότεις
Ἄπις ἐν Μέμφει, καὶ Μνεῦς ἐν
Ἡλιουπόλει, καὶ ὁ Μενδήσιος τρά-
γος ἐνομήσθησαν εἶναι θεοί. *Κα..* ?

γ' Βινωθρίς ἔτη μζ'. ἐφ' οὗ ἐκρίθη τὰς
γυναικάς βασιλείας γέρας ἔχειν.
.. *neter* ?

δ'. Τλάς ἔτη ιζ'. *Tsats* ?

ε'. Σεθένης ἔτη μα'. *Sent* ?

ς'. Χαίρης ἔτη ιζ'. *Aakar* ?

ζ'. Νεφερχέρης ἔτη κε'. ἐφ' οὗ μυθεύ-
εται τὸν Νεῖλον μέλιτι κεκραμένον
ἡμέρας ἑνδεκα ρύηναι. *Nefer-
kar* ?

η'. Σέσωχρις ἔτη μη'. ὃς ὕψος εἶχε
πηχῶν ε', παλαιστῶν γ'.

θ'. Χενερῆς ἔτη λ'. *Kar-en-re* ?

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη τθ'. (38+39+47+
17+41+17+25+48+30
=) 302.

Syncellus adds: Ὅμοῦ α' καὶ β'
δυναστείας μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἔτη
φνε' (253+302=555), κατὰ τὴν [β']
ἔκδοσιν Ἀφρικανοῦ.

Δυναστεία Γ'

Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων ἐννέα·

α'. Νεχερόφης ἔτη κη'. ἐφ' οὗ Αἰβυες
ἀπέστησαν Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ τῆς σε-
λήνης παρὰ λόγον ἀυξηθείσης διὰ

δέος ἐαυτοὺς παρέδωσαν. *Ra-
kherph* ?

β'. Τόσορθρος ἔτη κθ'. οὗτος Ἀσκλη-
πίος Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὴν ἰατρι-
κὴν νενόμισται, καὶ τὴν διὰ
ξεστῶν λίθων οἰκοδομίαν εὐρατο·
ἀλλὰ καὶ γραφῆς ἐπεμελήθη. *Ra-
tseser* ?

γ'. Τύρις ἔτη ζ'.

δ'. Μέσωχρις ἔτη ιζ'.

ε'. Σώψις ἔτη ις'. *Aan-Hoyphou* ?

ς'. Τοσέρτασις ἔτη ιθ'. *Tseserirenra* ?

ζ'. Ἀχης ἔτη μβ'. *Aakou* ?

η'. Σίφουρις ἔτη λ'. *Snefrou* ?

θ'. Κερφέρης ἔτη κς'. *Ass-kerph* ?

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη σιδ'. (28+29+7+
17+16+19+42+30+26
=214.)

Syncellus subjoins: Ὅμοῦ τῶν γ'
δυναστειῶν κατὰ Ἀφρικανὸν ἔτη ψξθ'
(555+214=769).

Δυναστεία Δ'

Μεμφιτῶν συγγενείας ἐτέρας· βασι-
λεῖς η'.

α'. Σῶρις ἔτη κθ'. *Sora and Sorti* ?

β'. Σοῦψις ἔτη ξγ'. ὃς τὴν μεγίστην
ἡγεῖρε πυραμίδα, ἣν φησιν Ἡρό-
δοτος ὑπὸ Χέοπος γεγενῆσθαι· οὗ-
τος δὲ καὶ ὑπερόπτης εἰς θεοὺς
ἐγένετο· καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν συνέγραψε
βίβλον ἣν [ἐγὼ, ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς]
ὡς μέγα χρῆμα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενό-
μενος ἐκτησάμην. *Khoufou*.

γ'. Σοῦψις ἔτη ξς'. *Khaphra*.

δ'. Μενχέρης ἔτη ξγ'. *Menkaura*.

ε'. Ρατοίσης ἔτη κε'. *Ra-tsaser* ?

ς'. Βίχερις ἔτη κβ'.

ζ'. Σεβερχέρης ἔτη ζ'. *Saouch-ra* ?

η'. Θαμφθίς ἔτη θ'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη σοδ'. But the actual
sums of the reigns make
(29+63+66+63+25+
22+7+9=) 284; and the
scheme of Ptolemy of Men-
des requires σπδ' for the
sum of this dynasty: Syn-
cellus, however, reckons up
277, which was, seemingly,
the sum of the original
Manetho; for he subjoins:

Ὅμοι τῶν δ' δυναστειῶν τῶν μετὰ
τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἔτη ,αμς' (769+177
=1046) κατ' Ἀφρικανόν.

Δυναστεία Ε'

Βασιλέων ἡ' ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης. [ῥ'.
two, perhaps, being colleagues.]

α'. Οὐσερχέρης ἔτη κη'. *Outseserkerf?*

β'. Σεφρής ἔτη ιγ'. *Sahou-ph-re?*

γ'. Νεφερχέρης ἔτη κ'. *Nefer-iri-
kar-ra?*

δ'. Σισίρης ἔτη [λ]ζ'. [the sum of
the dynasty showing that
30 years have fallen out,
either from this or from the
seventh reign.] *Tseser-iri-
n-ra?*

ε'. Χέρης ἔτη κ'. *Karhar-re?*

ς'. Ῥαθουής ἔτη μδ'.

ζ'. Μενχερής ἔτη θ'. *Menkar-re* and
Hor-menkar?

η'. Ταρχερής ἔτη μδ'. *Assa Tat-kar-
re.*

θ'. Ὀβνος ἔτη λγ'. *Onnos.*

Ὅμοι ἔτη σμη'. (28+13+20
+ [3]7+20+44+9+44
+33=248.)

Syncellus subjoins: *Γίνονται σὺν
τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ,αμς' ἔτεσι τῶν δ'
δυναστειῶν ἔτη ,αζδ'.* (since 1046+
248=1294. But if he had reckoned
the sum of Ptolemy, viz. 284, to
Dyn. IV., instead of reckoning the
277 of the original Manetho, he
would have had 1053+248=1301).

Δυναστεία ΣΤ'

Βασιλέων ἕξ Μεμφιτῶν.

α'. Ὁθόης ἔτη λ'. ὃς ὑπὸ δορυφόρων
ἀνῆρέθη. *Ati?*

β'. Φιώς ἔτη νγ'. *Teta?*

γ'. Μεθουσούφης ἔτη ζ'. *Imhotep?*

δ'. Φιώψ· ἐξαέτης ἀρξάμενος βασι-
λεύειν διεγένετο μέχρις ἑτῶν ρ'.
Papa Maire.

ε'. Μενθεσούφης ἔτος ἔν. *Meranre?*

ς'. Νίτωκρς· γεννικωτάτη καὶ εὐμορ-
φοτάτη τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν γενομένη,
ξανθὴ τὴν χροιάν, ἢ τὴν τρίτην

ἤγειρε πυραμίδα· ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη
ιβ'. *Nepherchere* and *Nitocrit.*

Ὅμοι ἔτη σγ'. (30+53+7+
100+1+12=203.)

Syncellus subjoins: *Γίνονται σὺν
τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ,αζδ' τῶν ε' δυνα-
στειῶν ἔτη ,αυζ'.* (i.e. 1294+203=
1497. But it should have been 1301
+203=1504.)

Δυναστεία Ζ'

Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων ο', οἱ ἐβασίλευ-
σαν ἡμέρας ο'. (70 days.)

Δυναστεία Η'

Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων κζ' [οὐ εθ' ?].
οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ρμς'.

Syncellus subjoins: *Γίνονται σὺν
τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ἔτη ,αχλθ' τῶν ἡ'
δυναστειῶν.* as if 142, and not 146,
were the sum of the dynasty; since
1497+142=1639. But the scheme
of Ptolemy seems to require the sum
given, viz., 146; and Syncellus' to-
tal should have been (1497+7)+
146=1650.

Δυναστεία Θ'

Ηρακλειοπολιτῶν βασιλέων ιθ', οἱ
ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη υθ'. ὃν ὁ πρῶτος

Ἀχθόης, δεινότατος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ
γεγόμενος, τοῖς ἐν πάσῃ Αἰγύπτῳ κακὰ
ἐργάσατο, ὕστερον δὲ μανίῃ περιέπεσι,
καὶ ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου εὐφθάρη.

The sum total to be subjoined
would have been, when corrected,
(1650+409=) 2059: but Syncellus
here ceases to give the sum total;
perhaps perceiving that he has got
wrong above.

Δυναστεία Ι'

Ηρακλειοπολιτῶν βασιλεῶν ιθ', οἱ
ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ρπέ'.

The sum total, when corrected,
would have been (2059+185=)
2244.

Δυναστεία ΙΑ'

Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ις', οἱ ἐβασί-
λευσαν ἔτη μγ'.

Μεθ' οὗς Ἀμμενέμης ἔτη ις'.

Μέχρι τοῦδε τὸν πρῶτον τόμον καταγόοις Μανεθῶ· ὁμοῦ
βασιλεῖς ρζβ', ἔτη βτῆ' [βτγ'], ἡμέραι ο'.

This notice is not from Syncellus, but from Africanus, since Eusebius gives the same numbers, except that he has 2300 years, instead of 2308, a corruption for 2303. That 2303 is the true sum of Ptolemy appears from the sums of the dynasties as reckoned previously, since 2244 with $(43 + 16 =) 59$ added make 2303; and it seems to be required for the sum total of Ptolemy's scheme. So the sum of the kings as now given for Book I. may be made out thus:— $8 + 9 + 9 + 8 + 8 ? + 6 + 70 + 19 ? + 19 + 19 + 16 (= 65 + 127 =) 192$; and that of the years in the same Book thus:— $253 + 302 + 214 + (277 + 7) + 248 + (177 + 6) + 146 + 409 + 185 + (43 + 16) = (1550 + 753 =) 2303$.

TOMOS Β' ΜΑΝΕΘΩ.

Δυναστεία IB'

Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ζ'.

α'. Γεσόνγος, Ἀμμανέμου υἱός, ἔτη μς'.

β'. Ἀμμανέμης ἔτη λή'. ὃς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων εὐνούχων ἀνῆρέθη.

γ'. Σέσωστρις ἔτη μή'. ὃς ἅπασαν ἐχειρώσατο τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐννέα, καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ μέχρι Θράκης, πανταχόσε μνημόσυνα ἐγείρας τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν σχέσεως, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς γενναίοις ἀνδρῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀγενέσι γυναικῶν μόρια ταῖς στήλαις ἐγχαράσων, ὡς ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων μετὰ Ὅσιριν πρῶτον νομισθῆναι.

δ'. Λαχάρης ἔτη η'. ὃς τὸν ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ τη λαβύρινθον ἐαυτῷ τάφῳ κατεσκεύασεν.

ε'. Ἀμμερῆς ἔτη η'.

ς'. Ἀμενέμης ἔτη η'.

ζ'. Σκεμίφορις ἀδελφὴ ἔτη δ'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη ρξ'. $(46 + 38 + 48 + 8 + 8 + 8 + 4 = 160)$.

Δυναστεία II'

Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ξ', οἱ ἑβασίλευσαν ἔτη νη'.

Δυναστεία ΙΔ

Ξοῖτῶν βασιλέων ος', $[λς' + μ?]$ οἱ ἑβασίλευσαν ἔτη ρδ'.

Δυναστεία ΙΕ'

Ποιμένων.

Ἦσαν δὲ Φοίνικες ξένοι βασιλεῖς ς',

οἱ καὶ Μέμφιν εἶλον· οἱ καὶ ἐν τῷ Σεθροῖτῃ νομῷ πόλιν ἔκτισαν, ἀφ' ἧς ὁρμώμενοι Αἰγυπτίους ἐχειρώσαντο. ὧν πρῶτος

α'. Σαῖτης ἑβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιθ'. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Σαῖτης νομός.

β'. Βνῶν ἔτη μδ'.

γ'. Παχρᾶν ἔτη ξα'.

δ'. Σταᾶν ἔτη ν'.

ε'. Ἀρχλῆς ἔτη μθ'.

ς'. Ἀφωβις ἔτη ξα'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη σπδ'. $(19 + 44 + 61 + 50 + 49 + 61 = 284)$.

Δυναστεία ΙΣΤ'

Ποιμένες Ἕλληνες βασιλεῖς λβ' ἑβασίλευσαν ἔτη φη'.

Δυναστεία ΙΖ'

Ποιμένες ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς μγ, καὶ Θηβαῖοι Διοσπολίται μγ· ὁμοῦ οἱ Ποιμένες καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἑβασίλευσαν ἔτη ρνα'.

Δυναστεία ΙΗ'

Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ις', $[ιζ?]$ ὧν πρῶτος

α'. Ἀμωσις $[ἔτη κέ']$ ἐφ' οὗ Μωϋσῆς ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ὡς ἡμεῖς $[δηλαδὴ ὁ Ἀφρικανός]$ ἀποδεικνύομεν.

β'. Χεβρώς ἔτη ιγ'.

γ'. Ἀμενωφθίς ἔτη κδ' $[κα']$.

δ'. Ἀμενσίς ἔτη κβ'.

ε'. Μίσαφρις ἔτη ιγ'.

ς'. Μισφραγουῦθωσις ἔτη κς'.

ζ'. Τούθμωσις ἔτη θ'.	ιβ'. Χεβρής ἔτη ιβ'.
η'. Ἀμινῶφις ἔτη λα'. αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Μίμνων εἶναι νομιζόμενος καὶ φθεγγόμενος λίθος.	ιγ'. Ἀχερρής ἔτη ιβ'.
θ'. Ὡρος ἔτη λζ'. [λς'.]	ιδ'. Ἀρμεσσῆς ἔτη ε' [δ'].
ι'. Ἀχερρής ἔτη ιβ'.	ιε'. Ῥαμεσσῆς ἔτος α'.
ια'. Ῥαθῶς ἔτη ε'.	[ις'. Ἀρμεσσῆς Μιαμμοῦς ἔτη ζς'.]
	ιζ'. Ἀμινῶφις ἔτη ιθ'.
	Ἵμοῦ ἔτη σξγ'. [τμη'.]

The sum of σξγ' (263) belongs apparently to a text which had dropped out Amosis and Rameses Miammous, and for the other names had $13 + (21 + 3) + 22 + 13 + 26 + 9 + 31 + 37 + 32 + 6 + 12 + 12 + 5 + 1 + 20 = 263$. The sum resulting from actual addition of the reigns as copied by Syncellus from Africanus with only 21 years (which is certainly the true number) for Amenoph I., and 19 to the last reign of the dynasty, is 259, which on the restoration of his 25 years to Amosis, and of both the name and 66 years of Rameses Miammous, become 350. But, on comparison of the reigns as filled up in this list to whole years with the years and odd months of the original Manetho, it appears plain that Horus should have 36 not 37, and Armesses 4 not 5 years. The last reign of the dynasty might indeed seem to claim 20 years; but the text of the MSS. gives it only 19, and if another year were added it would have to be retrenched from some other reign, as the sum of the dynasty certainly did not *exceed* 348. But $[25] + 13 + 21 + 22 + 13 + 26 + 9 + 31 + 36 + (12 + 20) + (9 - 3) + 12 + 12 + 4 + 1 [+ 66] + 19$ make together the sum 348. In the number of XVI kings there is no *necessary* error, though the reigns may be XVII, since in these there are XVI kings and one queen, who did not, like Nitocris of Dyn. VI, reign in right of an unnamed husband, but jointly with her brother, Thothmes III., one of the XVI kings named for the dynasty. The note to the 8th name hints the time of Augustus. Then followed:—

Δυναστεία ΙΘ'

Βασιλέων ζ' Διοσπολιτῶν, [ὧν πρῶτος Σέθως, ὁ καὶ Ῥαμεσσῆς, ἐβασίλευσε τὰ πάντα ἔτη να'.

Τούτων τῶν να' τὰ πρῶτα κγ' ἔτη καταριθμοῦνται τῷ τρίτῳ τόμῳ Μανεθῶ.]

It seems that 23 years of Dyn. XIX were included in Manetho's Second Book, which ended with the 23rd year of Sethos, intended perhaps originally to indicate his 8th,

since 15 years prefixed to Dyn. XIX by Manetho really belonged to Dyn. XVIII, into which they were reinserted by Ptolemy, though Manetho's sum for Dyn. XIX was at the same time retained. Both Eusebius and Syncellus have copied from Africanus the following notice placed, where it cannot possibly stand, at the *end* of Dyn. XIX:—

“ Επὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δευτέρου τόμου Μανεθῶ βασιλεῖς 45' [Eusebius has 4β'], ἔτη βρκα'.” that is, “Total in Book II., 96 kings, 2121 years.”

The peculiarity of the Book ending not exactly with the end of Dyn. XVIII of the original Manetho, but after the 23rd year of his Dyn. XIX, was likely to cause some doubt about the proper place for inserting the notice; and this accounts for its being postponed till after the end of the dynasty, instead of interrupting it at its beginning.

What may have been the true number of kings added to the $(7 + 36? + 6 + 17 =) 66$, which perhaps was the number of the original Manetho, is difficult to guess, the sum total given as if from Africanus being 96 according to Syncellus and 92 according to Eusebius, while the number actually resulting from the text is $(1 + 7 + 60 + (36 + 40) + 6 + 32 + (43 + 43) + 17 =) 285$; to which if we suppose Africanus to have added for Dyn. XIX 7 more kings, whom he would be likely to add if he put the sum total of the kings and of the years of the book after the completion of that dynasty, we should obtain the sum of $(1 + 284 + 7) = [2]92$, agreeing in its decads and units with that given by Eusebius. Or, if instead of those in the present text the numbers of the kings were in any garbled edition $7 + [εξ \text{ for } ξ] 26 + [45' \text{ for } 05'] 16 + 6 + 22 + 3 + 16$, they might make up the 96 of Africanus, with an average length of 22 years to each reign, intended to appear reasonable and historical.

The sum given for the years will be made out thus: $160 + 453 + 184 + (259. 10^m. + 24. 2^m.) + 518 + 151 + (333 + 15) + 23 = (960 + 1161 =) 2121$.

TOMOS Γ' MANEΘΩ.

<p>[Μετὰ τὸ κγ' ἔτος τῆς ἐαυτοῦ βασι- λειᾶς α'. Σέθως [ἐβασίλευσεν] ἔτη ἑτέρα κη'.] β'. 'Ραψάκης ἔτη ξα'.</p>	<p>γ'. 'Αμενέφθης ἔτη κ'. δ'. 'Ραμεσῆς ἔτη ξ'. ε'. 'Αμμενεμῆς ε'. [but to suit the sum σθ' read ι'.]</p>
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τ'. Θουωρίς, ὁ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ καλούμενος
Πόλυβος Ἀλκάνδρας ἀνὴρ, ἐφ'
οὗ τὸ Ἰλιον ἔάλω, ἔτη ζ'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη σθ' (51 + 61 + 20
+ 60 + 5 [+5] + 7 = 209,
of which in Book III. were
contained 186.)

Δυναστεία Κ'

Βασιλέων Διοσπολιτῶν ιβ', οἱ ἐβασί-
λευσαν ἔτη ρλε'.

Δυναστεία ΚΑ'

Βασιλέων Τανιτῶν ζ'.

α'. Σμένδης ἔτη κς'.

β'. Ψουσέννης ἔτη μς' [but the sum
ρλ' below requires μα', the read-
ing of Eusebius.]

γ'. Νεφερχερης ἔτη δ'.

δ'. Ἀμμενωφθίς ἔτη θ'.

ε'. Ὁσοχῶς ἔτη ς'.

ς'. Ψιναχίς ἔτη θ'.

ζ'. Ψουσέννης ἔτη ιδ' [but the sum
ρλ' below requires λε', the read-
ing of Eusebius.]

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη ρλ' (26 + 41 + 4 +
9 + 6 + 9 + 35 = 130.)

Δυναστεία ΚΒ'

Βουβαστιτῶν βασιλέων θ'.

α'. Σέσογχις ἔτη κα'.

β'. Ὁσορθῶν ἔτη ιε'.

γ' . . . } ἄλλοι γ', ἔτη κε', [κβ'.]
δ' . . . }
ε' . . . }

ς'. Τακέλλωθις ἔτη ιγ'.

ζ' . . . }
η' . . . } ἄλλοι γ', ἔτη μβ'.
θ' . . . }

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη ρκ' (21 + 15 + 29 ?
+ 13 + 42 = 120.)

Δυναστεία ΚΓ'

Τανιτῶν βασιλέων δ'.

α'. Πετουβάτης ἔτη μ' ἐφ' οὗ, Ὀλυμ-
πιάς ἤχθη α'.

β'. Ὁσορχῶ ἔτη η' ὃν Ἡρακλέα Αἰ-
γύπτιοι καλοῦσι.

γ'. Ψαμμοῦς ἔτη ι'.

δ'. Ζήτ ἔτη λα'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη πθ' (40 + 8 + 10 +
31 = 89.)

Δυναστεία ΚΔ'

Βόγχορις Σαΐτης ἔτη ς'. (6 yrs.)

Africanus here notes "ἔτη θγ'."
i.e. "990 years."

Δυναστεία ΚΕ'

Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλέων γ'.

α'. Σαβακῶν ἔτη η'.

β'. Σεύηχος υἱὸς ἔτη ιδ'.

γ'. Τάρκος ἔτη ιη'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη μ' (8 + 14 + 18 =
40.)

Δυναστεία ΚΣΤ'

Σαΐτῶν βασιλέων θ'.

α'. Ἀμμερίς Αἰθίοψ ἔτη ιβ' [from
Eusebius; not in the copy of
Syncellus.]

β'. Στεφινάτης ἔτη ζ'.

γ'. Νεχεψῶς ἔτη ς'.

δ'. Νεχαῶ ἔτη η'.

ε'. Ψαμμίτιχος ἔτη νδ'.

ς'. Νεχαῶ ἔτη ς' οὗτος (Africanus
adds) εἶλε τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ
Ἰωάχαζ τὸν βασιλέα αἰχμάλωτον
εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπήγαγε.

ζ'. Ψάμμουθις ἔτερος ἔτη ς'.

η'. Οὐάφρις ἔτη ιθ' [ὧ προσέφυγον,
ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων Ἱερουσα-
λήμ, οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπόλοιποι.]

θ'. Ἀμωσις ἔτη μδ'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη ρν', καὶ μῆνας ς'.

[This may be the sum of
the original Manetho; but
Ptolemy rounded off frac-
tions, and his scheme needs
here the 12 years of Am-
meris. So his sum was prob-
ably ρξγ' (12 + 7 + 6 + 8 +
54 + 6 + 7 + 19 + 44 =)
163; for Eusebius gives the
sum 163, and his 7th reign
has, in the place of units,
7, instead of the 6 of Syn-
cellus: but he has made
changes of his own. If
Dyn. XXVI has 163, Dyn.
XXIX must have had 19
only instead of 20.]

Δυναστεία ΚΖ'

Περσῶν βασιλέων η' [really β'.]

α'. Καμβίσης ἔτει ε' τῆς ἐαυτοῦ βασι-

λείας Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου ἔτη ς'.

β'. Δαρεῖος Ὑστάσπου ἔτη λς'.

γ'. Ξέρξης ὁ μέγας ἔτη κα'.

δ'. Ἀρτάβανος μῆνας ζ'.

ε'. Ἀρταξέρξης ἔτη μα'.

ς'. Ξέρξης μῆνας β'.

ζ'. Σογδιανὸς μῆνας ζ'.

η'. Δαρεῖος Ξέρξου ἔτη ιθ'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη ρκδ', μῆνας δ' (6 + 36 + 21 + 7^m + 41 + 2^m + 7^m + 19 = 124, 4^m.)

Ptolemy would not reckon any odd months, but made a sum of 124 full years, even if he did not correct Manetho's unchronological transposition of 3 years from Artaxerxes Mnemon, who is not named, at the end to Cambyses and other kings of the dynasty.

Δυναστεία ΚΗ'

Ἀμυρταῖος Σαῖτης ἔτη ς' [6 years, which are only concurrent, reckoned in compensation of others omitted

above by Manetho, but not reckoned separately in the scheme of Ptolemy.]

Δυναστεία ΚΘ'

Μενδῆσιοι βασιλεῖς δ'

α'. Νεφερίτης ἔτη ς'.

β'. Ἀχωρίς ἔτη ιγ'.

γ'. Ψαμμουθίς ἔτος α'.

δ'. Νεφερίτης μῆνας δ'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη κ', μῆνας δ' (6 + 13 + 1 + 4^m = 20, 4^m.) But here,

again, 1 year and the odd months are unchronological, and Ptolemy, no doubt, reckoned only 19 years to the dynasty.

Δυναστεία Λ'

Σεβεννυτῶν βασιλέων γ'

α'. Νεκτανέβης ἔτη ιη'.

β'. Τέως ἔτη β'.

γ'. Νεκτανέβης ἔτη ιη'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη λη' (18 + 2 + 18 = 38.)

Eusebius, in his *Chronicon*, adds here these words: — “Ochus Ægyptum tenuit, Nectanebo in Æthiopiam pulso, in quo Ægyptiorum regnum destructum est. Huc usque Manetho.” And here should be placed the notice and sum of Africanus for Book III. of Manetho, as named and inserted in his own scheme and compilation by Ptolemy of Mendes.

“Ταῦτα τοῦ τρίτου Μανεθῶ;” and “Ὅμοῦ ἔτη τοῦ τρίτου τόμου αν'.” Which sum may be made out thus:—186 + 135 + 130 + 120 + 89 + 6 + 40 + 163 + 124 + 19 + 38 = 1050.

What follows is Ptolemy's own addition:—

Δυναστεία ΛΑ'

Περσῶν βασιλέων γ'

α'. Ὀχος εἰκοστῷ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου ἔτη ς'.

β'. Ἀρσῆς ἔτη γ'.

γ'. Δαρεῖος ἔτη δ'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη [restore ιγ', τοῦ δε] γ' τόμου, αν'.

But this last sum of 1050 is misplaced, as the scheme of Ptolemy requires us to reckon 13 years *more* than the (2303 + 2121 + 1050 =) 5474 of the three books. Africanus then

adds:—"Μέχρι τῶνδε Μανεθῶ· [i. e. the work of Ptolemy, containing Manetho's three books re-arranged]; τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξ Ἑλληνικῶν συγγραφέων."

So, besides the two cycles of the Gods for the old world, viz.

$$2556 + 9 + 341 + 16 = 2922 \text{ years, and}$$

$$[341] + 16 = 357 \text{ other years of the}$$

Demigods, or of the Demigods and Manes, intended to commence the four cycles, or 5844 years, of the existing world, (all which we suppose Ptolemy to have placed in his Introduction,) the "Chronicle" of the kings digested by him from Manetho's three books in XXXI dynasties and (5844—357=) 5487 years, has now been made out. It begins with that year which in the Old Chronicle, and in all other schemes earlier than this, is the 17th of Cronus, or of human time, which we shall call the Egyptian A.M. 17, and it ought to end at July 20, A.D. 139; but by the artifice of cutting off and throwing back (483—13=) 470 years of the Cycle current when the scheme was made, it is made to end apparently at Nov. 13, in B.C. (345—13=) 332, as if that had been the cyclical epoch. So we may reckon, as we please, either four *pseudo*-cycles, beginning 470 years before the true cyclical epoch of July 20, B.C. 6702, that is, from Thoth 1, = Nov. 13, in B.C. (6702 + 470 +) 7172, and ending 470 years before the true cyclical epoch of July 20, in A.D. 139, that is, at Nov. 13, in B.C. 332; or we may reckon four true cycles, beginning 341 Egyptian years before human time, but from a true cyclical epoch in B.C. 6702, and ending apparently at Nov. 13, in B.C. 332, but really at the true cyclical epoch of July 20, A.D. 139, 470 years being thrown up and given to kings where they would escape notice, so as to avoid the absurdity of seeing the occupation of Egypt by Alexander the Great depressed to A.D. 139.

The summary of Ptolemy's kings made out in English, and with the dates according to the Egyptian years of the world, or of human time, and according to our own reckoning of anticipated Julian or Canicular years B.C., is subjoined, and needs no further explanations than these,—that the additions made by Ptolemy to the XXIII dynasties and 3555 years of Manetho's kings are printed in red; and that in consequence

of the Sothic epochs being at July 20, and in the anticipated Julian or Canicular years B.C. 8622, 7162, 5702, 4242, 2782, and 1322, while the Julian year begins from Jan. 1, the 803rd and 804th Egyptian years of each cycle begin both of them within one and the same anticipated Julian or Canicular year. Hence, for the four cycles which are covered, all but ($[341] + 16 =$) 357 years, by Ptolemy's kings, one year of Egyptian reckoning will seem to be lost in the anticipated Julian years B.C. 4899, 3439, 1979, and 519. To the sums containing each of these years an asterisk is attached. This being borne in mind, Ptolemy has of kings, from Menes:—

In Book I.					From Thoth 1, in
Dyn.	No. of Kings.		Years.	Egyptian A.M. 17, to end of A.M. 369	Canic. yr. B.C. (5702 — 557 =) 5545 to Thoth 1 in 5092 B.C.
I.	8	Thinities - - - -	253	571	4791*
II.	9	Thinities - - - -	302	785	4577
III.	9	Memphites - - - -	214	1069	4293
IV.	8	Memphites - - - -	(277 + $\frac{1}{2}$)	1317	4045
V.	9	Elephantinites - -	248	1520	3845
VI.	6	Memphites - - - -	(197 + $\frac{1}{2}$)	—	—
VII.	70	Memphites - - - -	— 70 days	—	—
VIII.	27	Memphites - - - -	146	1666	3696
IX.	19	Heracleopolites - -	409	2075	3288*
X.	19	Heracleopolites - -	185	2260	3103
XI.	(16+1)	Diospolites - - - -	(43+16)	2319	3044
Sum, (66+135 =) 201 kings, (1550+753 =) 2303 years.					

In Book II.

XII.	7	Diospolites - - -	160	2479	2884
XIII.	60	Diospolites - - -	{ 443 19	2922	2431
				2932	2441
XIV.	[36+40 ²]	Xoites? - - - -	184	3116	2247
			23	3139	2224
XV.	6	Shepherds - - - -	{ 259, 10m. 1. 2m. }	from 5033 to 5294	from B.C. 332 to B.C. 71
				to 5503	to A.D. 139
XVI.	32	Shepherds - - - -	{ 209 309	3329	1916*
XVII.	[43+43]	Shepherds - - - -	151	3599	1765
XVIII.	16	Diospolites - - - -	(333+15)	3947	1417
XIX.	[1+5]	Diospolites - - - -	23	370	1394
[Sum of Book II., (66 + 21*) = 284 kings, (960 + 1161) = 2121 yrs.] }					

Then in Book III.

			186	4156	1208
XX.	12	Diospolites - - -	135	4291	1073
XXI.	7	Tanites - - - -	130	4421	943
XXII.	9	Bubastites - - - -	120	4541	823
XXIII.	4	Tanites - - - -	89	4630	734
XXIV.	1	Saite - - - -	6	4636	728
XXV.	3	Ethiopians - - - -	40	4676	688
XXVI.	9	Saites - - - -	(159+5)	4839	525
XXVII.	8	Persians - - - -	124 [4m.]	4963	402*
XXVIII.	1	Saite - - - -	[6]	—	—
XXIX.	4	Mendesians? - - -	19 [+1.4m.]	4982	383
XXX.	3	Sebennytes - - -	38	5020	345

Sum, 66 kings, (1045+5) = 1050 years.

XXXI.	3	Persians - - - -	13	5033	332
Totals, 66 + 66 + 66 = 198 } = 551 kings, and { 1550 + 960 + 1045 = 3555 } = 5487 years.					
135 + 218 — = 353 } { 753 + 1161 + 5 = 1919 + 13 }					

Those allusions or statements of Africanus from which the scheme now before the reader has been reconstructed, are no doubt only meagre, and the materials supplied by his lists for the details of the reconstruction are derived from two or more sources mixed together, and sometimes only doubtfully distinguishable. It is true that their inconsistencies and ambiguities are to some extent explainable by the hypothesis that Ptolemy, while professing to compile his chronicle from the larger work of Manetho, stated and reproduced unaltered, in citations and extracts, some part of those materials which he used with alterations in the construction of his own scheme. This hypothesis will account for the fact that Africanus found, in the book which he followed, both a notice of the Old Chronicle, and the full unreduced sums of years belonging to the seven mythological groups of the original Manetho. It will account for the division of the lists of kings into *three books* under the name of *Manetho*, and for all the incidental confusion thence arising, both as to the works themselves and their authors, and as to the details of their contents. It will account very well for such double notices as are now given by Eusebius and Syncellus; once, for instance, after Dyn. XXX, we read "*Huc usque Manetho*;" and again after Dyn. XXXI, "*Cuncta hæc e Manethonis tertio libro*." It may even account for such an inconsistency as this, that in the text under Dyn. VI Phiops is said to have reigned "*from the age of six years*" to that of a hundred, while in the figures attached for his reign, and in the sum of the dynasty, the whole hundred years of his life are reckoned as a *reign*; for the notice might have been retained, as if through inattention, from the original Manetho; and the list of Eratosthenes had already prepared the way for Ptolemy to treat the whole life of Phiops as one reign. But in the lists of Africanus there is a mixture of figures and sums proper to the scheme of the original Manetho, and needed by it, but incompatible with the scheme of Ptolemy (one may instance the sums of 277 years given for Dyn. IV, and 150.6^m. for Dyn. XXVI), with others proper to the scheme of Ptolemy, but incompatible with that of the original Manetho (instances of which

are the sums of 284 years made by adding up the reigns enumerated for Dyn. IV, that of 203 given for Dyn. VI, and that of 284 given for Dyn. XV). And this mixture of the two schemes cannot be explained in the same way; for Ptolemy cannot well be supposed to have exhibited in detail the lists of the original Manetho unaltered, and side by side as it were with them the same lists as altered and added to by himself. We are driven therefore to suppose (since there is no sign that either Eusebius knew anything of Manetho except through Africanus or Josephus, or Africanus except through that one edition or compilation which he used, and which we ascribe to Ptolemy), that Ptolemy's work had already, before the time of Africanus, been altered in places by transcribers, who, having seen, or having before them, the original work of Manetho, or other compilations or extracts made from it not identical with that of Ptolemy, and seeing Ptolemy's lists of kings to be professedly a chronicle extracted from the three books of Manetho, thought that they were merely correcting errors and corruptions of the text when they substituted anywhere for its figures or sums others which they knew to be from the original source.

Owing to the insufficiency of our positive information respecting this scheme and its author, and the uncertainty sometimes attaching to the materials used in reconstructing it, a number of conclusions involved in our attempted reconstruction may seem open to suspicion or objection; especially at first sight, and so long as they are considered only separately. Some assumptions may seem altogether arbitrary; others, even though probable in themselves, are unproved; while in some cases some other method than that followed may appear to be equally admissible or preferable.

Even though it be admitted that Ptolemy or some other author took for the basis of his scheme the principle of reduction, applied this method to the myriads of the Chronicle, and exhibited a sum total of 8000 or 9000 years, it may not be perceived at once that there are sufficient grounds for asserting that Ptolemy, or the unknown author alluded to, left 16 years, and 16 only, of the 2922 of the XIII

Gods of the Chronicle, that is, the first 16 of its human time, untransferred to kings; while his addition to Manetho's 3555 years of kings consisted of precisely 1919 years above and 13 below Nectanebo, making in all 1932 years.

Or, supposing this general outline of the scheme to be admitted, at least as an hypothesis, it may seem to need explanation why the sum of 2300 years (the common reading) for the years of the dynasties and kings in Book I. should be departed from, and 2303 substituted, while the sums of 2121 and 1050 years given for Books II. and III., are respected and retained; though it was possible to retain and exhibit also the sum of 2300 for Book I. by cutting off the two units from the reign of Menes, and a third unit from another reign of the same dynasty, justification for which might be obtained from variants offered by Eusebius. And if this had been done, Eusebius, as if in compensation, would have justified us also in giving 16 instead of 13 years to Dyn. XXXI.

If one casts an eye over the dynasties in detail, on coming to Dyn. IV, it may seem at first sight arbitrary to adopt the sum of 284 made by adding up the reigns as they stand in the present text of Syncellus, rather than the sum given, which is 274, or that found by Syncellus, which was 277. As regards Dyn. VIII a less plausible objection may occur, if any one think that the sum found by Syncellus, which was 142, was rather to be trusted than the sum of 146 as merely given for the dynasty and unchecked by any enumeration of names and reigns.

On Dyn. XII a more important question may be raised. For if, it may be said, in spite of our general distrust of Eusebius, we have been unable to fill up the outline of Ptolemy's scheme without the assistance of variants supplied by him, (for in Dyn. XXVI we have taken the name of *Ammeris* with 12 years, and one other year besides, from the lists of Eusebius,) why did we not rather notice another reading afforded by Eusebius much earlier, in Dyn. XII, where there is so much less reason to suspect him of altering for purposes of his own? For in Dyn. XII the 5th king, Amenemhe III., whose 45th year is marked on the monu-

ments, and to whom the list of Eratosthenes gives 43 years, has according to Manetho, in the lists of Africanus and Syncellus, only 8 years; and this by no mere error of the text; as the sum given for the dynasty, and made out by the reigns, is only 160 years. But in the lists as given by Eusebius the last three reigns of Dyn. XII have together 42 years, which is the same thing as to say that Amenemhe III. has to himself 30 instead of 8 years, 22 more than in the lists of Africanus. Now if this reading had been adopted and ascribed to Ptolemy, so that Dyn. XII should have had 182 instead of 160 years, it might have been assumed that his sums for Dyn. XVIII and Dyn. XIX were 333 and 209, identical with those of Manetho; and so the 2121 years of Book II. of the Manetho of Ptolemy would have been completed with the 16th instead of the 23rd year of Dyn. XIX; thus: $182 + 453 + 184 + 284 + 518 + 151 + 333 + 16 = 2121$. And in Book III. the 1050 years would have been made out without any necessity of again having recourse to Eusebius to supply years to be added to Dyn. XXVI. Only, it is true, the odd months of Manetho's Dynasties XXVI and XXVII, and one unchronological year as well as the odd months of his Dyn. XXIX, would have been suppressed as unsuited to the method of Ptolemy, while the 6 years of Manetho's Dyn. XXVIII, equally unchronological, would have been retained and reckoned. (For $193 + 135 + 130 + 120 + 89 + 6 + 40 + 150 + 124 + 6 + 19 + 38$ make 1050.) A further recommendation of this method might be suggested by the circumstance, that if it had been followed the synchronism of Petubast (the first king of Manetho's Dyn. XXIII) with the commencement of the Olympiads would have been just exhibited; whereas, if Ptolemy's scheme was really such as we have made it out for him, the 40 years of Petubast would seem to end in the 7th year before the first Olympiad. For if from B.C. 345 we go back $38 + 19 + 6 + 124 + 150 + 40 + 6 + 89$ Egyptian years, they give us March 16, B.C. 816, for the head of Dyn. XXIII and the accession of Petubast, if antedated so as to commence from Thoth 1. In that case his 40th year would end on the eve of Thoth 1, March 6, B.C. 776, the Olympiads com-

mencing in July, above 4 months later, in the same year. But the 40th year of Petubast, as reckoned from his actual accession, might fairly be understood to end some months later, so as to include the Olympic era. But with that other method which we have preferred, $38 + 19 + 124 + 163 + 40 + 6 + 89$ years reckoned from B.C. 345, give March 18, B.C. 823, for the head of Dyn. XXIII and the accession of Petubast as antedated from Thoth 1; and so his 40th year would end in B.C. $(823 - 40 =)$ 783.

Again, as regards Dyn. XVIII, it may be objected that the sum of 348 years given to it by us is justified neither by the sum of the original Manetho, known from Josephus to have been 333, nor by the sum given for the dynasty in the lists of Africanus as copied by Syncellus, for this is only 263 (to say nothing here of Eusebius); nor, lastly, by the sum obtainable from the reigns as they stand in the same lists of Africanus, for this sum would be 259. But it is manifest that the figures for the reign of Amosis, the head of this dynasty, and both the name and the figures of the last reign but one, have been dropped out from the lists of Africanus in the copy of Syncellus; and, when 25 and 66 years are restored for these two reigns, the sum exhibited is raised to $(259 + 25 + 66 =)$ 350 years, and then by a slight and necessary correction of two reigns it becomes 348.

But if 348 were the sum of Dyn. XVIII, this would seem to imply as a consequence that the sum of Dyn. XIX also should be reduced from the 209 years of Manetho to 194, the sum of the Chronicle; since the first 15 years prefixed to Dyn. XIX by Manetho have been shown to be abstracted and transposed by him from Dyn. XVIII, to which in the Chronicle they belong. Else, if Ptolemy not only retains uncorrected Manetho's unchronological suppressions and compensations, but even inserts fresh unchronological sums of his own, what is to be said of that reputation for "exactness" which is ascribed to him by Africanus and by others?

What has been said above on Dyn. XII has anticipated for the most part such objections as may be excited by finding in Dyn. XXVI Manetho's sum of 150 years and 6 months filled up to 151 years, and further increased to the

sum of 163 by an additional reign obtained from the lists of Eusebius. The synchronism of Petubast with the first Olympiad, which may have been given first by Manetho, but which at any rate seems to have been retained by Ptolemy, cannot with this arrangement be exhibited. And either, it may be said, Ptolemy would retain *all*, or, to be consistent with himself, he would suppress *all* the unchronological years and odd months of Manetho. In the latter case only the omission of Psammicherites, with his 6 months, at the end of Dyn. XXVI would be justifiable; but then the reigns of Dynasties XXVII and XXIX also should be recast, so as to exhibit 124 and 19 years respectively, without fractions; and Dyn. XXVIII with its 6 years ought to be suppressed altogether, unless some of the years of Dyn. XXVII were cut off to make room for it, as seems to be attempted by Eusebius. And, even if all these changes could be made with less violence than is possible, there would still remain other unchronological years above, needing, not indeed to be cut off like those below, but to be transposed to their true places, if "exactness" were really aimed after. But as it is unlikely that Ptolemy would suppress Dyn. XXVIII so as to disarrange the numbering of the later dynasties, it is rather to be supposed that its six years entered into his scheme and were reckoned, and that, if we have made so many other years as to be obliged to exclude them, at least from reckoning, the fault is probably with ourselves.

Lastly, as regards Dyn. XXXI:—Why, it may be asked, is this dynasty to be reckoned separately, after the completion of the sum of 1050 years given for Book III., when yet the notice respecting the end of Book III. and the sum of 1050 years is put, both by Eusebius and by Syncellus, not after Dyn. XXX, but after Dyn. XXXI, and so, no doubt, was put also by Africanus?

The above and other similar objections and suspicions which are likely to present themselves, some or other of them, to the reader in the first instance, need not perhaps to be discussed further, nor to be all replied to at length, because answers will occur of themselves after a while to any one

who considers each point not only as if it stood alone, but in its connection with others, and with the general reconstruction of the scheme. But there are one or two other synchronisms, besides that of Petubast and the first Olympiad, which seem to have been indicated by Ptolemy, and which, whether they were retained from the original Manetho or introduced by Ptolemy himself, deserve a more particular attention.

As regards the synchronism of Petubast, it makes little against the method we have preferred that it fails to exhibit it for Ptolemy, if it be allowed that Ptolemy in all probability did not originate but merely retained the notice of it from Manetho; for Manetho, when his lists are digested into a series apparently chronological, does not himself exhibit this synchronism. If we go up from B.C. 345, according to the lists of Manetho, $38 + 20.4^m. + 6 + 124.4^m. + 150.6^m. + 40 + 6 + 89$ years, to the head of Dyn. XXIII, we arrive at B.C. 818; and if we reckon downwards from thence 40 years for the reign of Petubast, we find it to end in B.C. 778, two years before the Olympic era. In order to bring it down low enough to include the summer of B.C. 776 (or 777), one must omit in reckoning the 8 unchronological years inserted by Manetho in his Dynasties XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, and XXIX; and even then the synchronism will be exhibited only in appearance; since we are as far as ever from a true chronological reckoning if we only omit to reckon Manetho's unchronological additions, unless we also reinsert those years which he has unchronologically omitted; and when this is done, Petubast will rise up again far above the Olympic era. For $38 + 19 + 124 + 177 + 44 + 44 + 19$ years (reckoned upwards from B.C. 345, according to the scale of the Chronicle as if equivalent to Manetho's lists between Nectanebo and Petubast), take us to B.C. 810 (which is no less than 34 years above the first Olympiad) for the death of Petubast and the accession of Osorchon. Close accuracy then is not to be looked for in the lists when Manetho is the authority; but any such statement as this, which was taken probably from the text of Manetho's narrative, not from any portion of hieratic lists such as he interposed at

intervals, is to be considered by itself; and, so considered, it may very likely turn out to be true. Indeed we have already seen (at p. 246) that the name of Petubast is itself transposed by Manetho so as to seem to stand above the two reigns of Osorchon and Psammous, identifiable with the two generations of Dyn. XXIII of the Chronicle, while the Chronicle by its number of *three* generations, instead of one only, and 44 instead of only 6 years for Dyn. XXIV implies that Petubast from above and Zet or Technatis from below are the first and second, and Bocchoris the third and last king of that Tanite dynasty. But as its 44 years commenced in B.C. 790, the Olympic era is at once seen to belong to the beginning of the 15th year of Petubast, and the synchronism asserted in Manetho's narrative, and copied thence into Ptolemy's lists, is justified as true and historical, though to a Greek, who did not take it simply upon trust, it would appear to be irreconcilable with the lists, unless he knew that they contained transpositions. Africanus seems to have had some idea of this truth, to judge from a note attached by him to Dyn. XXIV, the first king of which was really Petubast, as has been said above, with two successors, but which in the lists of Africanus has only one king, Bocchoris, and only 6 years. For Africanus has marked as a note or calculation at this dynasty "990 years," an indication probably that he was seeking for the synchronism of Petubast and the Olympic era, and that he made 990 years from the date at which he was writing up to that to which he meant his memorandum to be attached. But from B.C. 776, 990 years would take us to A.D. 213 for the date of Africanus' writing; or, if we take the year A.D. 221 as the probable date of his writing, 990 years would take us up to B.C. 770 in the 20th year of Petubast and of Dyn. XXIV according to the Chronicle. So then, in order to suit exactly the Olympic era, either Africanus should have marked 985 (996) instead of 990, or he should be supposed to have been already writing in A.D. 213.

Again, there is a notice connected in the lists of Africanus with the last name of Dyn. XIX, *Thouoris*, that "he is the Polybus of Homer, in whose time Troy was taken."

This notice too, like the last, may probably be from the original Manetho, and only retained by Ptolemy. In any case it offers no difficulty. For, on the one hand, it would be almost a matter of course that Manetho should put the taking of Troy somewhat higher than B.C. 1183, the date which afterwards prevailed through the influence of Eratosthenes; while Ptolemy, if the synchronism had originated with him, might have been likely to assign rather the later date. And yet, on the other hand, as the choice of a *name* to identify with Polybus may have weighed somewhat, it would be nothing wonderful if either Manetho, for some reason connected with the sound of a name, should have assigned a date later by 20 or 30 years than that which he had found in Herodotus (i. e. than B.C. 1250?), or Ptolemy a date 20 or 30 years earlier than that to which the taking of Troy had been brought down by Eratosthenes. The chronological dislocations of Manetho below Dyn. XIX compensating one another within a little, his apparent date for the end of Dyn. XIX is in B.C. 1203, only 3 years short of that of the Chronicle, which is in B.C. 1206; and that of Ptolemy, according to our reconstruction, is in B.C. 1207, one year above the date of the Chronicle. So there is no great difference. And Manetho's apparent date for Troy, if Thouoris reigned 7 years ending with the end of the dynasty, would be in one of the seven years between B.C. 1210 and B.C. 1203; that of Ptolemy would be in one of the seven years between B.C. 1214 and B.C. 1207; while, according to the true chronology of the Chronicle, it should be in one of the seven years between B.C. 1213 and 1206; though the king named Thouoris in the lists with the short reign of 7 years does not appear to have reigned historically during the last 7 years of the dynasty; but rather he seems to have been associated during 7 years with the king named next before him in the lists, who also survived him and reigned in all not less than 17 years. So, if the synchronism were meant to be attached strictly and inseparably to one of the seven years of Thouoris, it should be carried back in all probability to some year of the seven lying between Thoth 1 in B.C. ($1206 + 17 =$) 1223, and B.C. 1216. But perhaps in

this case the year intended was connected only with the *apparent reign* and with the garbled *name* of Thouoris, and was in itself one of the last seven years of the dynasty, lying between B.C. 1213 and B.C. 1206 according to the Chronicle, but according to Ptolemy's apparent chronology between B.C. 1214 and B.C. 1207, the last year of Thouoris beginning in B.C. 1208.

And going back from B.C. 1203 or 1207, that is, from the apparent end of Dyn. XIX of Manetho or of Ptolemy, 209 years to the apparent head of Dyn. XIX, where we know from Josephus that Manetho put ostensibly the synchronism of his *Armais* or *Danaus*, and his *Sethos-Rameses* or *Ægyptus*, we should obtain either B.C. 1412 or B.C. 1416, with an interval of about 200 years for the eight Greek generations reckoned between the flight of Danaus and Troy, while the common Greek reckoning gave to this interval, 316 years. Here again it is probable that the original Manetho, whose Sethos-Rameses is only a mythical personage, and whose first 15 years prefixed to Dyn. XIX are unchronological, alluded in his text under the surface and indirectly to Rameses II., Miammous, and to a brother Armais or Rameses, whom that king really left to govern Egypt for some years, while he was himself absent and pursuing his conquests in Asia. And Ptolemy may have done in this case as he did in that of Petubast, retaining from Manetho a synchronism not justified by the lists, and understanding with Manetho what historical persons and events were really pointed at. That Ptolemy did thus retain the synchronism at the head of Dyn. XIX by implication, if not expressly, is rendered probable by the changes he has made in Manetho's first two reigns of this dynasty, cutting off 8 from that of Sethos, as if in allusion to the 8 years of Armais, and 13 from the first and second together, as if in allusion to the 13 of the exile of Sethos and his father Amenoph in Ethiopia. And besides, as we shall see presently, that place in the lists where Manetho had put the synchronism, that is about B.C. 1400, suited well Ptolemy's Greek chronology as a middle point between Inachus and Troy, whereas the historical date *alluded to* by Manetho

and *understood* by Ptolemy, which was 86 years higher, about B.C. 1486, would have been quite incompatible with Ptolemy's Greek chronology for Inachus. This is the more to be considered because Eusebius has actually attached the synchronism to that part of Dyn. XVIII really alluded to by Manetho, identifying *Rameses II.*, *Miammous*, son of Sethos I., with *Ægyptus*, and *Armessou*, who stands next but one before him in Manetho's lists, and who really is his grandfather, with his "brother *Armais*," and with *Danaus*. But this synchronism of Eusebius is probably no more copied from Ptolemy, that is, from the Manetho of Africanus, than that of Achencheres and Moses, which Eusebius also gives just before, and which, as Syncellus remarks, is peculiar to himself, and asserted only because it suits his own system. So according to the synchronism ostensibly asserted for *Ægyptus* and *Danaus* at the head of Dyn. XIX, there would be by the lists both of Manetho and of Ptolemy, apparently, (B.C. 1203 or 1207, to B.C. 1412 or 1416) 209 years between *Danaus* and *Troy*; but according to the chronology *understood* and *alluded to* by Manetho, there would be (B.C. 1486 — 1212 =) 274 years between *Danaus* and *Troy*, giving an average length of $34\frac{3}{4}$ years to the eight Greek generations.

Lastly, there is a synchronism which is known with certainty to have been given by Ptolemy, being repeatedly quoted as from him, and being found also in the lists of Africanus, but which we have no reason for ascribing to the original Manetho, viz., that of *Amosis*, the founder of Dyn. XVIII, and of *Moses* and the *Exodus* with *Inachus*, the first king of *Argos*. The apparent date for the accession of *Amosis* and the expulsion of the *Shepherds*, with whom Manetho, and Ptolemy as it seems after him, purposely confounded the *Hebrews*, is according to Manetho in B.C. (1412 + 333 =) 1745; according to Ptolemy, in B.C. (1416 + 348 =) 1764; according to the true chronology, understood by both, in B.C. (1400 + 348 =) 1748. But between *Troy* and *Inachus* the Greeks commonly reckoned in the time of Manetho XVII generations; viz. IX to the flight of *Danaus*, thus:—*Inachus* with 50 years, + *Phoroneus* 60, + *Apis* 35, + *Argus* 70, + *Criasus* 54, + *Phorbas* 35, +

Triopas 46, + Crotopus 21, + Sthenelus 11, making 382 years; and then VII more to the taking of Troy, thus:— Danaus 58, + Lynceus 35, + Abis 37, + Prætus 17, + Acrisius 33, + Pelops 53, + Atreus 65, + Agamemnon 18; making 316 years. So to the whole XVII generations they gave a sum total of 698 years, being an average length of 41 years to each generation. With this sum of years for the interval, the accession of Inachus would be at B.C. $(1250 + 698 =)$ 1948, or at B.C. $(1183 + 698 =)$ 1881, or at some intermediate point, according as the capture of Troy, the basis of the upward reckoning, were put with Herodotus about B.C. 1250, or with Eratosthenes at B.C. 1183, or at some intermediate point. And even if the date assigned for Troy were that of Eratosthenes, still the accession of Inachus would be put 136 or 117 years above that of Amosis according to the apparent chronology of the lists of Manetho and of Ptolemy; and 133 years above it $(1881 - 1748 = 133)$ according to the true chronology. But if Manetho or Ptolemy had allowed to the XVI full Greek generations an average of only $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, and had so reckoned up, Manetho from B.C. 1204, or Ptolemy from B.C. 1213, $(233\frac{1}{3} + 18 =)$ 251, and again 300 years, they might have placed the flight of Danaus at B.C. 1455, or B.C. 1464, and the accession of Inachus at B.C. 1755 or B.C. 1764 respectively: and then the accession of Amosis and the expulsion of the Shepherds would have seemed to be for Manetho in the tenth year of Inachus, and for Ptolemy in the *first*. And from Eratosthenes' date for Troy, B.C. 1183, XVII similar generations, *all full*, would give for Danaus B.C. 1449, and for Inachus B.C. 1749, only one year above the true date for the accession of Amosis. So then a synchronism of Inachus with Amosis, and with the Exodus (of the Shepherds) *might have been* asserted by the original Manetho, if it had pleased him, but not *that* synchronism of the *accessions* of Inachus and Amosis, which was generally understood to be asserted by Ptolemy of Mendes.

But whatever Manetho might, or would, have done, Ptolemy, writing after Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, would not be likely to give to the XVII Greek generations between Inachus and Troy an average of nearly 41 years each, so

greatly exceeding any allowed to his own Egyptian kings. And Ptolemy knew as well as Manetho that Moses and the Exodus of the Hebrews, and the king under whom they went out, by whatever name miscalled, were really neither 698 years before the end of Dyn. XIX of Manetho or the capture of Troy, nor 1020, nor 969, 988, or 972 years before the first Olympiad. And Tatian, the earliest Christian writer (a native too of the East) who quotes from Ptolemy the synchronism of Moses Amosis and Inachus, was so far from understanding like Africanus after him any such antiquity, that he remarks that “*if* Moses was 20 generations” [he should rather have found 19, if the Egyptian generations XIV + V = XIX of Dyn. XVIII of the Chronicle were meant, as is probable, for the Greek names are only XVII] “before Troy, he was therefore 400 years before Troy.” But 400 years would give to 20 generations only 20 years apiece. This is no doubt too little; and Clemens, in following Tatian, either quotes him more fully, or explains and corrects the inadequacy of his expressions, writing “twenty or more generations,” [the Egyptian generations of Manetho would be XVI + V = XXI, even without reckoning Thouoris, the last king of Dyn. XIX,] “and 400 years *and above*” (γενεαὶ μὲν εἴκοσιν ἢ πλείους, ἔτη δὲ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τετρακόσια καὶ πρόσω), which will suit any number over 400 and under 500. And the average of the Egyptian Chronicle adopted by Eratosthenes, if applied to the XIX Egyptian generations of the Chronicle between Amosis and Thouoris, as if identical with XVIII Greek reigns allowed between Inachus and Agamemnon, would give ($24\frac{1}{2} \times 18 =$) 441 years for XVIII whole generations, to which if we add 18 years only of a nineteenth, answering to the 18 of Agamemnon, we have in all 459. But we have found Dynasty XIX ending according to Ptolemy’s apparent chronology (which here differs by only one year from the true) in B.C. 1207. And if we name the beginning rather than the end of the 7th and last year of his Thouoris or Polybus as intended for the synchronism of Troy, and go back from thence, that is, from B.C. 1208 (which was Castor’s date for Troy, and may have been followed by Ptolemy), 459 years, they take us for the acces-

sion of Inachus, to Thoth 1, in B.C. 1667, which is 81 years after the accession of the *true* Amosis and the expulsion of the Shepherds. And Clement of Alexandria, deriving his information, whether directly or indirectly, from some Egyptian source, most probably through Tatian from Ptolemy, writes:—"Γίνεται ἡ ἔξοδος κατὰ Ἰναχον, πρὸ τῆς Σωθιακῆς περιόδου ἐξελθόντος ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου Μωσέως ἔτεσι πρότερον τμεί·" "*Moses went out from Egypt, in the time of Inachus, 345 years before the Sothic Period;*" that is, before the cyclical epoch of July 20, B.C. 1322. But 345 added to 1322 give also the year B.C. 1667.

So then it seems that Ptolemy, in coupling together the names of "Amosis" and Moses, followed Manetho, who had purposely confused the Exodus of the Hebrews with the expulsion of the Shepherds; but that in his synchronism of both together with Inachus he had in view the true date of the Exodus of the Hebrews *rather* than that of the commencement of Dyn. XVIII and the expulsion of the Shepherds. And yet he has not hit exactly upon the true date for the Exodus, but has missed it in so peculiar a way as seems to show that he had some acquaintance with the sacred books of the Jews. For his calculation of the date of the Exodus, making an interval of exactly 81 years from the head of Dyn. XVIII, seems to go upon the supposition that Moses was born in the first year of this dynasty, and that 80 years were to be reckoned from the year of his birth to the Exodus. This same error precisely has been fallen into by Christian writers, and is embodied in the Egyptian lists of Anianus and Panodorus, and of Syncellus. Yet the inference that Ptolemy was following, though inaccurately and without acknowledgment, the writings of Moses himself, when he put the Exodus in B.C. 1667, is certainly open to some slight doubt, owing to the synchronistic coincidence of his Greek reckoning; since, if we assume Ptolemy's date for Troy to have been fixed on independent grounds of its own to B.C. 1208, then the date B.C. 1667 seems to result of itself from the calculation upwards of XVIII Greek generations, allowed as parallel to as many Egyptian, at the average length of $24\frac{1}{2}$ years, besides 18 years of a nine-

teenth to parallel the 18 years of Agamemnon. And this date, B.C. 1667, being *near* to the true date for the Exodus (which is B.C. 1654), the joint accessions of the mythical Amosis and of Inachus might be fixed to this date without any knowledge or consideration of the accident that it marks also the 80th year of Moses, and so far is the very same which Jewish and Christian writers would be likely of themselves, and erroneously, to fix upon for the Exodus, by calculating as if Moses was born in the very first year of that dynasty the founder of which had not known Joseph. But the assumption that B.C. 1208, rather than any other year of the seven of Thouris, was fixed upon by Ptolemy, and on independent grounds of its own, for his synchronism of Troy rests upon no sufficient foundation; and, besides that, XIX generations reckoned back from B.C. 1208, with the average length of $24\frac{1}{2}$ years to all of them, would take us back not precisely to B.C. 1667, but to B.C. 1674.

After the principle of reduction, the main peculiarity of Ptolemy's scheme consists in the creation of seven fresh dynasties, with a vast number of anonymous kings, instead of the seven mythological dynasties of Manetho, or in addition to Manetho's XXIII dynasties of kings after Menes. This addition was prompted, most likely, as has been conjectured above, by a desire of compensating in some sense for the sacrifice of antiquity made by admitting the principle of reduction, and by surrendering those myriads of years which had been scoffed at by the Greeks. But a joint or contributing influence may probably be traced in the existence of certain materials which seemed suitable for facilitating and justifying such an amplification: what these materials were we proceed to consider.

We are told by Herodotus, that when he was in Egypt, about B.C. 450, the priests of Phthah, at Memphis, read out to him from a book, that is, from one of their hieratic papyri, 330 or 331 names of kings from Menes to the immediate predecessor (not really Mœris) of Sesostris; and from the death of the predecessor of Sesostris, he was told, to his own time there had intervened "less than 900 years." So the accession of *this* Sesostris was put at a point of time

somewhat later than B.C. ($450 + 900 =$) 1350. This date, as well as the mention of the *naval power* of the king and conqueror alluded to, fix the compound and mythical personage of Sesostris, *so far as these particulars are concerned*, to be neither Sesortasen I. nor Rameses II., but Rameses III., whose *ships*, as well as his cavalry and his conquests, are mentioned also by Manetho, though under a double and mythical name ($\Sigma\acute{\epsilon}\theta\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \acute{o}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \text{'}\text{Ρ}\alpha\mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\eta}\varsigma$), and at a false date, viz. at the head of Dyn. XIX, of which he was really the third legitimate king.

As regards the assertion that the name of Rameses III. was preceded in the hieratic lists by 330 or 331 other kings, some doubt is thrown on the exact accuracy of this number by the fact that Herodotus reckons downwards from *this* Sesostris only eleven kings to the abdication of the Ethiopian Sabaco and the deliverance of Sethon; and to these eleven kings he gives 341 years, as if they represented ten perfect generations of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years each, and one similar imperfect generation; whereas really from B.C. 1350 (which is 900 years before Herodotus), or from some date a little later, to the retirement of the Ethiopian Tirhakah (the three Ethiopians being blended together under the name of Sabaco), in B.C. 702, which is the historical event and date alluded to, there are not 341 only, but 648 years (or something under), during which the lists of Manetho (from Rameses III. to Tirhakah inclusively) give the names of not 11 only but ($5 + 12 + 7 + 9 + 4 + 1 + 3 =$) 41 kings; and the hieratic papyri are not likely to have contained a less number. And, after Sethon, Herodotus having still *according to his own showing* something under ($900 - 341 =$) 559 years, but according to the truth about ($900 - 648 =$) 252 years, out of 900 to account for, names only the "Dodecarchy" in which Psammitichus I. was a partner, and six kings of Dyn. XXVI, from Psammitichus I. to Psammenitus inclusively, with a sum between them of (according to his reckoning) 146 years; and after these again he names the Persian kings from Cambyses to Artaxerxes Longimanus, with, as we may presume, their true reckoning in years. So that in all he names or reckons

below Rameses III. fewer kings than are contained in Manetho's lists, and fewer than were contained in the papyri, by at least 33; and it may be suspected that this number of names by which he falls short *below* Sesostris, was thrown up and added by the priests in enumerating the kings *above*, so that there were really in their papyri only about $(331 - 33 =) 298$ names before Rameses III. instead of 331. But on the other hand it is not expressly said that "the priests continuing *read out* eleven and only eleven names from Sesostris to Sethon;" but it may be that Herodotus heard only of those eleven whom he names, and collected for himself that this was the whole number; whereas in truth those eleven names were mentioned only in connection with three subjects, viz. the foundation of the Propylæa and other monuments which Herodotus had before his eyes at the moment, the origin of the neighbouring pyramids, and the origin of that dynasty under which the ancestors of his Greek interpreters first settled in Egypt, the last native Memphite or Saitico-Memphite dynasty, which had reunited all Egypt after the rule of the Ethiopians, had obtained supremacy by the help of Greek mercenaries, and had immediately preceded the Persians who were then masters. The first of these three subjects was connected with the later Sesostris, whether as Rameses II. or III., and his immediate successors; the second with the successors of Sesostris as Sesortasen I., (whose predecessor was Mœris or Papa Maire); and, one mythical personage having been made out of three or more kings, the Memphite pyramids, transposed so as to follow after 18 Ethiopians and even after the latest Sesostris, who was Rameses III., served to cloke the suppression of long dynasties and years really filled with the glories of Theban supremacy. These, in the opinion of the Memphite priests, it was best to leave strangers to discover, if they could, for themselves.

There is yet another ground for suspicion against Herodotus' sum of 330 or 331 kings before Rameses III. in a story related by him concerning Hecataeus of Miletus, who visited Egypt a little earlier than himself in the same century. For he says that the priests of Ammon at Thebes,

on Hecataeus' boasting that the sixteenth ancestor of his countrymen was a god, took him into their temple and showed him there 345 wooden images of priests, who had had exactly as many kings for their contemporaries, "all *men*, sons of men," (*piromis*, sons of *piromis*,) who had followed one another in succession since the *last* of the gods and demigods who had reigned before them over Egypt, "just," adds Herodotus, "as the priests of Phthah showed to myself in their temple at Memphis." But 345 kings and priests, reaching down as it seems (for there is no question here of any Sabaco or Sethon) to the time of Hecataeus, are fewer by about 38 than the $(330 + 41 + 9 + 3 =)$ 383 kings which the hieratic papyri ought to have had, if there were really 330 names before Rameses III., and afterwards the same number, viz. 53, which are now found for the same space in Manetho's lists, without counting the name of Artabanus, any more than that of the pseudo-Smerdis who is omitted by Manetho. So, then, if the series of wooden images shown to Hecataeus corresponded exactly to that of the written names of the hieratic papyri, these latter would seem to have had only about $(345 - 53 =)$ 292 names, instead of having 330 or 331, before Rameses III. But, on the other hand, it is *not certain* that the number of the wooden images *did* correspond exactly to that of the written names; and even if they did, it is not certain that there was a perfect agreement between the numbers of the written names and images of the priests of Phthah at Memphis and those of the written names and images of the priests of Ammon at Thebes.

Leaving it then optional to suppose either 330, or 298, or 292 to have been the true number of royal names in the hieratic papyri from Menes to Rameses III., and adopting for ourselves, provisionally at least, the first number of the three, we proceed next to compare with the notices of Herodotus certain other indications afforded by the fragments of a hieratic papyrus near a thousand years older than his time, and undoubtedly of the same family with that from which the names of the 330 kings were read out to him at Memphis. This papyrus, now preserved in the Turin Museum, is one of a number which were probably found all together at

Thebes, and which may well have belonged to some temple. Their contents and the names of the writers, sometimes added, show that they were written some of them during the reign of Rameses II., towards the end of Dyn. XVIII, and others in the time of Dyn. XIX. That one of the group with which we are now concerned, and which contained a list of the Egyptian dynasties and kings, was certainly written before the time either of Rameses II. or of Rameses III., or of Rameses XIII, or XIV, for the back or blank side of the papyrus has been written over with figures and accounts, among which the first part of a name, *Ra-tseser-ma*, and the surname *Mi-amon*, common to these kings, is discernible. To judge by two sums of 13,420 and 23,200 years, or more, placed between the divine reigns and Menes, and making together about 100 years more than the XXV cycles or 36,525 years of the ἀποκατάστασις, the papyrus may perhaps have brought down its *reckoning* as low as the year B.C. 1209. Unhappily it has been doubled up and crushed either by the Arabs who found it or by others ignorant of its value, and afterwards knocked about in such a way that of its beginning and its end, and of the lower part of almost all its columns, only some isolated fragments remain; while the fragments from the upper parts of some of the more central columns were still sufficiently large and numerous, when Champollion in 1824 first noticed their contents, to allow of their being joined together, as was done two years later by M. Seyffarth, into something like a continuous surface. But on no one of the fragments remaining is there discoverable the *name* of any king known to be later than Dyn. XVI of Manetho (XIV of Ptolemy and Africanus); unless indeed M. Brugsch be right in his conjecture that the three beginnings of names in fragment 112 are those of three Shepherd kings. If so, the papyrus would seem to have included the kings of Dyn. XVII of Manetho (XV of Ptolemy and Africanus): but this identification is still doubtful; and of Dynasties XVIII and XIX at all events the fragments exhibit no trace.

It is certain that this papyrus began with the names of Gods and Demigods, of which as many as 17, or traces of 17, are still distinguishable (and others may be added by a

probable inference) from *Ra* the sun-god (who appears on the small fragment No. 141, now in Column XII, with traces of *another name* or line above him) to a Horus read by M. Brugsch *Hor-hesou* who is connected either with the end or the beginning of the sum of 23,218 years. For in this papyrus there is no trace of any intermediate series, like the Manes of Manetho, between the Demigods and the historical kings; no more than there is in the Chronicle of B.C. 305. Other names of deities certainly or probably identifiable which appear in fragment No. 11 (erroneously placed by Seyffarth in his Column II), and which followed, with perhaps only one name of *Cneph* or *Agathodæmon* between, after *Phthah* and *Ra*, are *Seb*, *Osiri*, *Set*, *Hor-Neterou* (with 300 years), *Thoth-Aa-aa* (i.e. $\Delta\tau\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\mu\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, with 3226 years), *Ma* (certainly not a god but a goddess, with 3140 years), a second Horus, and then (or after one line more) the initial sign in red which is usually followed by a sum of the reigns preceding. After the sum of this first divine dynasty, there is in the same fragment a space indicating at least two names of a second series. After these two—and others, no doubt, which are lost—(Champollion thought that he found a sum of XXIII reigns of gods)—we have to place another fragment, No. 41, which now stands at the head of Seyffarth's Column V, but which has been shown by M. Brugsch to contain six more names of deities. The first two are illegible, but the other four according to M. Brugsch are the names of four divine *bulls*, and at any rate *Hapi* and *Mena* (Apis and Mnevis), the third and fifth names of the six, are plainly distinguishable. We may imagine that between the first divine dynasty and these bulls all the more prominent monumental gods, and the demigods, such as the younger *Thoth*, *Anepo*, and others, would have been inserted. And from an allusion occurring later M. Brugsch infers that a Horus named *Hor-hesou* was the last name of the divine list and the immediate predecessor of Menes. But without adopting this view, having 2 lines of names in fragment 141 [+1] + 11 lines or traces of lines in fragment 11, + 8 at least to the end of the first column, + 6 lines in fragment 41, we have already proof enough that the divine dynasties filled more than one complete column.

For Dr. Hincks and Sir Gardner Wilkinson agree that the whole breadth of the papyrus, instead of being as Seyffarth supposed 14 inches with from 26 to 30 lines in each column, did not exceed $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches with 22 [or 23] names at most [in its earlier columns; for in the later columns the writing is plainly closer, and there are more names]. Sir Gardner's words are these: "It appears from Column IV [of Seyffarth] in pl. 2, which gives the whole of its series of names (or the figures, or spaces for figures, belonging to them) one below the other, that the breadth was not more than 13 inches, and that it contained at most 22 lines; for in some parts, as in Column III, the number of lines varied in a similar space, and that part could only have contained 21 lines; the same again in Column VI where 8 lines are equal to 9 of Column IV; while on the other hand 9 lines of Column IV or 8 of Column VI are nearly equal to 10 of Column IX, and very nearly to 12 lines of Column XI." (*Wilkinson's Hierat. Pap. of Kings at Turin*, London, 1851.) And Dr. Hincks, whom he follows, and who has contributed an appendix to the same publication, expresses himself thus: "I regard it as settled that the length of a column of writing was about $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches, which would be filled by about 21 or 22 lines. We cannot suppose that the number of lines should be less than 20; and it is not likely that it exceeded 23." For ourselves, without entering into any minute discussion, we shall suppose that the papyrus when perfect had not fewer than XVI written columns, of which the first eight contained 22 or rather 23 lines, and the last eight either 24 lines or at the least 23. And this essential point of the number of lines going to a column being thus settled, we may return to the names of deities at the commencement of the papyrus.

These had brought us to at least the 7th line of a second column; and if Champollion was not mistaken in giving the sum of a divine series of "XXIII reigns," this sum cannot have stood *higher* than the 12th line of Column II. And, further, we know that this second column must have been completed either by names of deities alone, or by names with the commencement of some lines of figures; since 10

lines of figures and sums which now stand as fragment No. 1 in Column I of Seyffarth, but which clearly intervened between the divine dynasties and the kings, and are followed on the same fragment by the first kings, are shown by some blank papyrus still attached to have stood at the head of a column. This column then must be at least No. III. In its 11th line (after the 10 lines of sums relating to the divine dynasties), there is a heading relating to the first dynasty of historical kings beginning with Menes. This is followed by the names of *Mena* and his first successor *Athoth*, and the spaces for a third and fourth name are still discernible; and we may infer from the fact that the space belonging to the fourth king occupies the 15th line from the head of the column, that it was followed in the same column by at most 8 more names of kings.

As regards these historical kings (the first of whom are identified by the names Menes and Athothis with the Tanites of Dyn. XVI of the Old Chronicle, VIII of Manetho, and I of Ptolemy), if the papyrus had made exactly the same divisions of all its dynasties, and had given exactly the same number of names with Manetho, it would have had room in its third column at the most for the 8 names of Menes and his successors of the same dynasty, for 2 lines containing the sum subjoined to the dynasty completed, and the rubric or heading prefixed to the dynasty next commencing, and further for 2 names of this next dynasty, that is, of Manetho's second dynasty of Tanites. But we shall soon have proof that the papyrus contained as a general rule more names than were admitted into Manetho's lists. And as we shall find below the name of *Soris* (*Sora*) the head of Manetho's Dyn. XI (IV of Ptolemy), though "of another family," distinguished from the earlier Memphites preceding him only by having the initial sign before his name *red*, we shall not consider it to make against M. Brugsch's identification of the first three names of Manetho's second dynasty of Tanites, his Dyn. IX (II of Ptolemy), on fragment 21 that they follow other names without the interposition of any sum or heading, such as are found in the papyrus after the series answering to Manetho's Dynasties XII, XIII,

XIV, and XV, and such as may perhaps have occurred also between the last Tanite and the first Memphite names; though the sum appended in the papyrus to the last three names of Manetho's Dyn. XII (V of Ptolemy) certainly goes back to Menes, whose name is still legible in it, as it is also in some other similar sums.

If M. Brugsch be right in his identification of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th names of fragment 21, reading . . *Baiou*, . . *Ka* (with the figure of the bull), and . . . *neter*, with the first three kings, *Boch-us* or *Boeth-us*, *Kaie-chos*, and *Bi-nothr-is*, of Manetho's Dyn. IX (II of Ptolemy), and there be nothing against the supposition that Manetho's first eleven names of kings were also the first eleven of the papyrus, we may employ the five names of fragment 21 to complete our Column III; only, in this case, we must identify its first name, which is illegible, but which ended with the sound of the letter *h*, with the 8th and last name of Manetho's Dyn. VIII (I of Ptolemy) *Bienech-es*, or *Oubienth-es*, that we may not give more than 23 lines to the column. And this there is nothing to forbid.

Then in fragment 20 we have 8 names, or places of names, certainly belonging to very early kings, as the initial *Ra* is absent, and in fragment 19 two more, of the same class, reading *Sent* and *Aakar*, and apparently identifiable with two names (the 5th and 6th) of Manetho's Dyn. IX (II of Ptolemy), viz. *Sethen-es* and *Chair-es*. And in any case it is known from a papyrus of the time of Rameses II., now at Berlin, that the 2nd king of fragment 20, whose name M. Brugsch reads *Tsatsati*, perhaps identifiable with *Tlas*, the 4th king of Manetho's Dyn. IX, was earlier, not later, than the king named *Sent*. For it is there mentioned that the original, from which this papyrus was copied, "was found at Sechem (Letopolis) in the time of the king *Tsatsati*, and was brought [at some time] after his death to the king *Sent*." Now if we suppose fragment 20, which represents 9 lines, to have stood at the head of Column IV, then in its first line, besides the figures for "28," probably 28 days, now visible and running into it from one of the lines of sums and figures in the preceding column, there will have been also a name; and

after this 8 names more are exhibited or indicated by the same fragment. And if, again, we suppose only one other name to have intervened between fragment 20 and fragment 19, which has the two names *Sent* and *Aakar*, we shall already have reckoned to the Tanites 24 names; and we may infer with probability, from certain indications to be spoken of below, that there were still three more Tanite names, as indeed the lists of Manetho would require, if the names *Sent* and *Aakar* are his *Sethenes* and *Chaires*. So we have made out ($8 + 9 + 10 =$) 27 names in all to be reckoned to the Tanites, though we need not suppose without proof that there was in the papyrus any sum or fresh heading, or both a sum and a fresh heading, to divide the Tanites from the following names of the local Memphites and Elephantinites or Heliopolitans. Thus the names of the Tanite connection, in whatever order, whether genealogical or dynastic, they may have been grouped, and whatever may have been the true places of the fragments and names alluded to, having filled 15 lines in our Column IV, we may add to them in the same column as many as 8, but not more than 8, Memphite names, answering in number (but not necessarily otherwise) to as many names of Manetho's Dyn. X (III of Ptolemy). And in the last two lines of the column we may place conjecturally the fragment No. 3, with two names reading *Oua . . .* and *Snefrou*, the latter of the two being probably identifiable with *Siphouris*, the 8th name of Manetho's Dyn. X.

The 9th and last remaining name of Manetho's Dyn. X, with the 8 of his Dyn. XI and the 9 of his Dyn. XII (III, IV, and V of Ptolemy), making together only 18, would not have been at all too many to find room in the next column, if the papyrus had given only the same names with Manetho, and had made no division, nor inserted any lines of sums and headings, before coming to the end of the last of these three dynasties. But, having already found that the papyrus had more Tanite names than the ($8 + 9 =$) 17 of Manetho, we might from this alone anticipate that it would also have a greater number of names for the Memphites. And in point of fact it is certain that, instead of one column, *two whole columns* (Columns V and VI) in the papyrus were filled

with names corresponding to the Memphite or Memphite and Heliopolite Dynasties X, XI, and XII (III, IV, and V of Ptolemy), implying an addition of 27 at the most, and at the least of 25 kings, to those of Manetho. This is clear, because one whole column, Column VI (IV of Seyffarth), consisting of fragments 32, 34, and 34 *a*, certainly ends with the last three names of Manetho's Dyn. XII (V of Ptolemy) and a sum following them; and this column (no less certainly) does not contain the long reigns of the two Suphises (to say nothing of any other reigns still earlier); though M. Brugsch thinks that the fourth of its 21 or rather 22 reigns (for fragments 32 and 34 do not certainly join) may be identified with that of Mencheres. For though the name is lost, the title "*Anch Ouza Sneb*" (something like "*Ever-living*") which followed it still remains, and this title was given, as he says, in the papyrus only to kings of note. This alone is not a very solid ground for the identification, unless it could be shown that such a title might not be given to any other intervening king; as, for example, to Ousercheres, the head of Manetho's Dyn. XII (V of Ptolemy). But M. Brugsch thinks further that the 17 or 18 reigns following next in the papyrus after that which has the title "*Anch Ouza Sneb*" attached may be identified with the 13 reigns following that of Mencheres in Manetho's lists, if only it be supposed (which seems not unlikely) that Manetho added the years of 4 or 5 short reigns which he suppressed or consolidated to those longer reigns for which he gave the names of the kings. Even if this view were accepted, we should still have, on fragment No. 18, six names, all legible, and reading, 1, *Neferkar-Sek*, 2, *Ouazepha*; 3, *Badsi* (M. Brugsch writes it as if it were only *Ba . . .*); 4, *Nebkar*; 5, *Sora* (with the initial sign red); 6, *Sorti*. This fragment (or rather these *two* fragments, for the names of *Sora* and *Sorti* are not really on one and the same fragment with the rest, though they join well) is now placed at the head of Seyffarth's Column II in connection with the figures of fragment No. 18 *a*, which is shown by the blank edge still adhering to have stood at the head of a column, and to which it seems to join perfectly. It has been remarked by M. Brugsch that two of the names on

fragment 18, *Ouazepha* and *Badsi*, look not unlike two of Manetho's earliest Tanites, *Ousaphaidos* or *Ousaphaes*, and *Miebidos* or *Miabies*; and though the name itself, *Sora*, and the additional circumstance that its initial is in rubric, afford still more forcible reasons for connecting these joint fragments with some part of the next column in the papyrus, that preceding what answers to Dyn. XII of Manetho (V of Ptolemy), rather than that following what answers to his Dyn. VIII (I of Ptolemy),—still, even this argument is not absolutely to be insisted upon, as we know not exactly on what principle the names of the early Tanites and Memphites may have been grouped in the papyrus. But the reasons which seem to turn the scale in favour of placing this fragment at the head of Column V rather than IV, are these: first, *Neferkar-sek* should be later than the earliest *Neferkar*: then the name *Nebkar* is to be seen on sculptured blocks brought from *Memphis* which are now in the Museum at Berlin. The cartouche of *Sor* or *Soris* also may be seen on a wooden coffin brought from Memphis, and now in the same Museum. But, besides, there is the consideration that if we give to the Tanites all the names or spaces indicating names which are found on fragments Nos. 1, 21, 20, and 19 (making $4 + 5 + 9 + 2$, with 2 more at least for the interval between fragments 1 and 21 in Column III, and 1 at least for the interval between No. 20 and No. 19, which did not join) we have already 23 names; and if to these we add 6 more (which we do if we place fragment 18 at the head of the second column containing kings, as Seyffarth has placed it) we shall have 29 names actually given, or given by implication, to the Tanites, the names of *Sethenes* and *Chaires* seeming to be the last of all, and requiring therefore an addition of three more. But it is safest neither to suppose (without necessity) that names of Manetho's Dyn. XI are mixed up with his earliest Tanites, nor that the number of names of the Tanite connection exceeded those $8 + 9 + 10 = 27$ which in one way or another are indicated by Manetho. Some one or other then of the fragments above-mentioned must be supposed to contain names not of the Tanite but of the Memphite connection: and if it comes to a choice, and there is nothing to show

that fragment 18 stood at the head of Column IV rather than at that of Column V, this fragment 18 will on other grounds be *beyond a doubt* the one to be selected. But to return to our fifth column: Besides the 6 names on fragment 18, of which one only is identifiable with a Memphite name of Manetho, the rest being all additional, there must have been in the same column 16 or 17 other names, one of them at least answering to the 9th of Manetho's Dyn. X, and one other at least answering to the 2nd of Manetho's Dyn. XI, viz. that of Suphis I. But probably more than one of the names of Manetho's Dyn. XI were contained in this column. And in fragment No. 30 there are in a space of $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches the figures or traces of the figures for the *lives* of ten kings, answering very well to the long reigns of Manetho's Dyn. XI (or of XVII). These then may be taken to represent as many names; and they clearly ended a column. And so we have accounted for five columns.

The next column, our sixth (IV of Seyffarth), has been reconstructed by a union of fragments which is perfectly satisfactory, (except that there was possibly another name between fragments 32 and 34, the latter of which is now unduly drawn up in order to unite); and it is almost the only column which as reconstructed shows portions of blank papyrus not only above the highest but also below the lowest of its lines. So it is on this column chiefly that Dr. Hincks and others have based their calculations. The reconstruction consists of three fragments numbered 32, 34, and 34 *a*, which exhibit the spaces for 21 names of kings, or possibly for 22, if the junction of fragments 32 and 34 is not maintainable. Indeed the remains of the sign for years at the bottom of fragment 32 do not seem capable of uniting with the remains of the same sign at the top of fragment 34. But it is not likely that there was *more* than one name between. So, with one more line containing a sum of the number of kings and years from Menes, the column had in all 22 or perhaps 23 lines; and it is one of those which had the fewest lines. Though all its names except the last three, *Men-ker-hor*, *Tat*, and *Onnos*, and part of the third from the top ending in . . . *zepha*, are lost, the figures — those for the years at least — of 16 out of its 21

or 22 reigns are still in great part preserved: only in one or two cases they may have suffered some curtailment in their units; and in the first perfect line of figures of fragment 34, and also in the first of fragment 34 *a*, the sign for the decads is damaged, so that one cannot be sure whether these two reigns had 18 years or 28 in the one case, and 10, 20, or 30 in the other. Barring these uncertainties, the years of the reigns in Column VI stand as follows:—Reign i is wanting, ii has 6 years, iii has 6, iv (that with the title “*Anch Ouza Sneb*”) has 24 (a number suiting probably within a little the true reign of Mencheres, and so far favouring M. Brugsch’s identification), v has 24, vi has 23, vii has 8, viii, ix, and ix *bis* (if the imperfect sign for years does not really unite with that at the top of fragment 34) are wanting, x has 18 or 28, xi has 4, xii has 2, xiii has 7, xiv has 12, xv is wanting, xvi has 7, xvii is wanting, xviii has 21, or 11, or 31, xix (*Hormenker*) has 8, xx (*Tat*) has 28, and lastly xxi (*Onnos*) has 30. It is manifest that, without further knowledge than we possess, this series of figures and reigns cannot be identified with those of the IX kings of Manetho’s Dyn. XII (V of Ptolemy), which, reckoned downwards from Ousercheres to Onnos, have $(28 + 13 + 21 + [3]7 + 20 + 44 + 9 + 44 + 33 =)$ 248 years. Still, since the last three names of Column VI of the papyrus (IV of Seyffarth) are clearly identified with the last three of Dyn. XII of Manetho, it is natural to suppose that all or nearly all the preceding names of the same column were also of the same connection with the IX of Manetho’s Dyn. XII. We say “all, or nearly all,” because, if we look upwards from *Onnos* the last name, there is nothing till we come to the fourth line with the title “*Anch Ouza Sneb*,” which can be laid hold of as at all favouring the idea that we have found a point where one series begins and another ends. Nor is it possible for Manetho to have made up the sum of 248 years for his Dyn. XII in the manner in which M. Brugsch supposes, if it is to commence only in the 10th line of this column with the first reign on fragment 34, as answering to that of Ousercheres its head. For from this point the papyrus has in all to the sum at the end of the column 12 kings; and of these the years of only two are lost; and even

if we allow the highest possible number of decads to the first reign on fragment 34, and on fragment 34 *a*, so that they shall have 28 and 31 years respectively, the years of all the ten reigns together will amount to no more than 157, and the two remaining unknown reigns cannot be thought to have contained the 91 years still wanting of Manetho's sum. But if we suppose the king of line 4 with the title "*Anch Ouza Sneb*" to be the Ousercheres of Manetho and the head of the dynasty, then the figures preserved by the papyrus, with the addition of 32 years for the four reigns which are lost, will make out Manetho's sum; and M. Brugsch's hypothesis as to the way in which that sum was obtained may be in a certain wide sense admissible. The more so, as there are signs that Manetho was desirous of exhibiting the kings of his first six dynasties (all of Lower Egypt) as reigning one with another 30 or 31 years apiece. For from line 4 of our Column VI there were in it 18 kings, being just double Manetho's number for his Dyn. XII; and the years of those 14 reigns which are still preserved amount to 216 (this is with 18 and 21 years to the two doubtful reigns of lines 10 and 18); leaving still 32 years, or it may be 42, to compose four reigns the figures for which are lost. And, if we adopt this view, we may also observe that, reckoning from line 4, there are in this Column VI of the papyrus eight reigns which have each more than a decad of years, and which may have been as many nuclei among which Manetho divided the years of all the other shorter reigns, while *one* of Manetho's IX reigns did not come up to a decad but had only 7 or 9 years, according as the 30 years which are missing in the text of Africanus be supposed to have fallen out from the 4th reign of Sphres or the 7th of Mencheres. It is not, however, in any case to be taken for granted that all those kings who in the papyrus are grouped together as being of the same connection, and as corresponding to Dyn. XII of Manetho, reigned one after another in local succession.

Reckoning to the point at which we now are, we have made out for the papyrus ($12 + 23 + 23 + 21 =$) 79 kings to correspond to ($8 + 9 + 9 + 8 + 9 =$) 43 of Manetho. Continuing hence, we find on a fragment, No. 59, which certainly formed

the head of another column, a series of figures which once corresponded to as many names of kings, and which certainly do not belong to those names of gods, on fragment 41, which Seyffarth has placed over against them at the head of his Column V. That the names really belonging to them were the first five of Manetho's Dyn. XIII (which should naturally come next after XII) is proved beyond a doubt by the figures themselves; since the fourth reign of the five has "90" years still plainly legible, the units being broken away, which we may safely say were "4;" and this extraordinary reign is followed by another of 1 year and 1 month. These then are plainly the reigns of Phiops, the fourth, and of his successor, the fifth king, of Manetho's Dyn. XIII; and as the number of reigns preceding on the same fragment, and known to have had none above them in the column, agrees with that of Manetho's preceding kings of the same dynasty, we see that, in this instance at least, and thus far, the papyrus exhibited a series identical with that of Manetho, and without any interposition of additional names. It is also noticeable that, though there was a sum at the bottom of the last preceding column, there was not any heading prefixed to this new series which followed. For the figures belonging to the first name of Dyn. XIII of Manetho are in the same line with the first name of Column VIII (still preserved, and on the same fragment, No. 59, with the figures), and they have only the blank edge of the papyrus above them; while the figures belonging to the second reign of Dyn. XIII are in a line with the *third* name of the following column. This is an instance of the occasional variations occurring on the papyrus, the same width in one column sometimes containing a name more, and sometimes a name less, than in another, *besides that* the lines and intervals are upon the whole larger and less numerous in the earlier and closer and more numerous in the later columns. M. Brugsch restores opposite to the figures of Dyn. XIII the monumental names *Ati*, *Teta*, *Imhotep*, *Maire*, and *Meran-re*, as answering to Othoes, Phius, Methousouphis, Phiops, and Mentesusphis of Manetho. And, just as the figures on fragment 59 fail us, (for the 6th reign is wanting,) another fragment, No. 43,

comes in and gives us the name *Nitokrit* known from Manetho's lists to be the sixth of the dynasty. So there are six names and reigns recoverable at the head of Column VII (V of Seyffarth) corresponding exactly to the six of Manetho's Dyn. XIII. But after the name of Nitocris, on fragment 43, there is no sum nor rubric, but a continuation of four more names of the same series. Three of these read *Nepherkar* (probably the husband of Nitocris, who appears elsewhere together with Papa and Meranre), *Nefrous*, and *Ab*. The fourth name is illegible. The figures opposite to the last three of these four names of fragment 43 (on fragment 61) show reigns of 2 years 1 month and 1 day, of 4 years 2 months and 1 day, and of 2 years 1 month and 1 day; and there is yet another reign, making the 10th of the whole series, the name for which is lost, with 1 year and 8 days. And below this there is a sum of 181 years. So the whole four reigns which stood in the papyrus after the name and reign of Nitocris make up together only 9 years 4 months and 11 days, and may have been all covered chronologically by the 12 years given in Manetho's list to Nitocris, though these 12 years were probably reckoned to her also separately in the papyrus. The order of the names may perhaps indicate that Nephercheres the husband of Nitocris, as well as Meranre, survived the aged Phiops, and that he reigned after the single year of Meranre for 2 years, while his consort Nitocris reigned both with him and after him. As regards the sum of 181 years given in the papyrus for the dynasty, it may perhaps be still made out, if only we suppose the missing figures for its first and its sixth reigns to have been 30 and 12, identical with those of Manetho. The years given for the 10 reigns will then be in all 180, and the odd months and days still remaining (and some are lost) make up the remaining year all but 3 days. It would seem to follow from this sum of the papyrus that the true date of the commencement of Dyn. XIII was in B.C. ($1932 + 43 + 158$ or $159 =$) 2132 or B.C. 2133, 91 years after Menes, unless indeed any of the years reckoned to its first four kings were concurrent; and in that case the date would be somewhat lower according to the number of concurrent years to be

subtracted. But perhaps as this dynasty in the papyrus had no *heading*, its gross sum of years below needed *no* reduction.

After the above-mentioned 10 reigns, referable to Dyn. XIII of Manetho, and the sum of 181 years in the eleventh line of the same Column VII, but opposite to the *twelfth* line of the adjacent Column VIII (VI of Seyffarth), there may have been a separate heading introducing the next series; but at any rate there were of the next series, in this same Column VII, 10 names, all more or less represented (in a space of five inches and one eighth) by fragments 46 and 47, about the union of which there is no doubt. On No. 46 there are parts of the initial signs of 3 names, the first of them in red; and on No. 47 there are 7 more names or parts of names, the first two reading *Ra-neferkar* and *Khroti*(?) in the other five only a syllable here and there is legible (as *tet* in the last but one, and *Ou* at the beginning of the last name); but the blank edge of the papyrus below this last name shows plainly that it ended a column. But if any one ask why fragments 46 and 47 are to be placed in this column so as to follow next after Dyn. XIII of Manetho, the answer is, that after the 8th line of the next column (Column VIII) the names of which are on the same fragments, Nos. 59 and 61, with the figures or reigns of Dyn. XIII, there is a sum distinctly mentioning the number of "XVIII kings" as having preceded. It is true that the sign for the 8 is only partially preserved, but what remains is clear enough; and Dr. Lepsius, Sir G. Wilkinson, and Dr. Hincks, have rightly given it as XVIII, not as XVII. Thus the number and order of the names is clear; and there will have been in Column VII either 23 or only 22 lines (or rather 22 or 21, in the space which in the adjoining column has 23) according as there intervened, or did not intervene, any line or lines of heading after the sum of Dyn. XIII.

It is not open to us to suppose that these XVIII names of the papyrus correspond to the XVI of Dyn. XIV of Manetho (XI of Ptolemy), which might else have been expected to succeed those of Manetho's Dyn. XIII; for though the numbers XVIII and XVI agree well enough, the names and parts of names still legible in fragment 47 of the papyrus by no means favour such

an identification. They suggest rather the thought that this series of XVIII kings in the papyrus may be the same as appears in the upper line of the Abydos tablet (now in the British Museum) where the name *Nepher-kar-re* or its elements seem to pervade the 13 cartouches still preserved, all these, except one, having the element *kar*, and no fewer than 8 out of the 13 having the whole name *Nepher-kar*. And if, as is calculated to have been the case, there were originally in each line of the tablet 26 cartouches, of which the first 13 (all but the last sign of the 13th) in the upper line, and the first 6 in the second line are now lost, and it is known that the names of Manetho's Dyn. XV began with the 7th cartouche of the second or lower line, it is clear that there may well have been in the tablet the full number of XVIII kings of the *Nepherkeres* connection, whether they ended with the 6th place of the lower line, beginning in that case with the 15th place in the upper (though the 14th cartouche which is in part preserved already exhibits the element *kar*), or whether they began earlier in the tablet, after only 8 or 12, or at the most 13 names of some other connection, probably that of the Tanites, and ended consequently earlier, so as to leave room for a few names of some other family (the name *Ra-neb-kher* doubtless being one) which might be interposed between the eighteenth and last name of the *Nephercheres* family and the first name of Manetho's Dynasty XV.

Now in the Turin papyrus, in that series of XVIII kings which seems to begin in the 10th line from the bottom in our Column VII, on fragments 46 and 47, the name in the 5th line of the series, which is the 2nd of fragment 47, is still preserved and reads *Ra-neferkar*; and this, so far as it goes, favours the idea that the whole series may be identifiable with that in the upper line of the Abydos tablet. Of the next name which is also preserved and reads *Khroti*, and of one or two syllables of names in the lines below, all that can be said is this, that, taken together with the name *Ra-neferkar*, they certainly do not favour any view which would identify the XVIII names with the XVI of Manetho's Dyn. XIV. There is also another fragment, No. 48, with characters for 5 lines

of writing, which is placed by Seyffarth as if in lateral connection with fragment 47, but at an interval, as if it might contain the completions of the last five lines of fragment 47, which have only the commencements of as many names. And certainly the recurrence in the 2nd line of this fragment No. 48 of the same name, *Ra-neferkar*, as stands in the 2nd line of fragment 47, suggests strongly the idea that the two fragments may belong to one and the same connection. Nevertheless fragment 48 has certain peculiarities (besides the style of the writing and the width of the interstices) which make it easy to determine whether it could or could not have joined on to any other given set of five imperfect lines with which it may be compared. And these peculiarities prove that the fragment in question could not have joined on to *any* part of that series of XVIII kings which followed after Manetho's Dyn. XIII either in Column VII or in Column VIII. For in the 1st line of fragment 48 there is no name but only writing, and that not from any sum nor from any heading referring to a number of kings, but referring to some one king, of whom it is said that "*he made his* [reign or life," probably] in so many years. The name of this king then is implied to have preceded in the same line. The 2nd line exhibits, as has been said, the name *Ra-neferkar*, but so thrust forwards that its beginning stands nearly over the imperfect ends of names which occupy the 4th and 5th lines of the same fragment. The 3rd line also probably contained a name, the whole of which must have preceded the writing which stands under the name *Ra-neferkar*. The fragment cannot then have stood above fragment 47 so as to have its 3rd, 4th, and 5th lines in the same lines respectively with the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of fragment 46; because this would require us to suppose not only that its 2nd line with the name *Ra-neferkar* formed part of a heading prefixed to the series of XVIII kings (a supposition of itself quite admissible), but also that its 1st line belonged to the sum of 181 years subjoined to the names of Manetho's Dyn. XIII. But this supposition is precluded by the circumstance that in the 1st line of fragment 48 it is not a series of kings but one king, in the singular, that is mentioned. But

that the fragment cannot possibly stand where Seyffarth has placed it he would have himself perceived, if he had been able to read ever so little the hieratic writing, which he put together only by comparing the fibres of different fragments, and by following certain other external indications. For the blank edge below the last line of fragment 47 shows plainly that it ended a column; and above the blank edge there are only the last five lines on the fragment which exhibit imperfect names capable of being completed, the first two lines containing perfect names. So when Seyffarth placed the five lines of fragment 48 opposite to the last five of fragment 47, the perfect name Ra-neferkar, in the 2nd line of fragment 48, was made to stand in one and the same line of the column with another imperfect name preceding it, namely that in the 4th line of fragment 47. Neither, for similar reasons, can fragment 48 be attached to any five consecutive lines of fragments 59 and 60 which form the head of the next column, and contain the beginnings, or traces of the beginnings, of the remaining names of the series of XVIII. Nor, lastly, will it unite any better with the commencements of names of the next following series on fragment 61 in Column VIII. We are forced therefore to set it aside for the present, noticing only that its writing seems to agree well with that part of the papyrus at which we now are, and that there is enough of blank edge under its lowest line to suit well the idea that it stood at the end of a column, though certainly not in conjunction with fragment 47, at the end of Column VII.

Passing on then to Column VIII, we have for it, first, on fragment 59 (the same which contains the figures for the first 5 reigns of Manetho's Dyn. XIII), 6 commencements or traces of commencements of names, and the antennæ of the bee which preceded the seventh name. So only the remainder of this seventh bee, and one more, are wanting to complete the indication of the XVIII names of the series: and this is very probably supplied by the small fragment, No. 69, which Seyffarth has here attached. That fragment 61, which in its first line names the sum of XVIII reigns, really followed in this place, and so fixes the number of the

names in the series preceding, is proved by the fact that it exhibits the continuation of the figures for the later reigns and the sum of the series answering to Manetho's Dyn. XIII. After the sum of "XVIII kings," which thus is in the 9th line of Column VIII, there follows a rubric, and perhaps in the same line with the rubric the first name of a fresh series, which, as a matter of course we identify with that of Manetho's Dyn. XIV, since we did not identify with it the series of XVIII kings preceding, and since the next fragments, Nos. 64 and 67, belong to Manetho's Dynasty XV. These last-named fragments are placed by Seyffarth under fragment 61, so as to seem to continue and complete the same column (his Column VI) in which fragments 59, 60, and 61 have preceded; and it is clear from the blank edge below the last figures in fragment 67 that this fragment really made the end of some column. But with Seyffarth's arrangement, having already in fragments 59, 60, and 61 ($7 + 1 + 9 =$) 17 lines, and not less than $9\frac{2}{8}$ inches, we are called upon to add, in fragments 64 and 67, 8 lines more and at least $4\frac{2}{8}$ inches, making in all for the column 28 lines, which are certainly too many in this part of the papyrus, and at least $13\frac{7}{8}$ inches of writing, which is certainly too much for any part of the papyrus. It is clear therefore that fragments 64 and 67 must be moved forward by one whole column, so as to form the end of Column IX. And this conclusion is confirmed from quite another source when one notices that by Seyffarth's arrangement the papyrus would have contained only 8 names to be paralleled with the 16 kings of Manetho's Dyn. XIV. For on fragment 61, after the sum of that series of XVIII which cannot be identified with Manetho's Dyn. XIV, there are only 8 lines more, including that which begins with a rubric; and if these were followed immediately, and in the same column, by the sum partly contained in the first line of fragment 64, and in the heading to Dyn. XV of Manetho (XII of Ptolemy), it is plain that there can have intervened no more than 8 kings; whereas we can neither suppose that the papyrus omitted so numerous and in some respects so important a line as that of the earliest Diospolites; nor, if it inserted

those kings, that it gave to them fewer names than Manetho, and fewer even than the Karnak Chamber, where they are represented by 13 cartouches. But, after having put forward fragments 64 and 67 to stand at the foot of the next column, we are in no such difficulty. On the contrary, we have 8 (or, it may be, only 7) names in fragment 61, with 5 more to be sought for, in order to complete the column, on some other fragment: and this we may now conjecture to be fragment 48, which we were forced before to leave unplaced. And again, in Column IX, we must reckon as many as 16 names (or, it may be, fewer) before coming to the 8 lines contained in fragments 64 and 67, which certainly joined on the one to the other, and ended a column. So the papyrus may have contained as many as $(8+5+15 \text{ or } 7+5+16=)$ 28, or, it may be, only 27 names to be paralleled with the XVI of Manetho's Dyn. XIV (XI of Ptolemy), whether this greater number of names were all exhibited together as of one lineage, or broken up into two or more groups or lines.

Seyffarth himself by attaching the two small united fragments 62 and 63 to the 7th and 8th lines of fragment 61, has identified clearly enough, though unconsciously, the kings of fragment 61 with those of Manetho's Dyn. XIV: for thus the name *Ra-neb-kher* and the half name *Ra-tsés* . . which stand on fragment 63, become the 6th and 7th kings of fragment 61. And the first name of the two, *Ra-neb-kher*, is one of great note; so much so, that in the monumental list of the Ramesseum, and elsewhere at Thebes, it is the only name interposed as a link between Menes and Amosis the head of Dyn. XVIII. But this name stands *ninth* of the thirteen names which represent Manetho's Dyn. XIV in the Karnak Chamber; and it is connected with the same dynasty of the local Diospolites by the papyrus Abbott mentioned above (at p. 386). The imperfect name *Ra-tsés* . . , which follows *Ra-neb-kher* on fragment 62, is also probably identifiable with *Ra-tsés-er-en*, the 11th name of the XIII Diospolites, which stands next but one after *Ra-neb-kher* in the Karnak Chamber. But it is difficult to understand how the name of *Ra-neb-kher* could be given as

the *sixth* of his line or dynasty in the papyrus; unless indeed Manetho in his Dyn. XIV has united two or more distinct families, which may have held the local royalty between them, and which may have been presented separately in the papyrus: and, if this were so, it is conceivable that the family to which Ra-neb-kher (Mentuhotep III. or IV.) belonged may have been taken first, before that of the Nantefs, for some reason unknown to us, perhaps on account of some connection with the preceding series of the Nephhercheres family. And it is observable that the name *Ra-neb-kher* in the Karnak Chamber is preceded by a name which reads *Sneferkar*. But very possibly the small fragments 62 and 63 have been improperly attached by Seyffarth to fragment 61, and their true connection was with some other fragment now lost, which formed part of this same series, but stood perhaps near the head of the next column. For though fragment 63 seems to fit exactly to fragment 61, so that the bee preceding the name *Ra-neb-kher* is made up in part from both, this tallying of the fragments may be deceptive. And if we look up to the preceding line, we see that there the bee on fragment 62 is in contact not with a *sprig*, as it ought to be, but with a number of "6 years," and a hooked line inclosing it and running in from the corresponding line of Column VII and thrusting back a little the commencement of the 5th name of that series which is now under discussion. Wilkinson has remarked the necessity of making room between the sign of the number "*six*" on fragment 61 and the bee on fragment 62 for the *sprig* which invariably precedes the *bee*. But if fragment 62 be moved, as he suggests, a little to the left, fragment 63, which coheres and stands directly under it, will move too; and so that agreement by which the bee preceding the name *Ra-neb-kher* was put together will no longer exist.

But leaving it uncertain to what precise place in Column VIII or in Column IX the two small fragments 62 and 63 are to be transposed, *if* they *are* to be transposed, and turning our attention to Column IX, we have already for its end in fragments 64 and 67 six lines, belonging to the first six reigns of Manetho's Dyn. XV (XII of Ptolemy), besides

a line of heading, and another line giving a sum of "243 years" for the preceding series. It may seem then that we have only to fill up in our reckoning the earlier part of the column with some 16 lines (of which those on fragments 62 and 63 may or may not be four) and we shall have as many as $14 + 16 = 30$ names for that whole series which is followed by the sum of 243 years. But this sum does not seem to suit for so great a number of kings, when we have had not far back in Column VII to a line of 10 kings 181 years, and shall find a little further on, in Column X, for the 8 kings of Manetho's Dyn. XV a sum of 213 years. It is probable, then, that the papyrus here had not one series only to contain all the names, but rather two. And this inference is strengthened by the existence of a fragment, No. 44, which has upon it in a space of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches traces of 5 lines of writing occupying perhaps originally the space between two columns, and not necessarily all of them interrupting the succession of names. The first line at the top, which is really a separate fragment, has something referring to a "king or reign;" the second exhibits after a number "6" something like another larger number, and again a "6;" and then the usual initial sign for a sum, in red, followed by a sum of [at least one] "hundred." This sum we shall fill up conjecturally to "1[24 kings]," the grounds for which will appear below. The next line, that following the rubric, has the name of *Menes*, from whom apparently the sum of one hundred or more kings mentioned above was reckoned. And in the 4th line of the fragment (the 5th being a mere trace) there is again a sum of 355 years and ten days. This sum of years, however, cannot be connected either with the sum of 100 or more [kings] in the line next but one above, or with the name of *Menes*; but it must belong to some suitable number of kings which stood, no doubt, unconnected with the name of *Menes* but after it in the line immediately preceding. And this number, if there were 30 names, and we divide them in the proportions of 355 to 243, would seem to have been about 20. Since, however, it is probable that two lines, of a sum and a heading, *at least*, identifiable with the 4th and 5th of those contained on

fragment 44, or indicated by it, would interrupt the continuity of the *names* in Column IX, we must reduce the number of names allowable to the earlier part of this column from 16 to 14; so that the whole number of the two groups taken together instead of 30 may be 28, of which about 17 should belong to the sum of 355 years, and 11 to the sum of 243. And, even thus, we shall be already giving to Column IX ($14 + 2 + 8 =$) 24 lines without any such distinct indications to warrant it as will justify us in substituting the average number of 24 for that of 23 lines in all the remaining columns. But whether 28, or only 27, or 26, were the true number, having guessed 28, and of these 28 having made 17 to precede the sum of 355 years, if we seek the sum of all the kings whom we have reckoned to the papyrus from Menes to this sum of 355 years, we shall find it to be in seven different columns $12 + 23 + 23 + 21 + 20 + 22 + 3$, or in seven distinct groups $27 + 12 + 22 + 18 + 10 + 18 + 17$, making 124; and it is upon this ground that we have restored conjecturally and approximatively in fragment 44 the number 124, though neither decads nor units remain, and that part of a numeral sign which does remain would do as well for two or three hundreds as for one. That group in the papyrus which has the sum of 355 years, if it had also 16 or 17 kings, would seem to be the natural representative of Manetho's Dyn. XIV; and the years are not quite so many as might have been given by estimate to XVI kings. At the average of $24\frac{1}{2}$ years used for technical reckoning by the Old Chronicle and by Eratosthenes there might have been as many as 400. But it is not unlikely that the whole number of 28 or 26 names, forming this and the next following series in the papyrus, are together to be identified with the first Diospolite dynasty (Dyn. XIV) of Manetho, who did not make the most either of the dynasties or of the kings, or of the years of the kings, for Upper Egypt.

In Dyn. XV, which forms as it were a central point in the papyrus, we have an instance, and so far as appears it is the only instance, of a complete agreement for a whole dynasty with the number and order of Manetho. It is only in the years that there is a difference, and in the sum of the

dynasty, which Manetho seems at first sight to have curtailed to 160, while the papyrus states it at 213 years. But with certain explanations, which have been made elsewhere, the accounts given by the monuments, by the papyrus, by Manetho, and by Eratosthenes, for this dynasty, all agree very well. Nor is it difficult to see that the sum of 213 years (though these are not all successive) might very well be made out by the figures given in the papyrus to the eight reigns, if they had been all preserved. Even as it is, those decads of years which are lost or doubtful in the papyrus may be restored with something like certainty by the help of the monuments and the lists of Manetho and Eratosthenes, and the units too, all but one, which the loss of the odd months and days may in some cases render uncertain. Of the first six *names* the first, *Ra-s-hotep-het*, is the only one which appears on fragment 64; but there is just enough remaining of the last element in the throne-name of his successor Sesortasen I. to enable one to recognise it; and though fragment 67 has only the figures of the next four reigns, the names themselves are not perhaps all absent from the existing fragments of the papyrus. The ends of two of them, at least, *Ra-khakar* and *Ra-en-ma* (the throne-names of Sesortasen III. and Amenemhe III.), seem to be preserved on fragment 75 of Seyffarth attached to No. 87, and may be restored to their true place over against their figures in the last two lines of fragment 67. But this recovery of the names where the kings and reigns are so completely identified is of no importance. The last two names and the sum of Dyn. XV in years, months, and days, all preserved and legible, take us to the third line of Column X.

But, before continuing with the tenth and other remaining columns, if we pause, and recapitulate at the point at which we now are, viz. at the end of Manetho's Dyn. XV, (XII of Ptolemy and Africanus,) the results hitherto arrived at are these:—We have found that, after at least two columns of names of greater or lesser deities, and 11 lines of a third containing sums and figures, there were probably as many as $(12 + 22 + 23 + 22 =)$ 79 names of Tanites, Memphites, and Heliopolitans answering to $(8 + 9 + 9 + 8 + 9 =)$ 43 names

of Manetho's lists down to the end of his Dyn. XII (V of Ptolemy), or $(79 + 10 =) 89$, answering to the $(43 + 6 =) 49$ names of Manetho's six early dynasties of Lower Egypt down to the end of his Dyn. XIII (VI of Ptolemy); or, lastly, $(89 + 18 + 28 + 8 =) 143$, answering to the $(49 + 16 + 8 =) 73$ kings reckoned by Manetho to the end of his Dyn. XV (XII of Ptolemy). So that hitherto the papyrus has had upon the Tanite and the double Memphite and the Heliopolitan connections an excess of about 40 names, and upon the Diospolites of Manetho's Dynasties XIV and XV, and kings of other lines of Central or Upper Egypt omitted by him, but all no doubt of similar origin and connection with the Memphites of Dynasty XIII, a further excess of 30 names at the most, or of 27 at the least.

Hitherto at least we have been following in the papyrus a succession of dynasties or groups distinguished one from another either by a sum followed by a fresh heading, or by a sum followed only by an initial rubric to the next name, or merely by an initial rubric, without any sum or fresh heading; and the dynasties or groups thus distinguished in the papyrus one from another have identified themselves at a number of points with the first eight dynasties of Manetho's kings, and have presented themselves in the same order, though they have exhibited at the same time great discrepancies both in the number of the kings given to particular groups, and in the length of the reigns, and those discrepancies not every where alike nor in a like proportion. For in one instance at least the papyrus seems to have a whole dynasty of XVIII names omitted by Manetho; in another, viz. Dyn. XII (V of Ptolemy), it has twice as many names as Manetho; in others, as in Dynasties VIII, IX, and X (I, II, and III of Ptolemy), it seems to have had more names by nearly one third, but with a much shorter average length to the reigns. In another group, again, that of Dyn. XIII (VI of Ptolemy), it agrees exactly both in the number and the order of its names or reigns with Manetho, so far as Manetho goes; but it appends after Manetho's six reigns a group of four more short reigns which Manetho omits. A series of 16 kings, which in Manetho's

lists appear as the first of the dynasties of Upper Egypt, seems in the papyrus to have above a third more names, and to be divided into two groups or families ; and, lastly, in one other dynasty (Dyn. XV) of Upper Egypt, it agrees exactly in the number and order of its names, and makes no addition to them, but instead of having its reigns shorter than those of Manetho it has them longer, and gives at full those years of the dynasty which in Manetho's lists are either suppressed or misplaced.

But immediately after this last-named Dynasty XV the character of the hieratic list undergoes a great change. The writing itself becomes at once somewhat closer and smaller, so that there are more lines in a column than before ; and, as we get nearer to the end, it becomes smaller and closer still ; as if the writer were either tired of copying unimportant names, or was compressing them so as to bring them all into a certain number of columns. As regards the contents of these later columns the difference is still more remarkable. A vast number of kings, all seemingly, or all but a very few, of one and the same lineage and connection, with a certain family resemblance running through their names, are registered in one continuous series, without any trace of sums or headings or even of initial rubrics to divide them into separate groups or families. This multitude of kings, exactly equal perhaps in number to all those of the preceding dynasties of the papyrus put together, and equal, within 3, to twice the number contained in the corresponding dynasties of Manetho's lists, are nevertheless all referable to one, and to one only, of Manetho's dynasties, viz. Dyn. XVI (XIV of Ptolemy), which follows next in order after Dyn. XV (XII of Ptolemy). And here the papyrus becomes very serviceable in attesting the true historical character, and in illustrating the peculiarities, of Manetho's Dyn. XVI. And the peculiarities of the papyrus itself are in turn illustrated, and any sinister suspicion obviated, by Dyn. XVI of Manetho's lists, and by the monuments, more especially by the Karnak Chamber.

As regards Dyn. XVI of Manetho, — if we had nothing before us but its bare heading, giving a number of 76 or 36

kings, all anonymous, in 184 years, most readers would at once suspect an error in the text; or, if more cautious, they would argue, and reasonably, that Manetho in this instance *must* be supposed to have compressed a number of petty lines or dynasties into one. The Karnak Chamber erected by Thothmes III. throws some light on this subject by exhibiting in one half of its whole design, that to the left of the spectator, a compendious representation of four lines of kings answering to Dynasties X, XIII, XIV, and XV of Manetho, while in the other half, that to our right, it has a group of xxx cartouches equal in number, all but two, to the whole corresponding group to our left; and yet these, all together, are referable to one and to one only of Manetho's dynasties, viz. his Dyn. XVI. The Turin papyrus, again, illustrates both the lists of Manetho and the arrangement of the Karnak Chamber, by exhibiting the same group of kings, that namely which comes next in order after Dyn. XV, as vastly exceeding in number any one of the dynasties preceding, indeed as occupying an equal space in its columns with them all, just as the same group occupies one full half of the Thothmes Chamber, corresponding symmetrically to the aggregate of the preceding dynasties on the other. But the papyrus does more than this; it shows that, however astonishing it may be to find in Manetho's lists 36 or even 76 kings grouped together, as if in one dynasty, and however anomalous this may appear, even after we have concluded that here is in fact a whole group of petty dynasties in one, the number of kings exhibited by the Karnak Chamber, and indicated by Manetho, is so far from being fictitious, or from being exaggerated, that it is actually only a selection of the more important branches from a multitude far greater still.

As regards the papyrus itself, — if we had it alone, we might have been tempted to suppose that this host of names, all of one group, in its later columns, and even others perhaps in its earlier, were fictitious and unhistorical. But the group of xxx cartouches occupying one full half of the Karnak Chamber and plainly of this same lineage (for some of them are identifiable in the fragments of the papyrus),

agrees with the text of Manetho's lists in introducing in one group a number of kings altogether anomalous, and indeed incredible, if one thinks of a single succession. But when once this misconception is removed, and it is understood that during a certain time, and in certain localities of Upper Egypt and Nubia, kings were extremely numerous, there is nothing more wonderful in a list of 143 or 162 than in one of 76, 36, or 30 names.

Particular monuments, too, throw light on the composition of this group, both in the papyrus, and also in the Karnak Chamber, and in the lists of Manetho. For in one or two instances kings whose names occur either on the right side of the Karnak Chamber or in the later columns of the Turin papyrus, or both in the Karnak Chamber and in the papyrus, have been found named on contemporary monuments or in inscriptions together with other members of their family, their fathers, their mothers, their wives, their sons, and their daughters. And in the instances alluded to (of which a more detailed account has been given above at p. 398), the father of the king is not distinguished by any royal title. And yet in the Karnak Chamber and in the columns of the papyrus those kings *whose fathers were not kings* have no accompanying sign to show that they were themselves each the first of a line. There is neither sum nor heading before them, nor are their names commenced in red, like that of *Soris* in Column V. Hence it is plain that what looks in the papyrus like one vast group or succession, is in truth a mere congeries of an unknown number of petty contemporary lines, which we have no data for distinguishing one from another, nor for ascertaining how many or how few names followed one another in each of them in succession. Hence, too, one readily understands that, when the royal title was so multiplied, it would be natural in most cases to exhibit a selection and abridgment rather than a full enumeration; and the greater importance or longer continuance distinguishing some of these petty lines from others would naturally be the guiding principle in making the selection. And this prodigious development of royalty in Upper Egypt and Nubia between the date of the conquest

and organisation of Nubia by Sesortasen I. and the commencement of Dyn. XVIII, together with the knowledge that in early times local kings were numerous in all the neighbouring countries, suggests perhaps the most probable explanation of that number of kings, small indeed by comparison, but still great, by which the earlier groups also of the papyrus, or most of them, exceed the corresponding dynasties of Manetho's lists.

Of the fragments still remaining after Nos. 64 and 67, which exhibit the first six reigns of Manetho's Dyn. XV, and complete Column VI of Seyffarth, our own Column XI, Seyffarth has made six more columns, calculating that the papyrus had twelve columns in all, with a length of about six feet. And those peculiarities of the writing which have been already mentioned suffice to show that all, or very nearly all, the fragments of which we are now speaking must really have belonged to the later columns. But as regards the number of the columns, we are forced to conclude that in these fragments there are the remains of at least *seven*. So instead of twelve we shall make in all sixteen complete columns, and the last seven of them with 24 lines of writing to each. For whereas fragments 72, 72 *a*, 81, 97, and 98 unite all together at top into one continuous surface, so that they may be called one great fragment, containing the upper parts of three consecutive columns, viz. the first 13 lines of our Column X, in $6\frac{7}{8}$ inches, the first 9 lines of Column XI, in $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and the first 14 lines of Column XII, in 7 inches, Seyffarth has placed under the 13 lines of Column X (his VII) the connected fragments 76, 78, and 79, with 14 more lines, in $6\frac{5}{8}$ inches, so that the column has in all 27 lines and a length of at least $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches of writing (and it is to the writing alone that all our measurements refer). But this is certainly too much. And, again, under the 14 lines of Column XII (his IX) he has placed fragment 101 with 13 lines more of writing, in $6\frac{2}{8}$ inches, so that this column also seems to contain 27 lines, with a length of $14\frac{1}{4}$ inches; which is again too much. The long fragments therefore with which he has completed Columns X and XII (his VII and IX) must be displaced and moved forward

to make parts of some two other columns beyond Column XII. And as they have no blank edge to show that they either began or ended the columns to which they belonged, we shall go merely on the fact that the greater number of the fragments presented, and the largest of them, are from the upper part of the papyrus, when we make of them the commencements of our next two columns, XIII and XIV. After these necessary changes, as there is nothing to indicate the true order of the names, and the great bulk of them seem to be all of one and the same connection, we shall fill in the vacant space on the five columns numbered X to XIV inclusively with such of the fragments still unplaced as suit best the number of lines wanted, adhering as closely as possible to the order in which they are numbered by Seyffarth. And when this is done, there will still remain fragments enough to complete two more columns, XV and XVI, and even to begin a seventeenth, in apportioning which we shall reserve to the last certain fragments numbered by Seyffarth 152, 150, 123, and 112, because the names on all these show signs of their belonging to some different connection. One small fragment, No. 141, on which M. Brugsch has distinguished the name of the god *Ra*, we have in consequence transposed from the head of Seyffarth's last column, XII, to stand at the head of our own Column I. But after having thus postponed or withdrawn 10 beginnings of names represented by fragments 152 and 150, and 5 represented by fragment 112, and 2 indicated by fragment 141, there still remain traces of no fewer than 126 beginnings of names (without reckoning separately fragments of endings) which might all have belonged to one and the same connection. And we suppose that these 126 beginnings of names still preserved imply the existence of about 26 more now lost, which might belong to the same group, making for it 152 in all, or perhaps only 143, if 6 beginnings be given to the 6 endings on fragment 123, and if the 16 names then represented by fragments 152, 150, and 123 are still 2 or 3 short of the whole number of that connection.

As regards the multitudinous group which commences after the names of Dyn. XV, after an intervening sum

and a heading, in the 5th line of Column X, and which we have already connected with the right side of the Karnak Chamber and with Manetho's Dyn. XVI, the first thing to be noticed is this, that the throne-name of Amenemhe I. (*Ra-s-hotep-het*), the first king of Dyn. XV, appears in the heading prefixed to this group, as if he were also its founder, for the ancestor of its royal lines: for in the heading the words "kings *after Ra-s-hotep-het*" are still very distinctly legible. Nor is this the only sign that the whole group of Dyn. XVI traced their descent from Amenemhe I. and Sesortasen I., perhaps from some daughter of one of those kings, whose husband may have held command in the South country after the first organisation of Nubia. For in the list itself which follows in Column X (VII of Seyffarth) of the papyrus, the third and fourth kings take respectively the family name of *Amenemhe I.* "*Amenemhe*," with an initial *Ra*, and his throne-name *Ra-s-hotep-het*, as their distinct personal names; and the eighth king, again, takes the throne-name *Ra-s-hotep-het*. These indications are the more valuable, because Manetho has obscured the true origin and duration of his Dyn. XVI by assigning to it a period of 184 years which historically belongs only to the supremacy of the Shepherds as reckoned from their capture of Memphis to their overthrow by Amosis.

Next, one may notice among the names certain indications of the *region* with which these kings were connected. Not only do the names *Sevek-hotep* and *Nefer-hotep*, or throne-names known to have been joined with one or other of these two family names, identify the group with that on our right in the Karnak Chamber, and with monumental traces in Lower and Upper Nubia,—the statue of one Sevekhoteb having been found in the isle of Argo, and inscriptions with the names of others at Semneh, and near the first cataract (as those mentioned above at p. 398),—but the composition and meaning of some of the names themselves distinctly allude to their geographical connection. Thus the meaning of one name, *Ra-Nahasi*, is literally "*King of the Blacks*" or "*King of the Negroes*," reminding us of one of the Sebek-hoteps who may still be seen painted *black* on an altar in the

Museum at Leyden, and of the famous black queen of Amosis, Ahmes Nofriari. Another name again has attached to it the remarkable title "*Commandant*," or "*Captain of the Soldiers*," which is doubly illustrative, both of the great multiplication of the royal title, and of the locality; since we find in an inscription of the 3rd year of *Ra-kherp* or *khem-khouteti*, *Sevekhoteb*, at the Nilometer at *Semneh* in Nubia, this chronological notice added, "when *Renseneb* was *Commandant of the Soldiers* on the . . . in the station of *Chemou* of [i. e. the fortress founded by] *the late king Ra-kha-karu* (Sesortasen III.)." Indeed it is by no means unlikely that on one of the fragments of the papyrus we have the latter part of the name of this very *Renseneb*, who was commandant of the garrison in the time of *Ra-kherp-khouteti Sevekhoteb*, as a king.

As regards the hope naturally arising that the papyrus may throw light on the order of the names standing to our right hand in the Karnak Chamber, this is certainly disappointed. But the disappointment is not hard to account for. For since out of the 30 names, which once stood to the right of the spectator in the Karnak Chamber, only 17 have been perfectly and 4 others partially preserved, while of the 143 names or thereabout once belonging to the corresponding group in the papyrus only 46 are now completely legible and 26 others partially, being less all together than half, it follows of course that any particular names legible on fragments of the papyrus *may* have belonged to the Karnak Chamber though they are now absent from it, and, *vice versâ*, that other names still preserved in the Karnak Chamber *may* have belonged originally to the papyrus though they cannot now be read on any of the fragments preserved. For the same cause it is uncertain whether any of the names of this group which have been found on scarabæi or on other contemporary monuments were of the number of those less important kings who obtained no place in the Karnak Chamber, though they were all enumerated in the columns of the hieratic papyri. This question will then only be resolved with certainty when the number of known monumental names of this group not now visible in the Karnak

Chamber, shall be so increased as to exceed the eleven blank or nearly blank cartouches in which all hitherto discovered may well have been contained. And for the order of the names, though we have in the upper parts of Column X, XI, and XII of the papyrus as many as 29 names preserved in their original order, so that if there be among them three or four names occurring also in the Karnak Chamber (and there do seem to be three), they might have been expected to help somewhat towards ascertaining the order of its series, still, this expectation must cease when one reflects, first, that if the right side of the Karnak Chamber contains four or more Nubian lines arranged after the same method as those four lines which are on the left side, it is clearly impossible to make out their order beyond the first few places, unless we know enough from other sources about the different lines to be able to distinguish them at sight. It is only because we happen to have such knowledge, that we can make out the order of the names on the left side of the Chamber. But of the different Nubian lines we know at present nothing or next to nothing; except that we can identify on contemporary monuments and inscriptions, or on scarabæi, some 15 or 16 isolated names. And even as regards the whole lines represented in the Karnak Chamber, it is by no means certain, though it is possible, that the order in which it exhibited its selected groups was the same in which the papyrus exhibited the same groups in conjunction with many other groups of less importance, and perhaps also with many single kings whose royalty may have been merely personal and even temporary; as if, for instance, the "Commandant of the force" stationed at Semneh had also the title of *king*. All therefore that we can do in this matter is to insert here those names which are still legible to our right in the Karnak Chamber, beginning from the furthest name towards the left in the uppermost line, and so taking all the names in each line from left to right in succession. And as all those names which to the writer's knowledge may be identified elsewhere, and all those below in the Turin papyrus which are similarly identifiable, will be printed in Italics, the reader will be able to compare the two lists for himself.

Nubian cartouches of Dyn. XVI of Manetho (XIV of Ptolemy) in that half of the Karnak Chamber which is to the right of the spectator. (See above, pp. 293, 294.)

UPPERMOST LINE.

1. [*Ra-s-onch?*] *kar*; perhaps the same as in line 4 of Col. XIV, Pap., and in an inscription at Hamamat.
2. *S-het-en-ra*.
3. *Ra-s-onch-het*, in line 10 of Col. X, Pap.
4. *Ra-kherp-khouteti*, called Sevekhoteb I.: in line 5 of Col. X, Pap.
5. *Ra-kherp-s-het*[*teti*]; called Sevekhoteb II. Lepsius has printed the names of 11 members of his family, from which it appears that his father Mentuhoteb was *not* a king. On a sculpture in the Louvre his daughters are represented worshipping Ammon-Khem.
6. *Ra-sha-sechem?* called Neferhoteb I. in line 12 of Col. XIII, Pap.: and found by M. Brugsch in the Isles of Sehèl and Konosso, and at Assouan, with the names of many other members of his family, from which it appears that his father, *Ha-anch-ef* was *not* a king. (See above p. 398.) Also in the Louvre.
7. *Ra-sha-nefer*; called Sevekhoteb III., whose statue was found in the Isle of Argo, in Southern Nubia: also on a scarab, in the Louvre: seemingly son of the preceding, and the same as in line 10 of Col. XIV, Pap. But in the Pap. and in the inscriptions found by M. Brugsch there is another son intervening between the two names, *Hathorsi*, who is omitted in the Karnak Chamber.
8. *Ra-sha*-[*kar*]; called Neferhoteb II.: in line 10 of Col. XIV, Pap.; on scarab, in the Louvre; at Masha-kit in Nubia.

SECOND LINE.

1. *Ra-sha-onch*; Sevekhoteb IV.: on limestone columns in the Louvre; on altar from Abydos at Leyden.
2. *Ra-sha-hotep*; (Sevekhoteb) in line 1 of Col. XI, Pap.; and at Abydos.
3. *Ra-s-nefer*.
4. *Name lost*.
5. *Ra-ssesur-teti*; in line 10 of Col. XIII, Pap.
6. *Ra-mer-karu*; in line 22 of Col. XIII, Pap.
7. *Ra-mer-kherp*.
8. *Name lost*.

THIRD LINE.

1. *Ra-kherp-het-shaou* (Sebek-em-saf); on the Kosseyr road; and in the Louvre.
2. *Name lost*.
3. *Name lost*.
4. *Ra-khou-teti* (Sevekhoteb); in line 6 of Col. XIII, Pap. In the inscription of his third year at Semneh he names Sesortasen III. as a former king, and "*Renseneb*" as being then "Commandant of the force in the fortress of Sesortasen III."
5. *Ra-mer-hotep* (An): in line 4 of Col. XI, Pap.: and in the Louvre.
6. *S-ouah-en-ra*.
7. *Ra-kherp-ouah-shaou* (Rahoteb); in line 23 of Col. XIII, Pap.?

LOWEST LINE.

1. *Name lost*.
2. *Name lost*.
3. *Name lost*.
4. *Ra-ta* . . . [teti].
5. *S-het-en-ra*; in the Louvre, small.
6. *Ra-s-nefer* . . . perhaps in line 21 of Col. XIII, Pap.
7. *Name lost*.

If we pass on now to those fragments which have been postponed to form the latter part of Column XVI, their distinctive peculiarities are these: first, that the six names on fragment 152 are all of them destitute of the ordinary initial *Ra*, which seems, however, to be prefixed, with only

one or two exceptions, to all the names of the Nubian connection. The third name of the six is also, according to M. Brugsch, very remarkable, as its initial sign is the standard of the Heracleopolite Nome (the 22nd and last of the Nomes of Upper Egypt). The emblem is *a knife* (pronounced *sept*) placed upon a sort of stand usual for the names of Gods and Nomes; and it is followed by *en*, "of," and the ichneumon, which in contradistinction to the crocodile was sacred in that Nome. The third name, too, on the same fragment (*Pann-set-sept*?) exhibits the same Heracleopolite emblem, *sept*, written phonetically; so as to suggest the inquiry whether we may not have in these hieratic names the source of the *Heracleopolite* dynasties of the lists of Ptolemy and Africanus. In the four names on fragment 150 one observes again the same absence of the initial *Ra*. Two of the names, moreover, viz. the second and the fourth, reading *Seti* and *Hor*, are either simply identical with names of gods, or, if the endings are incomplete, they each consist at any rate of the name of a god in combination with some other element; so that this whole fragment might have been suspected to belong rather to the earlier part of the papyrus, to Column II, but that the diminished size of the writing and the closeness of the lines seem to forbid transposition. In fragment 123 there are the ends, or traces of the ends, of six names having this peculiarity, that distinctive epithets or surnames are added after them, without being inclosed in the cartouches; whereas in the case of the Nubian group, where many of the names in the papyrus are double, throne-names and family names which, as found on contemporary monuments, make two distinct cartouches, are uniformly (at least whenever both are given) compounded into one. And here again in the case of fragment 123, as in that of fragment 150, it is only the style of the writing which prevents one from thinking that the fragment should have been placed earlier, among those names which may correspond to the Nephhercheres connection of the upper line of the Abydos tablet. For several of these names also seem to have ended with the element *kar*; and the annexed surnames, *Hap...*, *Menta*, and *Beb-nou-m*, remind one of those added to the common elements *kar*, *nefer*, and *neferkar*, in the Abydos

series; though there (as the symmetry of the sculptured lines required) the surnames are all enclosed in the cartouches. Possibly these names may have been in fact contemporaneous, and of kindred origin; and if they were petty kings at the northern extremity of Upper Egypt, placed where they seem to have been placed in the papyrus because of their close connection with the Shepherds who were next to follow, this may perhaps account in some degree both for the absence of the initial *Ra*, and for the occurrence of the name of the god Seti or Soutech in composition in one of the names. And in the Abydos tablet also the last two names in the upper line, *Neferkar-Seb-en-Pepi* and *Sneferkar-Onnou*, are destitute of the initial *Ra*.

Those five names the initial signs or commencements of which are preserved in fragment 112 are supposed by M. Brugsch to belong to as many of the Shepherd-kings for this reason, that the form of the last two, indeed that of all the three commencements which remain, consists of the initial *A* followed by a sitting figure, or of the initial *A* alone; and this form seems to have been frequented in writing the names of strangers. Enough too remains of the first name of the three to show that it probably read *Aan* or *Oun*, which suits one of the names, viz. the fifth, of Manetho's Dyn. XVII (XV of Ptolemy); and the little that remains after the sitting figure in the last name would do well for part of the first *p* in Apepi. Accepting this identification as not improbable, we must suppose these five names, together with one or two more, to have made the commencement of a fresh column; since we have already completed, perhaps indeed somewhat more than completed, Column XVI. Possibly there may have been in Column XVI a sum or an initial rubric dividing the 143 (?) Nubian names from that lesser group which, more for convenience than from trusting to the slender indication noticed above, we shall call Heracleopolite. And with something like certainty (if only M. Brugsch be right in his identification of the names on fragment 112), we may conclude that the Shepherds at any rate were divided by a heading and a sum from all the native kings who had preceded. Their number would not

be likely to be swelled unnecessarily; but there can scarcely have been fewer of them than seven, which is one more than the six of Manetho's Dyn. XVII (XV of Ptolemy); since the name *Apepi* seems to be given in a hieratic papyrus to the last Shepherd-king, in the time of *Ra-sekenn*, when Upper Egypt threw off the yoke. And so also it stands in the list of Ptolemy of Mendes, or in that of Africanus and Syncellus. And it is more likely that there were in fact two kings of this same name *Apepi*, the one the fourth of the dynasty with a very long reign, and the other the *seventh* and last with so short a reign as to account for its being omitted by Manetho, than that either the Apophis who stands fourth of Manetho's six was misplaced by him or by Josephus, or that Ptolemy of Mendes, or Africanus, or Syncellus (no one of whom are to be suspected in this matter), transposed the name afterwards to suit some particular theory. The same conclusion seems also to be required by M. Brugsch's view respecting fragment 112, if the last name but one on that fragment really reads *Aan*, and is to be identified with the Janias of Manetho; and if this is followed by two more names the last of which looks like the commencement of *Apepi*. That the papyrus *ended*, however, with the names of these Shepherds cannot for a moment be supposed. On the contrary, *if* they were registered in its columns at all, they were certainly followed by the names of the kings of Dyn. XVIII which overthrew and expelled them, and which, uniting under a single sceptre all the rights of the native successions, whether Tanite, Memphite, Diospolite, or Nubian, ruled both Upper and Lower Egypt, and Nubia also, as one empire.

The vast sums of years still legible in those lines of writing which intervened in the papyrus between the divine reigns and Menes prove clearly that this hieratic list embodied within itself the multiplication of the first 2922 years of human time into 35,064 month-years; and therefore, as we may fairly infer, the date of its first arrangement was either at or only a little after the cyclical epoch of B.C. 1322. But as no single fragment of those preserved now exhibits any name, or part of any name, which can be fixed to Dyn. XVIII, we must suppose that the papyrus had already been

somewhat damaged, and had lost one large fragment from its outer part or commencement (which might be the last part of its written contents), when it was so doubled up and crushed, whether in packing or repacking a box, or otherwise, as reduced it to that condition of a mere litter of fragments in which it was found at Turin by Champollion, and from which (with whatever inevitable mistakes) it has been so well reconstructed by Seyffarth. And even after we have ventured to append as a conjectural restoration the seventeen names of Manetho's Dyn. XVIII, and the first two of Dyn. XIX so as to make the whole end at the cyclical epoch of B.C. 1322, one year before the accession of Rameses III., one of the sums which have preceded at the commencement in Column III, viz. that of 13,420, seems to indicate that this particular papyrus, of which we have now the fragments, was not itself one of the very earliest copies which may have been contemporary with the original autograph of the author of the arrangement. That is, if we are right in reading the two great sums of years immediately preceding the names of the first kings in Column III as 13,420 and 23,218 respectively (identifying the latter sum with that which occurs separately on fragment 12), and in supposing that these two sums are distinct, so that they may be added up together, the first and smaller of them containing the sum of the years reckoned from the date *at which the papyrus was written* up to a certain Horus, or, *vice versâ*, from a certain Horus down to the date at which the papyrus was written; and the second sum, the larger of the two, containing all the years which had preceded from the commencement of the divine reigns (whether Phthah, or, as is more probable, and as we see in the Chronicle, the sun-god Ra, were the first who had a reign measured by years) to the Horus above-mentioned. This Horus, in connection with the larger sum, is read by M. Brugsch *Hor-hesou* or *Hor-hersou*; and since the larger sum of 23,200 years or more (for the decads or decad and the units are broken away) which is reckoned to *Hor-hersou* stands last, and is followed by the heading of the "kings from Menes" and the names of Menes and his successors, M. Brugsch supposes, not unnaturally, but still without any

grammatical necessity, that *Hor-hesou* is probably the last divine ruler, who immediately preceded Menes. But the indication contained in the sums themselves points a different way; and the reader, on referring to pp. 39 and 41, above, will see that the figures naturally to be given in a papyrus which should be written in B.C. 1322, would have been 23,218, and $(3944 + 7902 + 341 + 217 + 903 =)$ 13,307, the two sums making together the total of xxv nominal cycles in 36,525 years. In the pages referred to above the figures as printed are 23,220 and 7900; and the ground on which 23,220 was conjectured to be one of the sums of the oldest Egyptian scheme of the ἀποκατάστασις rather than 23,218 is there explained; but the writer had not then noticed that the sum on fragment 12 of the papyrus which was read by Champollion 13,218, and which is given as illegible or uncertain by Wilkinson, has certainly two bars in the place of myriads, and not one only, and about the ten and the eight in the places for the decads and units there is no doubt. It is only the figure for the thousands which seems doubtful: and for this Champollion's reading, which gives a meaning to the marked and boldly formed peculiarity of the first stroke to the left, is preferable to the rendering of "2000," which would take no account of it whatever. So the sum is probably identical with that in the recapitulation in line 9 of fragment 1; and it enables us to restore the decad and the units there wanting. And, this being done, those two month-years which the writer improperly, as it now seems, added to the first and greatest sum in his calculation at p. 39, must of course be restored to the later sum from which he detached them, and to that part of it which now stands at pp. 39 and 41 as 7900, which ought to have been 7902. But in the Turin papyrus we have not, as we should have expected (if it had any vast sums of month-years at all) two sums of $23,220 + 13,305$, or $23,318 + 13,307$, making up a total of 36,525 years in xxv complete cycles to July 20 B.C. 1322; but we find two sums of 23,218 and 13,420, making in all 36,638 years, which are $(36,638 - 36,525 =)$ 113 too many; and this certainly seems to imply that our papyrus was a copy made 113 years after the first composition of the original list; with a continuation of some eight kings, who

had reigned from the accession of Rameses III. in the interval. The eighth of these, *Rameses-Sha-em-Djam*, *Merer-amon*, the last king of Dyn. XIX (his colleague the Thuoris of Manetho being dead) we suppose to have been still on the throne in B.C. 1209, when the papyrus was written; and in that case the name partly preserved among the figures and accounts on the back of the papyrus must be either merely retrospective, as for instance if it be connected with some mention of the Ramesseum of Ramesses II., to the library of which the scribe was perhaps attached; or else it must be that of one of the later Rameseses of Dyn. XX, two of whom, numbered XIII and XIV above, at p. 335, took those titles *Hakma*, *Miamon*, which are still legible on the back of the papyrus.

The whole series of XVI full columns with the continuation or supplement, thus made out for the Turin papyrus, and described, shall now be subjoined in a tabular form, so that the reader who has not before him Lepsius' or Wilkinson's facsimile of the original fragments as pasted together by Seyffarth and preserved at Turin, may be enabled the more easily to follow and to compare the foregoing reasonings and explanations.

In using this English reconstruction it is to be observed that all conjectural restorations, whether certain or only probable, are printed in red: also, that whenever the hieratic signs for one or more thousands, for one or more hundreds, and for one, two, or three decads are damaged and ambiguous, or where one unit at the end of a sum remains on the very edge of a fragment and might have been followed by one, two, or at most three others, the figures representing the uncertain thousands, hundreds, decads, or units are also printed in red; and the red in these cases means not that the figures so printed are wholly absent, but merely that they are damaged in the papyrus, and within certain limits ambiguous. Of the fragments arranged by Seyffarth and numbered in the lithographed facsimiles of Lepsius and Wilkinson, those only which are connected with the beginnings or endings of names, and so make towards the reconstruction of the columns, are given in the subjoined tables; but these, it is believed, are all accounted for. The measurements refer only to the lines of *writing*, perfect or imperfect.

COLUMN I.				COLUMN II.			
Frag. Line.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	Frag. Line.	Frag. Line.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	Frag.
1	No. 141 Phthah?	13,149?		1	2d ———		
2	Ra	1,161		2	3d ———		
3	Cneph?	706	No. 7	3	4th ———		
4	Seb	300		4	5th ———		
5	Osiri	200		5	6th ———		
6	Set	300		6	7th ———		
7	Hor-Neterou	306?		7	8th ———		
8	No. 11 Thoth	3,226		8	9th ———		
9	Ma	3,140		9	10th ———		
10	Hor	400		10	11th ———		
11	Sum	23,218	No. 14?	11	12th ———		
12	1st god, 2d series	.... 9		12	13th ———		
13	2d ———	.....		13	14th ———		
14	3d ———			14	15th Ha ...		
15	4th ———			15	16th ... si		
16	5th ———		No. 41?	16	17th Hapi		
17	6th ———			17	18th ... s...		
18	7th ———			18	19th Mena		
19	8th ———			19	20th Ur...		
20	9th ———			20	21st ———		
21	10th ———			21	22d ———		
22	Sum	3,944	No. 40?	22	23d ———		
23	1st god, 3d series	...		23	[Sum, xxiii reigns . . 5613. 0.23] ?		

COLUMN V.				COLUMN VI.			
Frag. Line.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	Frag. Line.	Frag. Line.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	Frag.
1	9th Neferkar-sck	8. 3.—.10		1	32d ———	— — —	
2	10th Ouazefa	1. 8. 4.34		2	33d ———	6. — —	
3	No. 18 11th Ba.tsi	27. 2. 1.40	No. 18a	3	34th ... zefa	6. — —	No. 32
4	12th Nebkar	19. 0. 0.—		4	35th Userket? Everliv.	24. — —	
5	13th Sora	19. 1. 0.—		5	36th Sephres?	24. — —	
6	14th Sorti	— — — —		6	37th Neferkar?	23. — —	
7	15th ———	— — — —		7	38th Sisires?	8. — —	
8	16th ———	— — — —		8	39th ———	10. — —	
9	17th ———	— — — —		9	40th [and another?]	10. — —	
10	18th ———	— — — —		10	41st Chere?	18. — —	
11	19th ———	— — — —		11	No. 42d ———	4. — —	
12	20th ———	— — — —		12	33? 43d ———	2. — —	
13	21st ———	— — — —		13	44th ———	7. — —	No. 34
14	22d ———	— — — —		14	45th Rathroues?	12. — —	
15	23d ———	73		15	46th ———	10. — —	
16	24th ———	72		16	47th ———	7. — —	
17	25th ———	6. [No. 63	No. 30	17	48th ———	2. — —	
18	26th ———	44. 144? 95		18	49th Menkare?	21. — —	
19	27th ———	— — — —		19	50th Men.kar.hor	8. — —	
20	28th ———	95		20	No. 34a 51st Tat	28. — —	No. 34a
21	29th ———	70		21	52d Onnos	30. — —	
22	30th ———	24		22	Sum: [79] kings from Mena ...		
23	31st ———	— — — —		23	[113. 11.34] ———		

COLUMN III.				COLUMN IV.			
Frag. Line.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	Frag. Line.	Frag. Line.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	Frag. Line.
1	.....	yrs. 1000 + ?..	1		"[00.28" from Col. III] 13th....		
2	.. xxx ...	yrs. 1115	2		14th Our ...		
3	.. x reigns ..	yrs.	3		15th Tsatsi		
4	.. they cccxxx life	yrs.	4	No.	16th Mer ...		
5	.. x reigns ..	yrs. 1000 + ?	5	20?	17th Akarou		
6	.. xix periods, and yrs.	11. 4.22	6	5?	18th		
7	No. 1	.. in periods xix yrs. 2200 + ?..	7		19th		
8		Sum, Fathers vii, yrs.	8		20th		
9	from	Hor shesu yrs. 13420.	9		21st		
10		Sum, to Hor shesu 23218, ...	10	No.	22d -----		
11		Kings from Mena (Everliving) ..	11	19?	23d Sent		
12		1st Mena [Tanites]	12		24th Aakar		
13		2d Athoth	13	No.	25th -----		
14		3d -----	14	22?	26th -----		
15		4th -----	15	10?	27th -----		
16		5th -----	16		1st [Memphites?]		
17		6th -----	17		2d -----		
18		7th -----	18		3d -----		
19		8th ... h	19		4th -----		
20	No. 21?	9th .. Baou ..	20		5th -----		
21		10th .. Ka	21		6th -----		
22		11th ... neteren	22	No. 31	7th Ouah ...		
23		12th -----	23	11	8th Snefrou		

COLUMN VII.				COLUMN VIII.			
Frag. Line.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	Frag. Line.	Frag. Line.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	Frag. Line.
1	1st Ati? [Memphites?]	30. 6.21	1		11th -----		
2			2	No. 59	12th Ra		
3	2d Teta?	20. 0. 0	3		13th Ra		
4	3d Imhotep?	14. 0. 0	4	No. 59	14th Ra		
5	4th Papa Maire	9. 4. 0. 0	5	3?	15th Ra		
6	5th Merenre	1. 1. 0	6		16th -----		
7	6th Nitokrit	12. 0. 3	7	No. 60	17th -----		
8	7th Neferkar	2. 1. 1	8	4	18th -----		
9	8th Nefrous	4. 2. 1	9		Sum of xviii. reigns. 331?		
10	9th Ab ..	2. 1. 1	10	No. 61	1st king [Diospolites?]		
11	10th -----	1. 0. 8	11	61	2d -----		
12	Sum ...	yrs. 181. 0. 0	12	51	3d -----		
13	Rubric ...	yrs. ?	13		4th [.... Nos. 62, 63. 9		
14	No. 46	1st king [Abydos?]	14		5th [.... 8 No.		
15		2d -----	15		6th Ra.neb.kher 51 85?		
16		3d -----	16		7th Ra.teser .. 12		
17		4th Ra.nefer.kar	17		8th -----		
18		5th Chroti	18		9th -----		
19	No. 47	6th Se	19		10th [.....		
20		7th -----	20		11th .. Raneferkar		No. 48?
21	3?	8th Our ...	21		12th ... enta?		21
22		9th Shet ...	22		13th i		
23		10th Ha	23		14th [.....		

COLUMN IX.

Frag. Line. In.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	No.
1	15th ——— .. made his reign?		
2	16th ——— 6.—6 Sum, 124 kings		No. 44?
3	17th ——— .. from Mena...		22 $\frac{2}{3}$
4	Sum of xvii. reigns ... 355. 0.10		
5	Heading? [Diospolites?]		
6	1st king?		
7	2d ———		
8	3d ———		
9	4th ———	10	
10	5th ———	5	
11	6th ———	9	No. 50?
12	7th ———		
13	8th ———		
14	9th ———		
15	10th ———		
16	11th ———		
17	Sum of xi. reigns 243 ———		
18	Heading, [viii Diospolites] from		No. 64
	Ra.s.hotep.het [in yrs. 191? ———]		23 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	1st Ra.s.hotep.het	9 ———	
20	2d Ra.cheper.kar	48 ———	
21	3d Ra.neb.karu	37 ———	
22	4th Ra.sha.cheper	19 ———	No. 67
23	5th Ra.kha.karu	36 ———	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
24	6th Ra.en.ma.t	48 ———	13 $\frac{1}{2}$

COLUMN X.

Frag. Line. In.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	No.
1	7th Ra.ma.khru	9. 3.27	
2	8th Ra.sebek.nefrou	3. 10.24	
3	Sum of kings in yrs. 213.	1.17	No. 72a
4	Heading [Nubians?] after		34
	Ra.s.hotep.het		
5	1st Ra.khou.teti	1. 3.24	
6	2d Ra.kherp.kar	6. 0. 0	
7	3d Ra.Amenemhe	— — —	
8	4th Ra.s.hotep.het	— — —	No. 74
9	5th Aouphni	2. — —	
10	6th Ra.s.onch.het	1. — 22	
11	7th Ra.s.men.kar	— — 22	No. 75?
12	8th Ra.s.hotep.het	— 1.27	
13	9th h.kher	— — 22	
14	10th ———		
15	11th ———		
16	12th ———		
17	13th Ra.mer-[cheper]		
18	14th Ra.mer-[kar?]		
19	15th ———		
20	16th ———		
21	17th ———		
22	18th ———		
23	19th ———		
24	20th ——— [kar]		No. 96?

COLUMN XIII.

Frag. Line. In.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	No.
1	69th Ra.netem.het		
2	70th Ra.sevek.hot[ep]		No. 77
3	71st Ren-sene[b		23 $\frac{2}{3}$
4	72d Ra.shouou?		
5	73d Ra.s.zefa		
6	74th Ra.kherp.khouteti, Sevekhotep		No. 78
7	75th Ra.tseser .. [ra		24 $\frac{1}{2}$
8	76th Ra .. [kar "Commandant."		
9	77th		
10	78th Ra.tseser Seti		
11	79th Ra.kherp.kar, Sevekhotep		No. 79
12	80th Ra.sha, Neferhotep		25 $\frac{1}{2}$
13	81st Ra.Hathor.si		
14	82d Ra.sha.nefer, Sevekhotep		
15	83d ———		
16	84th ———		
17	85th ———		
18	86th ——— [....		No. 118
19	87th ——— [kar ..		119
20	88th ——— [....		
21	89th ———		
22	90th ———		No. 142
23	91st Ra.tses ..		
24	92d Ra.tses ..		

COLUMN XIV.

Frag. Line. In.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	No.
1	93d Ra		
2	94th Ra.se.cheper.ran		
3	95th Ra.tat.kheru		
4	96th Ra.s.onch.kar		No. 102?
5	97th Ra.nefer kher		
6	98th Ra.chem . .	— — 18	
7	99th Ra.ka . . .	— — 29	
8	100th Ra.nefer.het	— 7.20	No. 100?
9	101st Ra.a . . .	— — 21	24 $\frac{1}{2}$
10	102d Ra.sha . . .	2. — 4	
11	103d Ra.nefer?kar	2. — 1	
12	104th Ra.smen . . .		
13	105th ———		
14	106th ———	3. 2. —	No. 80?
15	107th ———	11. — —	
16	108th ———	3. — —	
17	109th ———		
18	110th ———		
19	111th heb.ra	2. — —	
20	112th	2. — —	No. 163
21	113th Ra.sha.seb.neb	3. — —	25 $\frac{1}{2}$
22	114th Ra.en.kar	3. — —	
23	115th	2. — —	
24	116th em	— — —	

COLUMN XI.

Line.	Frag. In.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	Frag. In.
1		21st <i>Ra.sha.hotep</i>	4. 8. 29	
2		22a <i>Ra.oua.hetAan.het</i>	10. 8. [28	No. 97
3	No. 81	23d <i>Ra.mer.nefer</i>	[23. 8. 18	24
4	1	24th <i>Ra.mer.hotep</i>	2. 2. [9	
5		25th <i>Ra.s.onch.en.set.hut</i>	3. 2. —	
6		26th <i>Ra.mer.onch.Ank</i>	3. 1. —	
7		27th <i>Ra.sab.kar.Hora</i>	1. — 8	
8	No. 82	28th —	2. — 4	No. 98
9		29th —	— 11	3
10		30th —	— 3	
11		31st —	— —	
12		32d —	— —	
13		33d —	— —	
14	No. 93	34th —	— —	
15	3	35th —	— —	
16		36th —	— —	
17		37th —	— —	
18		38th —	— —	
19		39th [.....	— —	No. 94?
20		40th ... mes	— —	25
21		41st ... ma.Aba	— —	
22		42d ... uben.Har	— —	
23		43d —	— —	
24		44th —	— —	

COLUMN XII.

Line.	Frag. In.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	Frag. In.
1		45th <i>Ra.nahasi</i>	— — 3	
2		46th <i>Ra.sha.kher</i>	— — 3	
3	No. 97	47th <i>Ra.neb.ef.shouou</i>	1. 5. 15	
4	4	48th <i>Ra.s.heb</i>	3. — —	
5		49th <i>Ra.mer.tefa</i>	3. — —	No. 97
6		50th <i>Ra.seb.kar</i>	1. — —	5
7		51st <i>Ra.ra.neb.tefa</i>	1. — —	
8		52d <i>Ra.uben</i>	1. — —	
9		53d —	1. — —	
10	No. 98	54th — [tefaNo.99?	— — 4	
11	3	55th <i>Ra.. [uben.ra</i>	— — 3	
12		56th <i>Ra.shouou.het</i>	— —	
13		57th <i>Ra.har.het</i>	— —	
14		58th <i>Ra.neb.senou</i>	— —	
15	No. 105	59th —	— —	
16	15	60th <i>Ra....</i>	— —	
17		61st —	— —	
18		62d —	— —	
19		63d —	— —	
20	No. 108	64th —	— —	
21	24	65th <i>Ra.s.nefer...</i>	— —	
22		66th <i>Ra.men-[karu?]</i>	— —	
23		67th .. ouah..	— —	
24		68th —	— —	

COLUMN XV.

Line.	Frag. In.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	Frag. In.
1		117th —	1. — —	No. 125
2		118th —	1. — —	
3		119th <i>Ra.kherp...</i>	1. — —	No. 127
4	No. 126	120th <i>Ra.kherp.ou...</i>	— — —	
5	39	121st <i>Ra.kherp.ou.s...</i>	— — —	
6		122d <i>Ra.sesen...</i>	— — —	
7		123d <i>Ra.nebari</i>	— — —	
8		124th <i>Ra.nebaten</i>	— — —	No. 120a
9		125th <i>Ra.sment...</i>	— — —	1
10		126th <i>Ra.tseser.aten</i>	... 12 — —	
11	No. 130	127th <i>Ra.kherp...</i>	[kher.ra — —	
12	11	128th —	— — —	
13		129th —	— — —	
14	No. 131	130th —	— — —	
15		131st —	— — —	
16	No. 133	132d —	1. — —	No. 109 and 110?
17	134	133d —	— — —	
18		134th —	4. — —	
19	No. 135	135th —	1. — —	No. 113?
20	1	136th —	4. — —	
21		137th —	— — —	
22	No. 136	138th —	— — —	
23	1	139th —	— — —	
24		140th —	— — —	

COLUMN XVI.

Line.	Frag. In.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	Frag. In.
1	No. 145	141st —	— —	
2		142d —	— —	No. 146?
3	151	143d —	— —	
4		Sum, cxliii kings	536 — —	
5		Heading? . [Heracleopolites?]	— —	
6		1st [Everliving	— —	
7	No. 152	2d <i>Ab.nou</i>	— —	
8	24	3d <i>Sept.en.mau</i>	— —	
9		4th <i>Pann.set.sept</i>	— —	
10		5th <i>Pah.As?</i>	— —	
11	No. 150	6th <i>Sor.hem.t</i>	— —	
12	12	7th <i>Aph...</i>	— —	
13	12	8th <i>Seti...</i>	— —	
14		9th <i>Nun...</i>	— —	
15		10th <i>Hor...</i>	— —	
16	No. 159?	11th [.... kar	— —	
17		12th	— —	No. 123?
18		13th ... <i>Hap...</i>	— —	27
19		14th ... kar <i>Menta</i>	— —	
20		15th ... kar <i>Beb.nu.m...</i>	— —	
21	No. 160?	16th	3 — —	No. 115
22	12	17th ... sheti	— —	12
23		18th ... en.neb.Erget	— —	
24		—	— —	

COLUMN XVII.				COLUMN XVIII.			
Line.	Frag.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.	Frag.	Line.	Reign	yrs. m. dys.
1		19th ———		1		13th [Achenchere]	
2		Sum of xix reigns	71. 2. 0 ?	2		14th Ra.men.pch	
3		Heading? [Shepherds] . . .		3		15th Ra.en.ma	
4		1st Seti?		4		16th Ra.tseser.ma	
5		2d Bebnu?		5		17th Ba.en.ra	
6	No. 112	3d Apanch?		6		18th Ra.tseser.cheperou	
7		4th Apepi?		7		19th Ra.tseser.shaou	
8		5th Aoun . .		8		Sum. xix reigns, yrs.	426. — —
9		6th A set?		9		Sum to Cyclical epoch from Menes	
10		7th Ap epi?		10		331 kings, and yrs.	3,750. — —
11		Sum of vii kings.	259.10. 0	11		And of xxiii gods	5,613. — —
12		Heading [Dyn. XVIII & XIX.] . .		12		And of x others	3,944. — —
13		1st Ra.neb.pch Aahmes		13		And of x others	23,218. — —
14		2d Ra.sorkar		14		Total sum of years	36,525. — —
15		3d Ra.aa.cheper.kar		15		Heading of viii kings from	
16		4th Ra.ma.kar		16		1st Ra.tseser.ma (Rameses III.)	
17		5th Ra.aa.en.cheper		17		2d Ra.tseser.ma	
18		6th Ra.men.cheper		18		3d Ra.tseser.ma?	
19		7th Ra.aa.cheperou		19		4th Ra.neb.ma	
20		8th Ra.men.cheperou		20		5th Ra.tseser.ma	
21		9th Ra.neb.ma		21		6th Ra.tseser.ma	
22		10th Ra.tseser.cheperou		22		7th Se.sha.en.ra (Si.Phthah.)	
23		11th Ra.[oti]		23		8th Neferkaura	
24		12th [Achenchere]		24		Sum from Cyclical epoch to end of	

his 13th year (viz. to June 22d B. C. 1209), kings viii, years 113
 But from Menes kings cccxxxix, " 3,863
 Sum of years from Horus . . . " 13,420
 And from Ra to Horus? . . . " 23,218
 Total sum of years " 36,638

If it be allowed that the reconstruction thus exhibited, or something like it, is borne out by the fragments, it will seem that the Turin papyrus, when perfect, must have agreed very nearly — and, if so, it is most probable that it agreed exactly — with the hieratic list of Herodotus in having 331 or 330 kings from Menes to Rameses III. And since in this papyrus there was combined with the list of kings a scheme of “myriads of years,” ending no doubt at the cyclical epoch of July 20, B.C. 1322, this explains how it came to pass that the priests read out to Herodotus and numbered so exactly a series of names ending with the predecessor of “Sesostris.” For the older papyri, or that list which had been written on them by the first hand, would

end with the accession of Rameses III., the Sesostris who was powerful by sea; and all later copies, whenever made, and whatever subsequent additions or continuations they might have received, would be sure still to mark that epoch at which both the cyclical scheme itself and the original list combined with it were together completed.

But, upon admitting the probable agreement of the hieratic list of Herodotus with that of the Turin papyrus, a question arises not only as to the subdivisions of the myriads of years,—which is less to the present purpose,—but also as to the time of the 331 kings, whether the years of associate or deputy kings and of contemporary lines were all summed up together and made to enter into the myriads of years of the cyclical ἀποκατάστασις, or only those 903 years which were truly successive and chronological between Menes and the cyclical epoch in B.C. 1322. In their own nature all concurrent years of kings or lines of kings after Menes were quite distinct from the 35,064 *months* obtained from and resolvable into the first 2922 years of human time; and between the whole mass of these month-years and Menes there intervened 217 other full years, and 341 also full but fictitious, neither of which sums would be likely to be inserted among (that is, *in the midst of*) the month-years divisible by 12. Still, since a great number of years of the reigns of kings, besides the 903 years really successive, were exhibited by the papyrus in the sums following its different lines or families, and since the papyrus is known to have made a display of certain vast sums of years which were in one aspect at least fictitious, it may be that even from the first composition of the scheme the whole series of its royal lists was treated fancifully as if consecutive, so that, by addition of all their years to the preceding sums of the divine reigns, Menes and the commencement of the monarchy might be carried up, as it were, not only above the 217 historical and the 341 fictitious full years, but also some way into the month-years themselves; though these latter belonged properly only to the surviving antediluvians, or to their predecessors of the old world. In the absence of evidence from the papyrus itself this view may be adopted

as the most probable. It is favoured by a sum of 3000, perhaps followed by more, on fragment 40, and by another sum of "23 reigns with 5613 years" which Champollion seems to have read in A.D. 1824 on some fragment not found again, or not found entire, by Seyffarth. For this latter sum (giving by the way to each of the 23 reigns 244 month-years reducible to $20\frac{1}{6}$ full with 1 over) must have belonged to the later deities; and it suggests the expectation that several thousands of the 13,420 years reckoned from Hor-hesu to the date of the papyrus are still to follow; at least if there was only one other divine series, and only one other sum, of 3000 and more years, intervening between the first sum of 23,218 years and this sum of 5613 years given to 23 lesser deities. Now, on looking back to pp. 39 and 41, the reader will find a sum of 3944 years marked off above the historical epoch of the existing world, for purposes there explained, while the great sum of 23,220 or 23,218 years preceding is shown to have been produced only as a consequence by the specification of the 3944. So then this latter sum is in itself the most essential and the most certain of all the subdivisions of the 35,064 month-years. And if we restore it conjecturally (without insisting on fragment 40, where some words, and perhaps figures, after the "3000," are lost), and reckon downwards from the elements now obtained ($23,218 + 3944 + 5613$) to the end of the third divine series, we shall obtain a sum of 32,775 years, wanting still not 903 years only but ($36,525 - 32,775 =$) 3750 years of the full sum of the ἀποκατάστασις, and so implying that there are still to follow so many years, probably all years of the kings, from Menes to Rameses III.

But independently of any such presumption, and to discuss the question only on its own grounds, — it seems clear that the Theban and Memphite priests in their conversations with Hecataeus and Herodotus *meant thus much at least to be understood*, that the 331 kings were all successive, and so had covered some space of time vast in comparison with the "less than 900 years" which had followed; though, it may be, they did not themselves tell Herodotus that he was to reckon all the reigns as full generations of

three to a century. When they carried up Menes to so early a time that the Delta was not yet formed, they may have meant that his apparent place in their lists (if the month-years had been all full and historical years, and no fictitious years inserted) would be very near to the commencement of their reckoning of true human time, even for the old world, long before Egypt was peopled. And this, if there were as many as 3750 years of kings to Rameses III., would be the case. For if we deduct these from the sum of the true years of Egyptian reckoning, being $(903 + 217 + 2922 =)$ 4042, there remain only 292 years. But the priests may have spoken vaguely, in order to countenance Herodotus in his own exaggerated estimate. In any case the language held by them favours the idea that all the kings were so presented by the hieratic lists from which they read out the names as to be *capable* of being regarded as successive. Manetho too might more naturally think of peopling with royal ghosts (whom he rejected from his lists *after* Menes) 9770 month-years, or $814 \frac{2}{12}$ full years, belonging in the Chronicle of B.C. 305 to the gods, if he had already found some $(3750 - 1461 =)$ 2289 of these same month-years covered, in appearance at least, by kings in the hieratic lists. If so, he would be merely making his own scheme somewhat less obnoxious to Greek ridicule when he cut out a multitude of the kings named to Herodotus as successors of Menes, and threw them up into a mythological region where they might hold, without the inconvenience of carrying up Menes along with them, the same month-years as before, and with some fresh thousands added.

Nevertheless, thus much is clear, that neither the number of names in the hieratic papyri, nor the years given to them in detail, were forged or multiplied for the purpose of covering such sums of years as 13,000, or 11,000, or 10,000, or 9000, or even 8000; or indeed for any purpose of exaggeration at all. This appears, when one collects and examines those figures for the years of particular reigns which are still legible on different fragments of the papyrus, whether assignable to their proper places or detached. Of such figures certainly representing the *years* for reigns (and not

merely months or days) there are in all 88; and these, if all thrown together, make up a sum of 1006 years, to which might be added some 20 or 30 more for units, or for odd months and days broken away. So if we were to make the sum 1034, and dividing this by 88 were to use the quotient (viz. 11 years and $\frac{66}{88}$, which is the same thing as 9 months) as a common average by which to estimate all the 331 reigns of the papyrus down to Rameses III., we should obtain for them a sum of about 3889 years.

But this method will not produce the nearest possible approximation. The averages of the papyrus in different groups or lines of kings, and in its earlier and later columns, vary so greatly, that it is necessary to proceed step by step, and to make out, so far as may be possible, the particular average proper to each group, then only having recourse to the averages of some other adjacent group, or to the mean average of a number of groups in the same part of the papyrus, when there are no figures nor other indications supplied for itself by that particular group which may be under discussion.

Starting on this principle, we have first, at the head of Column V, as a specimen and hint for the Tanites and early Memphites answering to Manetho's Dynasties VIII, IX, X, and XI (I, II, III, and IV of Ptolemy), 5 names with a sum together of 85 years, which afford 17 years to each king. Below, in the same column, one may place with some probability the fragment numbered 144, with two reigns of 6 and 44 years respectively. This fragment Seyffarth, from uncertainty where to place it, has reserved to his last Column XII, where it stands unconnected with any other; but it seems to have belonged to one of the earlier columns of the papyrus; and the reign of 44 years may suit well for some one or other of the long lives marked on fragment 30 in our Column V and supposed to belong to the Memphites of Manetho's Dyn. XI. This fragment (No. 30) cannot be placed higher in the column; but perhaps the names *Sora* and *Sorti*, which (if the writer remembers) are not absolutely on one fragment with the names preceding them, ought to stand lower. Supposing them to have belonged to this column, the two reigns on the small fragment above-

mentioned, and two more of 6 years each at the head of Column VI, making a sum of 62 years, would indicate an average length of $15\frac{2}{4}$ years. In Column VI the 14 reigns preserved out of 18 answering to Manetho's Dyn. XII, with a sum of 216, indicate an average of $15\frac{6}{14}$. Thus already, though the data are insufficient, there are signs of variation in particular averages. It may be that Menes and his successors in the right line, whether seven only or more than seven, who make a dynasty alike for the Chronicle, for Manetho, and for Eratosthenes, had an average of their own somewhat higher than that of other kindred reigns following. This the fragments give us no help for estimating separately. But since the papyrus seems to have made at the bottom of Column VI, where we now are, one joint sum for all the kings from Menes, we may do the like. So if we throw together the $(5+4+14=)$ 23 reigns for which we have found figures, and divide by 23 the sum of $(85+62+216=)$ 363 years, made up by the same figures, we obtain a mean average of 15 years and $\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{4}$ ds (above 9 months) for each reign. And if we extend the same average to the other 56 reigns included by the papyrus with the 23 in one sum at the foot of Column VI, the whole 79 kings, corresponding to Manetho's Dynasties VIII, IX, X, XI, and XII, should have together $1246\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{4}$ or 1247 years. This sum, however, is probably in excess, since the very long reigns and lives of the kings of Dyn. XI seem to have been exceptional; and in marking the length of the lives, as well as that of the reigns, the papyrus itself deals with them exceptionally. And without those 2 reigns which have been conjecturally given to them in Column V, the other 21 reigns with 313 years would indicate for the mean average only $14\frac{1}{2}\frac{9}{11}$, and this would make the whole sum for 79 kings to be $1177\frac{1}{2}\frac{10}{11}$ years.

In the next column, Column VII, the series answering to Manetho's Dyn. XIII causes no difficulty; for the papyrus still exhibits both its sum of 181 years and enough of the figures for the 10 reigns to show that they agreed with the sum. Here then the average was $18\frac{1}{10}$ years. And as this is the point where Manetho ends those six early

dynasties of Lower Egypt, to which he gives an average length of above 30 years for each reign, it will be well here to compare with his sum of $(3 \times 477 = 1431 + 60 =)$ 1491 years those of $1427\frac{1}{2}\frac{2}{3}$, or $1348\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{21}$, which have been found for the papyrus. The difference between these two sums and 1491 is about 64 years for the larger of the two, and about 133 years for the smaller. Manetho's sum, as has been shown elsewhere, is certainly artificial; and since it appears to exceed both the sums estimated for the papyrus, this is some ground for thinking it probable that he obtained it by *adding on*, rather than by *cutting off* years from those which he found in the hieratic lists. But we are not left in this instance to a mere presumption, which might be deceptive. The papyrus itself affords positive proof that such was the case. For its sum of 181 years for the line answering to Manetho's Dyn. XIII, shows that Manetho when he came to the end of this dynasty had *not* found in all the 40 reigns of the hieratic lists which he had suppressed or consolidated years enough to complete that average of over 30 years which he designed for the 49 kings whom he retained; or rather, he had not found enough to complete that symmetrical exhibition of thrice 477 years, with 60 more to unite with 43 elsewhere, which he saw to be obtainable without any very great departure either from the sum of years in the hieratic lists, or from that precise average length of 31 years which he would have preferred, perhaps, if he could have had it for each reign. For on comparing the sum of 181 years as made out by the papyrus for its 10 reigns with the sum of 197 as made out by Manetho for his 6 reigns of the same connection, it appears that Manetho added to the 2nd king of the dynasty not only all the 10 years of its 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th kings whom he suppressed, but also 16 new and fictitious years of his own. We may conclude, then, with absolute certainty, from this fact alone, that the sum total of the years of kings in the papyrus down to the end of Dyn. XIII was *at least* 16 *under* Manetho's sum of 1491; that is to say, instead of being 1491 it was *at the most* only 1475. But there are other proofs that it was lower still, since we know that Manetho

added 63 years to the true sum of 190 belonging to the first dynasty of the Tanites; and, what is more, he added all these 63 years to the first two names of Menes and Athothis, when there would scarcely as yet be any associate or deputy kings, or crown-princes dying young, whose short reigns he might consolidate. And if we divide his sum of $(253 + 302 =) 555$ years among the $(8 + 9 + 10 =) 27$ Tanites whom he indicates in one way or another, and who no doubt represent the first 27 names of the papyri, there will be for them an average of $20\frac{1}{2}\frac{5}{7}$, that is one of 20 years and over 6 months; and even after striking off the 63 years added to Menes and Athothis, we shall find in $(190 + 302 =) 492$ years an average for them of $18\frac{1}{2}\frac{6}{7}$ years; whereas those 5 reigns which stand at the head of our Column V, even if taken by themselves, indicated an average of only 17 years; and 27 reigns calculated at that average would make a sum of only 459 years, less by 96 than Manetho's sum of 555, and less by 33 than the sum of 492 remaining after the addition made to Menes and Athothis has been cut off. One might infer, then, that Manetho added not only to Menes and Athothis 63 years, but also to some part of his second dynasty of Tanites at least 33 years more, which must be deducted so as to bring down the 27 kings together to the average of 17 years. But Manetho himself supplies indications that even this average of 17 years taken from fragment 18 *a* is too high. For since in his next four dynasties, X, XI, XII, and XIII, he has $(9 + 8 + 9 + 6 =) 32$ names, while the papyrus seems to have had 62, being 30 more, if we add to the 32 the 30 Memphites of his Manes, in like manner as we have added before his 10 Tanite Manes to the 17 Tanites of his list after Menes, he will again coincide with the papyrus in the number of 62 kings; of which 10 being of the connection of Dyn. XIII, and 18 more, according to the papyrus, of that of Dyn. XII, there remains for Manetho's Dynasties X and XI together the number of 34 kings, being just double the $(9 + 8 =) 17$ of his two dynasties. And if we divide by 34 the joint sum of years given by Manetho to those two dynasties, being $(214 + 277$

=) 491, it affords an average length of only $14\frac{1}{3}\frac{5}{4}$, or less than 14 years and a half to each king. But whatever were the causes which either swelled the number of the royal names or shortened the reigns of half of them, there is no reason to suppose that the average for the 27 Tanites would exceed by much, if it exceeded at all, the average of the 34 Memphites; especially when it is borne in mind that among the latter were the builders of the great pyramids who were renowned for their long reigns and lives. And, looking on, we find the average indicated by the papyrus for its 18 kings answering to Manetho's Dyn. XII to be only $15\frac{6}{14}$ years (since 14 of the reigns are preserved, and have among them 216 years). Yet here again, though the average is collected from no fewer than 14 out of 18 reigns, so as to seem safe in its application, Manetho shows that it is too high for the remaining 4, since he gives the sum of the dynasty at 248 years, which reduces the average for all the 18 kings to $13\frac{1}{8}$, and shows that the average of $14\frac{1}{3}\frac{5}{4}$ indicated by Manetho for the 34 kings consolidated into 17 in his Dynasties X and XI, though it seemed so low, was still in fact, as it ought to be, swelled somewhat by the exceptional reigns of the Suphises and their successors. But if Manetho himself teaches us to give up for those Memphites who had among them the longest reigns that highest average of 17 years which we found for 5 of them on fragment 18 *a*, and which in default of other indications one might have thought of extending to them all, and to the Tanites besides, there is certainly nothing now to make us persist in retaining it for the Tanites, whom it will be more consistent to reduce to the highest average indicated by Manetho for the Memphites. Nor can it be objected that, if we follow Manetho's indications in reducing the average for the Memphites and the Elephantinites, we ought to follow him also in giving to the Tanites at least that average of $18\frac{1}{2}\frac{6}{7}$ to which they are reduced by cutting off 63 years from Menes and Athothis. This would have been so, certainly, if Manetho were not known to have added to the years of Dynasty XIII, and to those of the Tanites. But, when once it is known that he has added, the only question is to discover from other signs the precise

amount of the additions. It would indeed be rash and unnecessary to assert without proof, that because he has added to two groups, he has therefore also *added* in like manner to the two other intermediate groups. But on the other hand, in proportion as we see that his scheme required addition, and that one addition made to the last of his first six dynasties was not enough, the presumption becomes very strong, and approaches to certainty, that if his intermediate sums are *lower* than we should have expected, they have at any rate *not been reduced* by him, but are given by him as they stood in the hieratic lists. We shall therefore deduct from 1475 (which seemed at first to be the maximum sum possible for the papyrus to have made down to the end of Dyn. XIII), not only the 63 years certainly added by Manetho to the names of Menes and Athothis, but also 97 more as probably added by him to the $(9 + 5 \text{ or } 6 =)$ 14 or 15 Tanites of his Dyn. IX. This is countenanced by the list of Eratosthenes, which cuts off from Manetho's Dyn. IX a sum of at least 78 years. But we shall suppose Manetho in his Dynasties X, XI, and XII, to have adhered to the sums of the papyri, only consolidating the shorter reigns, being in number just one half, and so suppressing 26 names of kings. On this supposition the common sum of Manetho and the papyrus at the end of Dyn. XII, and irrespectively of Manetho's additions, was one of $(1491 - 16 = 1475 - 63 = 1412 - 97 =)$ 1134, affording to 79 kings a mean average of $14\frac{2}{7}\frac{8}{9}$ years. And Dyn. XIII being added, with a particular average of $18\frac{1}{10}$ in 181 years for its 10 kings, the whole 89 kings thus made up from the 49 of Manetho's first six dynasties after Menes and the 40 of his two dynasties of Tanite and Memphite ghost-kings before Menes, and identical with as many in the papyrus, will have a mean average of $14\frac{6}{8}\frac{9}{9}$ in a sum of 1315 years. And this average, even if it were brought so low merely by frequent deaths and successions, would differ but little, and that not in the way of defect but of *excess*, from the general average confessed to by Manetho himself for all the later dynasties of his Third Book. For there, after Dyn. XIX, the 61 kings of the remaining dynasties reign, in a sum of 859 years, only $14\frac{5}{6}\frac{1}{1}$

each. And, even if we were to include the last 5 consolidated generations borrowed from the Chronicle in his Dyn. XIX, even so the 66 kings of his Book III. would have in 978 years only $14\frac{5.4}{6}$ each.

Between Dyn. XIII and Dyn. XV, in Columns VII, VIII, and IX of the papyrus, there were by calculation $(18 + 28 =)$ 46 names; but the data on which to base any trustworthy calculation of the number of years, at any rate for the first series of 18 of these kings, are wanting. From Manetho, now that we have entered upon the dynasties of Central and Upper Egypt, little help is to be obtained towards making out the names or years even for those lines which he mentions; but this line of 18 kings, whether it were that of the upper line in the tablet of Abydos or some other, he has altogether omitted. All that remains in the papyrus is the initial rubric with traces of ten lines of names in the lower part of Column VII, and in the 9th line of Column VIII part of a line containing the sum after the "xviii kings," the commencements of whose cartouches and two whole names have alone been preserved. But in the way of figures, besides the *number* of the kings, there remains nothing but one reign of "6 years." So we must leave this dynasty for the present, and pass on, merely remarking that if the mean average of all the preceding lines thrown together be taken to be $14\frac{6.9}{8.9}$ (14 years and about 8 months), 18 kings could not claim less than 274 years, while if they had the same average with Dyn. XIII, which they follow, they would claim as many as 333 years. As in discussing above the average to be given to the Tanites we have adopted a lower average of $14\frac{1.7}{2.7}$ rather than a higher one of 17 years, which some might have preferred, and as this series in Column VII of the papyrus is enclosed on both sides by groups which seem to have had considerably higher averages than 14 or even 15 years, we shall here incline to the higher average, and give to these 18 kings conjecturally a sum of 331 years, affording $18\frac{7}{18}$ to each. This sum however, it is to be understood, may be reduced to any other, not lower than 274, by any one who thinks it necessary to allow more years than we have allowed to any other group.

But for the other names following after these 18, and supposed to be 28, there exist some slight grounds for a calculation; since there are preserved two sums, one of 243 years, which certainly came after the last of the 28 names (since it is conjoined with the heading of Dyn. XV), and another of 355 years, which we suppose to have stood after the 17th name of the 28 in the upper part of Column IX, so as to divide them all into two lines, leaving 11 names to go with the lower sum of 243 years. Thus divided, the 17 reigns in the 355 years would have an average length of $20\frac{1}{7}$, or something under 21 years; and the 11 reigns in the 243 years would have an average of $22\frac{1}{11}$ years. And there is a fragment, No. 85, with the years for four reigns, 9, 8, 51, and 12, marked on it, which seems to have belonged to this part of the papyrus, and may be placed conjecturally opposite to four of those 28 names to which the sums of 355 and 243 years belong. The reign of 51 years on this fragment No. 85 is very suitable to be set opposite to the name *Ra-neb-kher*, whose 46th year is marked on a stele from Abydos now at Turin: and the 4 reigns, having in all 80 years, would indicate an average of 20. So that they agree well with the estimate formed on other grounds. As for the three reigns of 10, 5, and 9 years on fragment 50 which have been placed in Column IX, this is merely to keep the fragments as nearly as possible in the order of Seyffarth; the uncertainty attaching to the decads of the first reign rendering it useless towards any estimation of an average. It might have been placed equally either in Column IV, V, VII, or VIII. On fragment 156 also there are two sums of 22 and 26 respectively, which would suit well enough to place in Column VIII or IX, if one were only sure that they are years and not days. But this being uncertain, they are omitted.

In Dyn. XV, again, all is plain, as both the sum of 213 years at the end, and enough of the figures for the eight reigns to bear out this sum, are preserved. And in this dynasty, which divides in a manner the papyrus, or at least the bulk of its kings, arranged so as to precede the Shepherds, into two halves, the particular averages reach their highest limit, the 8 names having one with another no fewer than

26 years and 7 months each ; though here also, as in the case of Dyn. XI, two reigns were often in part concurrent ; and it would unduly increase the mean average to throw the gross sum of this dynasty into one with all the rest of the figures for reigns preserved, in order so to estimate the mean duration of all the unknown reigns. Thus in the papyrus the order of Manetho is reversed ; or, rather, Manetho in arranging his own lists has reversed that order or proportion which he had before him in the papyri. For, with great differences between its particular averages, — differences which only the details of the history could account for, — but with no appearance of systematic partiality or of any artifice, the papyrus has given to its groups of Lower Egypt averages of either $14\frac{1}{2}$ years to 27 kings together, or, it may be, $15\frac{1}{2}$ and $13\frac{1}{5}$ to 12 and 15 kings separately, of $14\frac{1}{3}$ to 34 kings, of $13\frac{1}{8}$ to 18 kings, and of $18\frac{1}{10}$ to 10 kings ; and of these averages the last and highest belongs to a family which was connected rather with Central than with Lower Egypt. And upon the whole, both hitherto and afterwards, the average length of the reigns seems to increase rather than to diminish as we move higher up the Nile ; at least until after Dyn. XV. So that after Dyn. XIII (the last of Manetho's six dynasties of Lower Egypt) there follow in the papyrus averages of $18\frac{7}{8}$, $20\frac{1}{7}$, and $22\frac{1}{11}$, till at length in Dyn. XV the average rises to 26 years and 7 months, exceeding even that of 25 years which the 2 reigns on fragment 144, *if taken alone*, might be considered to indicate for some of the pyramid-builders of Memphis, who were in part contemporary with Dyn. XV. And it is remarkable how the peculiarities of very long reigns and lives, and of associations in the throne, — that of building great pyramids may be added, — distinguish at once these contemporary lines of Lower and Upper Egypt, while the same length of reigns and lives, and even one far more extraordinary, characterises the Shepherd dynasty which was contemporary with both these. Even Manetho himself renders this homage to Dyn. XV, that he names all its 8 kings, and allows to 7 of them in his sum of 160 an average of nearly 23 years, though in other respects he maltreats it as

belonging to Upper Egypt. But for the other lines of Upper Egypt which appear in the papyrus, he mentions only two; and of those two he suppresses all the names; and, not content with that, he suppresses also or curtails their years; while to the first six dynasties of *Lower Egypt*, which in the hieratic lists had reigns of short average length, he gives not reigns but generations; and generations again not like those of the Chronicle of only $24\frac{1}{2}$ but of over 30 years, preserving at the same time in the 10 Tanites and 30 Memphites, who make two out of the four groups of his Manes or ghost-kings, an indication of the method by which he had proceeded in dealing with the hieratic lists.

Putting together what has been hitherto found or estimated, viz. 89 kings to the end of Dyn. XIII with at most 1379, but more probably with only $(1379 - 64 =) 1315$ years, + 18 with $267\frac{9}{89}$ at least, or as we have given them 331, + 17 with 355 + 11 with 243 + 8 with 213, we have in all for 143 kings in $1315 + 331$ (or $1379? + 267?$) + 355 + 243 + 213, amounting to 2457 years, a mean average of $17\frac{16}{143}$; and if we were to assume that this same average is applicable also for all the remaining columns and reigns of the papyrus, we might either calculate summarily $(188 \times 17\frac{16}{143})$ an addition of $3217\frac{5}{143}$ years for the remaining 188 kings, to end in B.C. 1322, — which would make a total for the years of the kings from Menes to that point of $(2457 + 3217 =) 5674$; or we might apply the average obtained only as far as any existing fragments of the papyrus take us, until reaching dynasties for which Manetho gives the reigns; and thus we should first for 143 Nubian kings double the sum of 2457; then for 19 others we should add 225 years; and, lastly, we should add from Manetho and the Chronicle $260 + 348 + 78$, so as to make in all from Menes to Rameses III. $(2457 + 2457 + 225 + 260 + 348 + 78 =) 5825$ years, which is within 19 years of the sum of 4 cycles. Or, with 113 years more to the date of the papyrus, these two calculations would produce sums of 5787 or 5938. And if one of these sums, let us say if the latter, had been the sum of the papyrus, it would have both covered the $(113 + 903 =) 1016$ years between the dates of the papyrus and of Rameses

III. and Menes, and the 217 intervening between Menes and the month-years, and the 341 fictitious years, and would besides have spread up over $(5825 - 1461 =)$ 4364 of the month-years, so as to leave for the deities of the second and the third classes between the first great sum of 23,218 years and Menes only $(13,307 - 5825 =)$ 7482 years.

But the remaining figures, preserved from those later columns of the papyrus which were filled with names of the Nubian connection and of the lesser group which followed it, by no means favour any such calculation as the preceding. For in Column X, at the commencement of the Nubian group, we find 4 names with 10 years and 4 months between them, affording only 2 years and 7 months to each. Again, after an interval of a whole column, at the head of Column XI, there are 8 consecutive names with 50 years and 8 months, affording 6 years and just 4 months to each. After another similar interval, near the head of Column XII, there are again 7 consecutive names; but these have together only 11 years and 6 months, giving 1 year and 7 months for each. On fragment 163, which like another small fragment, No. 164, near it, certainly made the end of a column, and which we have put at the end of Column XIV, there were 6 lines containing names; and the figures for the years of 5 of them are preserved; and they make a sum of only 12 years, giving 2 years and nearly 3 months for each reign. And, lastly, on fragments 125, 127, and 126, which seem to have joined, and which certainly headed a column (they are placed at the head of Column XV), there are 3 reigns either consecutive or with only one other between, with only one year each. To the large fragments commencing our Columns XIII and XIV no years remain attached; but on the isolated fragments 80, 100, 109, 115, and 126 *a*, and probably also on 110 and 114, placed opposite to them by Seyffarth, and belonging no doubt to this same part of the papyrus, there are figures for the years of 11 reigns, making altogether a sum of $(17 + 4 + 1 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 12 =)$ 46 years, so that the 11 kings might have one with another $4\frac{2}{11}$ years each, or something more, since there may have been a unit more to several of the reigns. But if one puts all these specimens

together, — and they fairly represent the great Nubian group of the papyrus throughout its whole extent, — they give for 38 kings a sum of 133 years and 6 months. To which if 8 years more and 6 months are added, in consideration that in some of the reigns there *may* have been either another unit after the sign for years, or some odd months and days, the spaces for which in 24 cases out of the 38 are broken away, there will be in all for 38 kings a sum of 142 years, indicating an average of 3 years and $\frac{2}{3}\frac{8}{8}$ ths, or about 9 months. This average, if applied to Manetho's sum of 184 years (which, however, does not belong historically to the Nubians), would indicate a number of 49 kings; while the 76 kings in the text of Africanus would require, if all successive, a space at the same average of 277 years; whereas the historical duration of the dynasty cannot well have exceeded 216 years. So either the reading of 76 kings is not from Manetho; or they were not all successive (and it appears certain from other signs that they were not); or Manetho's 76 reigns are a selection from the full hieratic list, so made as to exhibit a *lower* average length than any 76 names of the same group would have had if they had been taken as they stood. But this is altogether improbable. For if a *selection* were made at all, the more important names or groups, and the longer rather than the shorter reigns, would be sure to be selected. Or, lastly, we are putting the average for the papyrus too high when we put it for this group at nearly $3\frac{3}{4}$ years, seeing that the 76 corresponding kings of Manetho, even if they had 228 years (and were at the same time all successive), would have an average of only 3 years each. But to return to the papyrus: As there is no sufficient proof that the average of $3\frac{3}{4}$ years is too high, (and it is already so low as to suit better for commandants or governors who were relieved or changed at short intervals than for hereditary kings), the method hitherto pursued requires that the years for the 143 Nubian names of the papyrus should be calculated at the average of 3 years and 9 months. So their sum will be $536\frac{1}{4}$; and these added to the 2457 of the earlier 143 kings, will make 2993 years.

There follow next on fragments 152, 108, and 123, those ($6 + 4 + 6 =$) 16 names, or parts of names, which have been postponed as belonging to a distinct group, and named upon some slight indications Heracleopolite. For adding 3 more names to this group, and so making it to consist of 19 in all, and the greater group preceding it to consist of 143, instead of leaving to the preceding group 146 names, and reckoning to this separately no more than the 16 found on fragments 152, 108, and 123, there are the following grounds: First, there is the fact that the three fragments in question do not actually join, and can scarcely be supposed to contain the *whole* group which they represent. Secondly, there is some indication of the number 19 in the lists of Ptolemy; for he makes two dynasties of "Heracleopolites," both with 19 kings; and as by this title of Heracleopolites he supplies a hint towards interpreting those two of the names on fragment 152 which contain the sign of the Heracleopolite Nome, he may help us also towards the number of the kings as well as towards their designation. And, lastly, having seen how in the Karnak Chamber the Nubian kings were made to match symmetrically all the other kings preceding, the preceding kings having exactly one half of the chamber, to the left, and the Nubians exactly one half, to the right of the spectator, one may think it probable that in the papyrus also the exhibition of 143 Nubians, if this number be admitted to be the true, after 143 kings of other families preceding, was not accidental. Or, if thus much only be clear, that the number of the kings preceding was 143, and that of the Nubians not very different, one may think it probable that 143 and no other number was that of the Nubians also. And thus far the papyrus itself countenances the idea of *some* names having been marked off as a distinct series, that one fragment (which Seyffarth too has set opposite to the names on fragment 152) exhibits the same title *Anch Ouza Sneb* (Everliving), which alone seems to have distinguished in Column VI the head of Dyn. XII. And as no traces of any sum or heading are discoverable, nor are there figures attached to any of the 15 names of fragments 152, 108, and 123, it must be supposed that here also, as in Column VI in

the case of *Ousercheres*, and as in Column V in the case of Sora, the names followed one another uninterruptedly; and that the general character and circumstances of the larger group preceding and those of the lesser group following were so far alike, that the same or nearly the same average length of reigns belonged to both. Thus then, as it seems, we are suddenly taken by the papyrus from the Nubian districts on and beyond the southern borders of Upper Egypt back, as it were, to its northern frontier; for the Heracleopolite Nome was the 22nd and last Nome of the Upper Country towards the north where it bordered on the Lower; and two groups of kings, the Nubian and the Heracleopolite, with the space of all Upper Egypt separating them, are united in the latter part of the papyrus, as if they constituted in a manner but one group, having the same character — a character entirely anomalous — both as regards the multitude of royal names, and the shortness of the reigns. Further, the whole two groups together as placed in the hieratic list, and the Heracleopolite group territorially also, are found in proximity to the Shepherds; and the question suggests itself whether so great a multiplication of kings joined with so short a tenure of royalty at either extremity of Upper Egypt, may not have been owing to some policy of the Shepherd suzerains during the time that they were paramount? At any rate, upon the accession of Amosis, the head of Dyn. XVIII, the whole system disappears as suddenly and as completely as if it had never existed. But whatever were those historical circumstances which produced before the time of Dyn. XVIII and extinguished about the time of its commencement the Nubian and Heracleopolite titles, it is one further sign that these groups were joined together in the papyrus as of similar character, and with a like short average to their reigns, that Manetho also has so joined them, whether in the selection admitted into his Dyn. XVI, or in the last and by far the largest group of his ghost-kings, which, though anonymous, corresponds plainly to the Nubian group of the papyrus, and has 5813 month-years, or 484 full. For unless Dyn. XVI and this last group of Manes, taken together, include the Heracleopolites as well as the Nubians, Manetho

must have omitted the Heracleopolites altogether; which he would scarcely do if they, though fewer in number, had had average reigns of the ordinary length, and so had been the more important line of the two. But it may be presumed that he either joined the two groups together as he found them joined in the papyri, or, if he omitted the smaller of the two (since it cannot be denied that he has omitted at least one line before), this was because they had the same short average of $3\frac{3}{4}$ years, with which a line of 19 kings would have in all only 71 years. If he consolidated them, one must suppose that the number of kings to be named for his fourth group of Manes was ($143 + 19 = 162 - 76 =$) 86; and, if so, 86 kings in 484 years would have $5\frac{5}{8}\frac{4}{6}$ years each. But throwing together the 76 kings of his Dyn. XVI with the 86 of his last group of Manes, and the 184 years of the former with the 484 years of the latter, the whole 162 kings would have in their whole sum of 668 years $4\frac{2}{1}\frac{3}{6}\frac{2}{2}$ years each, which is not so very different from the average of the papyrus. But even if it had agreed more exactly, this agreement might be only accidental, as, the years of all Manetho's Manes being month-years, he would naturally give them some such averages of from about 30 to 60 years as would suit their intermediate position between the demigods and ordinary kings. And such averages, if divided by 12, would of course produce only from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ full years each, so as to resemble the short reigns of the Nubians and Heracleopolites in the hieratic lists. So the 30 Memphite Manes (his second group of the four) in 1790 month-years have $59\frac{2}{3}$ nominal, but only about 5 real years each; the 10 Tanites (his third group of Manes) have in 350 month-years only 35 each, which are something under 3 full years; and if there were only 86 Nubian and Heracleopolite Manes, which seems to follow if 76 kings of their connection were placed after Menes in Dyn. XVI, the 86 would (in 5813) have as many as $67\frac{4}{8}\frac{1}{6}$ month-years each. These if reduced would exceed $5\frac{1}{2}$ full years; and it is unlikely that the highest average of all should be given to the group which stands last. But if it be supposed that Dyn. XVI of the original Manetho had only 36 kings, cor-

responding to the 30 cartouches on our right in the Karnak Chamber (the excess of 6 indicating omissions in this half of the Karnak Chamber similar to those known to exist in the other half to the left), then there would be no such improbable discrepancy between Manetho's average for the kings of his Dyn. XVI and that of the papyrus for the same group, as there appears to be with Africanus' reading of 76 kings. A difference indeed there would still be, but in the contrary direction. For 36 kings in 216 years would have 6 years each, which is one full third higher than the average of the papyrus; and even in that sum of 184 years which Manetho has attached to them, they would seem to have $5\frac{4}{36}$ years each, which is still above the average of the papyrus. But this is what it would be reasonable to expect, if only a selection of the more important names or lines were presented together. Further, on the supposition that Dyn. XVI of the original Manetho had only 36 kings, not 86 but 126 would be the complementary number needed for the corresponding group among the Manes; and 126 (in 5813) would have average reigns of $46\frac{17}{126}$ month-years, shorter than those of the first and second groups of the other Manes preceding, though longer than those of the third group. And, being equal when reduced to about 3 full years and 10 months, this average would differ scarcely at all from that of the Nubian group in the papyrus. It is therefore probable that 40 out of those 76 kings which go to Manetho's Dyn. XVI (XIV of Ptolemy) in the text of Africanus were transferred to it from the Manes by Ptolemy. But that no one may fall into the error of supposing that the short reigns in full years obtainable by reduction from the month-years of the Manes may be identified with those short reigns which belonged to some of them in the hieratic lists, it is to be observed, first, that three out of the four groups of kings ejected by Manetho from the lists after Menes had not perhaps such *very* short reigns; and, whatever was the shortness or the length of those of the Tanites and the Memphites whom he ejected, Manetho was so far from allowing those 40 kings (his 3rd and 2nd groups of Manes) to carry away with them into *Amenti* any of their years,

that it was for the very purpose of confiscating and using their years that he separated and transposed the kings; and not finding even so enough, he added to his first six dynasties after Menes ($63 + 64 + 16 =$) 143 fictitious years of his own, as has been shown above. And the question as regards the Tanites and the Memphites being so disposed of, it is needless to extend it to the years of the other two groups of Manes whom Manetho has left anonymous.

An estimate of the sum of the years of the kings having been thus completed for so much of the papyrus as is represented by figures still preserved, it remains only to add from Manetho's Dyn. XVII his sum of 260 years for the Shepherds, of whom the papyrus probably named not six only but *seven*. And 260 years divided by 7 give an apparent average of $37\frac{1}{2}$, which is accidentally far below the truth. Then 17 more reigns of Dyn. XVIII would in 348 years have $20\frac{8}{17}$ each; and 2 reigns of Dyn. XIX in 78 years would have 39 each. The whole results in a tabular form stand as follows:—

Groups.	MANETHO.		Pap.			Sum of years.	Average.	Kings.	Sum.	Average.
	Kings.	Manes.								
Tanites	8 +	0?	= 8		in	190	have $23\frac{6}{8}$	or 12)	190	($15\frac{10}{12}$)
Tanites	9 +	10?	= 19	{	in	205	have $10\frac{15}{19}$	or 15)	205	($13\frac{10}{15}$)
					or in	265	have $13\frac{18}{19}$			
Sum: Tanites	17 +	10	= 27		in	395	have $14\frac{17}{27}$			
Memphites	9 +	3?	= 12?		in	214	have $17\frac{10}{19}$	or 17)	214	($12\frac{10}{17}$)
Memphites	8 +	14?	= 22?		in	277	have $12\frac{17}{22}$	or 17)	277	($16\frac{5}{17}$)
Sum: Memph.	17 +	17	= 34		in	491	have $14\frac{15}{34}$			
Elephantinites	9 +	9	= 18		in	248	have $13\frac{14}{18}$			
Sum: Kings	43 +	36	= 79		in	1134	have $14\frac{28}{79}$	or 79)	1194	($15\frac{9}{79}$)
Centr. Memph.	6 +	4	= 10		in	181	have $18\frac{1}{10}$			
Sum: Kings	49 +	40	= 89	{	in	1315	have $14\frac{69}{89}$			
					or in	1375	have $15\frac{40}{89}$			
Abydos?	—	18	= 18	{	in	331?	have $18\frac{7}{18}$			
					or in	271?	have $15\frac{1}{18}$			
Diospolites?	16 +	1	= 17?		in	355	have $20\frac{15}{17}$			
Diospolites?	—	11	= 11		in	243	have $22\frac{1}{11}$			
Diospolites?	8	—	= 8		in	213	have $26\frac{1}{13}$			
Sum: Kings	73 +	70	= 143		in	2457	have $17\frac{16}{143}$			
Nubians	36 +	107	= 143		in	536	have $3\frac{25}{34}$			
Heracleop.?	—	19	= 19		in	71	have $3\frac{25}{34}$			
Shepherds	6 +	1	= 7		in	260	have $37\frac{1}{7}$			
Diospolites	17	—	= 17		in	348	have $20\frac{8}{17}$			
Diospolites	2	—	= 2		in	78	have 39			
Sum: Kings	134 +	197	= 331		in	3750	have $11\frac{109}{331}$			

And 23,218 years + 3744 + 5613 + 3750, make up 36,525; and 113 more years of 7 kings being added, down to the end of the 14th year of *Scha-em-Djam*, the last king (the last but one in the lists) of Dyn. XIX, the sum total is increased to 13,420 years.

Manetho then, as it seems, instead of exaggerating, really curtailed the gross sum of the years of the kings after Menes; and he still more curtailed the number of the kings themselves; and some whole dynasties of Upper Egypt he omitted. For he found in the hieratic lists not fewer than 3750 years from Menes to Rameses III.; and, if he had added on to these the 978 which had passed since, there would have been a sum of $3750 + 978 = 4728$; instead of which he made only 3555 years, cutting off without compensation ($4728 - 3555 =$) 1173 years. And he found from Menes to Rameses III. the number of 331 kings; to which if he had added the 66 of his Book III., there would have been in all 397. But, instead of so doing, he seems to have placed after Menes only 196 kings in all, or it may be 198, in his three books, viz. 66 in Book I. ending with Amenemhe I., 66 in Book II., or 68 (according as Dyn. XVIII reckoned 16 or 17 kings, and the first two of the seven names of Dyn. XIX were taken confusedly together or divided), and 66 in Book III. beginning with Rameses III. and ending with Nectanebo. This is on the supposition that the true number of kings in his Dyn. XVI (XIV of Ptolemy) was 36. So he cut off from the 331 predecessors of Rameses III. in the hieratic lists no fewer than ($331 - 134$ or $132 =$) 197 or 195 kings. For such curtailments one intelligible motive has been assigned above, though the end, as it regarded the Greeks, was not answered. But besides this, as a native of Lower Egypt, he was jealous of that superiority which in the hieratic lists seems to belong to the Upper Country, whether one considers the high averages of the reigns of many of its dynasties, or their power and foreign conquests during so many ages, or the multitude of their kings, even of those Nubians who, with however short reigns, were still kings; while to Lower Egypt in the same lists there belonged fewer dynasties, shorter averages, far fewer kings, and the oppro-

brious dominion of the Shepherds. This therefore also was one motive, perhaps the first and chief motive, for suppressing half the *names* of the early dynasties of Lower Egypt, that the *years* of the names suppressed might be available towards making out for the remaining kings reigns of honourable length, exceeding in their average the highest averages of Upper Egypt, and not to be despised even if compared with the reigns or generations reckoned by the Greeks to their kings of Sicyon and Argos. And, apart from any other motive, when this artifice had been carried into execution for the kings of Lower Egypt, it would follow of course to suppress names in the lists of the Upper Country in at least an equal proportion, and together with the names to *suppress* also their years, unless any of them were still wanted to be transferred to the kings of Lower Egypt, to fill up the high average designed for them.

Thus one may understand how he came to curtail the *reigns* in the papyrus by so many as 1173 years. For the years of the hieratic lists for the kings of *Lower* Egypt he has by no means curtailed. He has given them every one; and he has even added to them 176 years purely fictitious. But it is on the kings of *Upper* Egypt that he has suppressed the 1173 years; or rather $(1173 + 176 =)$ 1349; since the 176 fictitious years also added to the kings of the Lower Country represent as many subtracted and virtually transferred from those of the Upper. And so he at once indulged his district patriotism, and obtained for his historical series such proportions as he thought presentable to the Greeks. How it was that he did not let the Tanites and Memphites whom he displaced below Menes take with them into *Amenti* their years, has been explained above; and if he wanted their years, but did *not* want those of the kings of *Upper* Egypt whose similar displacement followed as a consequence, he would be none the more likely on this account to continue to the ghost-kings of Upper Egypt, even in *Amenti*, their true reigns, when the Tanite and Memphite ghosts had been deprived of theirs. Nor would the true averages of *all* the Manes have suited to expand into month-years: those of three groups out of the four would have been far too

long: while, if they had been given in month-years *unmultiplied*, they would have betrayed too plainly their true nature, being not only mere mortal reigns, but reigns most of them of an extraordinary and contemptible shortness. And all speculation on the subject is ended when one notices, *and understands*, this fact, that even in Amenti, and even in dealing with ghost-kings, they are only the *Tanites* and the *Memphites*, those, that is, of *Lower Egypt*, whom Manetho honours so far as to number or to name, giving only through them a covert indication of the sources and designations and numbers of the rest.

If we compare not only the years reckoned to the kings and dynasties by Manetho and by the hieratic lists, each with each, but also the chronological or quasi-chronological scale which they are made to cover, then the difference between the two schemes does not consist merely in this,—that Manetho has suppressed ($1749 - 403 =$) 1346 years between the end of his Dyn. XIII and that of his Dyn. XVI, and has compensated for only 176 (in truth for only 173) of these by adding 176 fictitious years to his first six dynasties of Lower Egypt, so that the whole defalcation is 1170 or 1173,—but conjoined with this difference there is another in the scales themselves which these years occupy; some years which enter into the scale of the papyrus and are covered by its kings being not found in that of Manetho, while other years inserted by Manetho are absent from the scale of the papyrus. When the two scales are paralleled one with another, as they shall be a little further on, so that the chronological years of the one scale are in one and the same line with the corresponding years of the other, the accession of Menes seems at first sight to be set in the scale of the papyrus higher by no less than ($2025 + 242 + 341 =$) 2608 years, whether real or nominal, than in the scale of Manetho. For the last 2025 of those 9770 month-years which Manetho gives to his Manes belong in the hieratic scheme to Menes and his successors: and after these they have still 264 more month-years, 242 of which are sunk altogether by Manetho, inasmuch as he reduces the last 264 of the month-years to their original form of 22 true and full years; and with

these 22 years Manetho begins the monarchy: and, lastly, the kings in the papyrus cover 341 full but fictitious years contained in every cyclical scheme, but omitted by Manetho, whose scheme was not cyclical. But, on the other hand, Manetho in his scale, after the 217 full years of true reckoning between the 2922nd full or the 35,064th month-year of the world and Menes, inserts 1435 years "of the Cycle" current under the Ptolemies, years, that is, reduplicated and anticipated, which of course are absent from the hieratic scale. And, when these 1435 are deducted from the 2608 above-mentioned, the whole excess of the papyrus between Menes and Rameses III. is reduced to 1173 years. The number is 1173 rather than 1170 because in the 176 years added by Manetho to his first six dynasties of Lower Egypt (though we have reckoned them all together) there are three units which do not really tell in compensation of any three years of the gross sum of 1346 suppressed by him on the kings of Upper Egypt. They represent three years suppressed far lower down, at the commencement of his Dyn. XXVI, and so are not to be reckoned chronologically where they seem to stand, added on to the reigns of Menes and Athothis.

To come back at length to Ptolemy of Mendes: — If Manetho had merely transposed and put up above Menes 197 kings in four groups with their years, whether multiplied by 12 or unmultiplied, and Ptolemy had merely chosen to put them back again to stand below Menes, as they stood originally, we should have had no difficulty in recognising them in his lists. But a simple restoration of ejected kings of the hieratic list to their proper places, and of misappropriated or suppressed years to their true owners, was as far from suiting Ptolemy's purpose, as it had been from suiting that of Manetho to leave them unaltered. In his own cyclical scheme Ptolemy had determined to add to the kings below Menes not merely 1173 but 1932 years. So, when viewed in the gross, his addition was of a compound character. While it was to contain 1173 years not fabricated but restored, with some $(10 + 30 + 30 + 107 + 19 =)$ 196 or 197 kings to whom they had originally belonged, it was to exhibit

together with these as many as 759 fresh years of its own which were all, as connected with kings (all at least but 13 below Nectanebo), purely fictitious. And these fictitious years would naturally bring with them some fictitious kings, unknown to the hieratic lists. And, besides this mixture of historical and fictitious materials, even in restoring the years suppressed, and in retransposing the 196 or 197 kings ejected by Manetho and transposed so as to stand before Menes, there was a wide opening for inconsistency and confusion. For, at the outset, the first 40 Tanite and Memphite kings whom Ptolemy had to bring back from the ghosts of *Amenti*, would, when restored, be wholly destitute of years, Manetho having provided them as ghosts with years not their own which they could not bring back with them, while he had given away all their historical years to other kings, once their companions, out of whose ranks he had ejected them. Neither could they recover their lost places in those six dynasties of Lower Egypt to which they had belonged; at least not unless Manetho's artifices were to be exposed and his work set aside. And of those kings who stood next in order for restoration according to the order of the hieratic lists (these being the [30] ghost-kings of Manetho's Dyn. IV), as many as might own the 176 [173] additional years also given away by Manetho, that is, 9 kings, who at the average of the papyrus for their group, viz. $18\frac{7}{18}$, would claim $165\frac{1}{2}$ years, would be in the same predicament, and the 10th king also to the extent of $7\frac{1}{2}$ years. And, in like manner, among the 1173 *years* to be reinserted (none of them preserved by Manetho to his Manes) there were many which, for similar reasons, could not be restored to the right *kings*; as when Manetho had included their owners in one or other of his three early dynasties of Upper Egypt either without years, or in connection with some inadequate sum of years, and even those, perhaps, years not really belonging to them. It will be enough then if the sources of Ptolemy's seven fresh dynasties, as regards their years, the numbers of their kings, and their designations, can be made out in a general way.

When they are first viewed from a distance, as it were,

and as parts of a whole, Ptolemy's new dynasties detach themselves from the rest, and arrest attention, chiefly by two peculiarities, — first, that they are *all anonymous*; and, secondly, that they are interposed and appended, as far as was possible, in *pairs*, and with a certain symmetry and propriety of order, after those of Manetho's groups to which they are akin by their designations.

The fact that they are all anonymous of itself provokes suspicion; and it may keep alive a doubt, even after it is seen to be probable that they are not wholly fictitious. For it may be thought that, if Ptolemy wished to make a greater show of kings than Manetho, and had in the hieratic lists a multitude of historical names which Manetho had omitted, he was needlessly making the worst of his own case when he neglected to transcribe them. And so, no doubt, it would have been, if historical truth had been thought of. But his only object being to substitute one dishonest scheme for another, with as little change as possible, and Manetho having already introduced several anonymous dynasties not only for Manes, but also for historical kings, this method, the easiest certainly that could be conceived, might seem to be also the most convenient, as it obviated all need of making a patchwork of details, and obtained at once the end desired by homogeneous additions scarcely distinguishable from the anonymous dynasties of the original Manetho; while a mere multitude of names, if they had been transcribed without explanations, would have tended rather to increase than diminish the scepticism and contempt of Greek readers.

As regards the *order* of the fresh dynasties, it is this: First, after the completion of Manetho's Memphites, there is an insertion of two fresh dynasties (Ptolemy's VII and VIII) of *Memphites*. And after these, now become themselves the last of the dynasties of Lower Egypt, there are again appended, as if in the natural order of progression towards the Upper Country, a pair of dynasties (Ptolemy's IX and X) called *Heracleopolite*. For the Heracleopolite Nome was the last of Upper Egypt, and on the very frontier of Lower. Then, after Manetho's Diospolite dynasties XIV and XV (XI and XII of Ptolemy), there is a third insertion of *Dios-*

polites. And since seven fresh dynasties could not by themselves be arranged in four *pairs*, an addition of 40 kings is made to Manetho's next following dynasty, XVI, so that Ptolemy's new dynasty, XIII, and the addition made to Manetho's Dyn. XVI (Ptolemy's XIV) become together, *as it were*, a *pair* of new Diospolite dynasties. And lower down, after Manetho's Shepherds, there is a fourth and last insertion of a pair of fresh dynasties (Ptolemy's XVI and XVII) of *Shepherds*. The second of these two last-mentioned dynasties is doubly furnished with kings, having exactly 43 *Diospolites* joined with its 43 Shepherds, so that each Shepherd king has a Diospolite for his contemporary and colleague, or rather for his subordinate, since the Shepherds are named first, and the dynasty, in appearance at least, belongs to them. Underneath this combination, made for Ptolemy's own purposes, there is a disguised and accidental, but still a valuable admission of historical truth.

If we now approach nearer, and examine the new dynasties in detail, in the first which presents itself, Ptolemy's Dyn. VII, we find a group of lxx kings, called Memphites, entirely destitute of years. *Forty* of these we might have been prepared for, and we might have identified them with the x Tanites and the xxx Memphites of Manetho's Dynasties VI and V of Manes, since it was from the same six dynasties to which Ptolemy appends his Memphites without years, that Manetho had ejected 40 kings, giving away all their years to others, who had once been their neighbours. And the remaining *thirty* of these lxx, by their continuity and coherence with the *forty*, should be the remaining 30 of that whole number of 70 kings which Manetho ejected from the first 143 of the hieratic lists. They will be the [xxx] also of Manetho's Dyn. IV of Manes. The audacity of thus pretending a dynasty of 70 kings in 70 days, is no doubt surprising, even though it may answer some purpose of neatness and symmetry, and though it may contain an enigma. But perhaps Ptolemy would have suggested to any Greek questioner, that these 70 kings were in fact the conspirators who, after assassinating the last king of his Dynasty VI (XIII of Manetho), wore the crown, like Interreges,

in turn, each for his day, and banqueted till Nitocris let the river in upon them.

On allowing that these are the 70 names first ejected by Manetho from his lists between Menes and the end of his Dyn. XV (XII of Ptolemy), the same 70 as constitute his first three groups of ghost-kings, it follows next to inquire after the *years* of the last 30 of them,—how many of these years there may have been in all, and how many, after deducting the 176 [173] virtually transferred from them by Manetho to his six favoured dynasties, still remain to be accounted for by Ptolemy? Now their whole sum was originally ($331 + 355 + 243 + 213 =$) 1142, less by 213 reckoned by Manetho, and really belonging, to the viii kings of his Dyn. XV (XII of Ptolemy), and less, moreover, by as many years as may belong to the xvi kings not ejected by Manetho, but reckoned to his Dyn. XIV (XI of Ptolemy). But then, as Manetho suppresses *all* the years of these xvi kings, Ptolemy has to account for these years also. So he has to account for *all* the years, being ($1142 - 213 =$) 929, both of the 30 kings transferred by Manetho to the Manes (these are the Manes of his first group, which was his Dynasty IV), and of the xvi Diospolites whom he has admitted into his Dyn. XIV, but without either their names or their years. And all these years Ptolemy ought in strictness to exhibit (if that were possible) *unattached to kings*; seeing that 30 of the kings to whom they belong have already been exhibited by himself, and the remaining 16 by Manetho, separately, *without years*. He should, in fact, have had a dynasty (if dynasty it could be called), or three dynasties (since there are three in the hieratic list) like the “xv generations of the Cycle” in the Chronicle, in which to place these 929, or (deducting the 176 given away by Manetho) these 753 years, unattached to kings. And if, on the contrary, he gives these years *not* unattached, but with kings as a vehicle for carrying them, then, whatever other purposes of *indication* the kings so interpolated may answer, they must be regarded in the connection in which they stand as the mere doubles and representatives of the owners, not as being themselves the owners, of the years

attached to them. The first division of these years in the papyrus was estimated at 331, which, upon deduction of the 176 [173] years given away by Manetho, should become 155 [158]. But Ptolemy having already bestowed 13 new years (in addition to all Manetho's liberalities) on two of the six favoured dynasties (his own IV and VI, which were XI and XIII of Manetho), if he had made exactly the same division with our estimate or with the papyrus, would have had 142 [145] years only to place in his first new dynasty with years, that is, in his Dyn. VIII. And, in fact, he scarcely differs from this number; for, after his Dyn. VII of the lxx Memphites without years, he inserts as a pair to this another new dynasty with 146 years, exceeding, as it seems, by only 4 [in truth by only 1] the sum which we should have calculated; and he attaches these years, as to a vehicle, to 27 fictitious kings, doubles of as many among the lxx Memphites (viz. those from the 41st to the 67th inclusively) of the preceding dynasty, and corresponding to 9 kings more than the $(176 \text{ or } 173 + 13 + 146 =)$ 335 or 332 years hitherto accounted for require. For to the 331 years there are in the hieratic list only xviii kings. He then continues, as might have been expected, to give the rest of the 753 years, and completes them exactly by his two Heracleopolite dynasties IX and X; since 409 and 185 years added to 13 and 146, make up exactly 753. And these two dynasties again have their years attached to fictitious kings, who are 19 in each, the 19 of Dyn. IX being the doubles of the last 3 of the lxx Memphites of Dyn. VII, and the doubles of all the xvi of Manetho's Dyn. XIV (XI of Ptolemy), and corresponding to the remaining 19 kings of the papyrus down to the commencement of that line which makes Dyn. XV of Manetho (XII of Ptolemy). Thus Ptolemy has already doubled *all the kings* belonging to the 753 years, those, that is, of the three lines of xviii, xvii, and xi kings in the papyrus, and of Manetho's two Dynasties IV (of ghosts), and XIV (after Menes) with [xxx] and xvi kings, *before he has completed the exhibition of their years*. So, then, the number of 19 kings, when repeated with the remaining 185 years, has no other sense than that of marking a number of 19 kings

not wanted here, but perhaps corresponding as an indication to some other 19, as yet unknown, who may be wanted somewhere else.

And thus Ptolemy has accounted both for the 70 kings ejected by Manetho from those 143 of the papyrus which preceded Dyn. XVI of Manetho (his own XIV), and also separately for the 753 years suppressed by Manetho either on the last 30 of these same 70 kings, or on the xvi of his Dyn. XIV (XI of Ptolemy); and he has given as vehicles for these years doubles of the last-mentioned 46 kings purposely misappropriated to two divisions only instead of all the three divisions of the years, in order by such crowding to gain room for introducing 19 more supernumeraries, who are at present only doubles of doubles, and doubly nonentities.

Since the 753 years belong all to only (xviii + xvii + xi of the Papyrus, or xxx + xvi of Manetho, or 27 + 19 of Ptolemy =) 46 kings, or in the absence of the true kings to only 46 doubles representing them, and yet 19 additional fictitious kings, who are *not* the doubles of any of the 46, were for some bye end to be here inserted, it was natural to give to these 19 intruders *some* of the years; *some* of the years being in this superfoetation of artifice needed as a vehicle for carrying the 19 supernumerary kings, just as the preceding (27 + 19 =) 46 kings of Ptolemy's Dynasties VIII and IX, who *are* doubles, were vehicles for carrying years. But why the number of 185 years (affording $9\frac{1}{3}$ to each) should be detached and given to them, rather than any other, does not at once appear. It may be remarked, however, that if it was for the sake of these 19 supernumeraries alone that Ptolemy varied *at all* from the papyrus in his subdivisions whether of the 46 kings or of their 753 years, the cause or motive for the *amount* of his variation is to be sought not in any uncertainty as to the historical subdivisions of all the 753 years (with 176 or 173 besides) among only 46 kings, but in some other consideration. It may be, then, that the precise number of 185 years originated merely in this accident, that 185 was the remainder after the sum of Ptolemy's preceding Dynasty IX had been fixed at 409 years; and a reason for

giving to Dyn. IX 19 of the 46 kings (since they were all to be crowded into it and Dyn. VIII) and 409 of the years still undisposed of may be found in the desire to mark here the true average of the hieratic lists for the 46 historical kings to whom these $(176 + 753 =) 929$ years given away or suppressed by Manetho belonged. For if 409 be divided by 19 the quotient is $21\frac{10}{19}$, which differs but little from the mean average of the papyrus for its three groups of (xviii + xvii + xi, making) xlvi kings who have in $(331 + 355 + 243 =) 929$ years $20\frac{9}{16}$ each: and it approaches very closely indeed to the average of the second and third of the three groups, the 28 kings of which have in 598 years $21\frac{10}{28}$ years each. It may be asked why the 46 kings of the papyrus or their doubles should have been so divided by Ptolemy into 27 and 19, in his Dynasties VIII and IX, as that 27 of them should stand first with an apparent average in 146 years of only $5\frac{11}{27}$, (exceeding by but little that of Manetho's Dyn. IV of Manes), and then the 19 kings remaining should require 409 years to exhibit the historical average of the papyri, and leave the remainder, being 185, to the supernumeraries who were to follow; whereas, in truth, 18 of the 46 doubles only were needed for the years of Ptolemy's Dyn. VIII; and he might either have put all the remaining 28 doubles into his Dyn. IX, or divided them between his Dynasties VIII and IX in some other proportion than that of 9 and 19. But in this way he could not have exhibited at all, for any of these kings, an average like that of 20 or 21 years given to them in the papyri. The 146 years (representing really 331), with at least 18 kings, being fixed for him above, and *some* years, whether more or fewer than 185, suitable for his 19 supernumeraries being necessarily to be reserved for them below, (and he could not give them *less* than the *lowest* average of the Nubians and Heracleopolites of the papyri or of Manetho's Manes, and so they would claim at least 70 years,) it appears that he could in no case have had in his intermediate Dyn. IX *more* than about $(409 + 100 =) 509$ years, nor have placed in it (if he wished it to exhibit an average of 20 or 21 years) *more* than $(19 + 5 =) 24$ of the 46 kings. So many as 24 he might no doubt

have placed in it; but he probably had some reason for wishing to mark in his Dyn. VIII the number of 27 kings; and he certainly wished to mark the number of 19 kings in his Dyn. X. And these two numbers taken together, above and below, would require as a consequence the repetition of the number 19 for the kings of the intermediate Dyn. IX. And, even if he had not cared to mark the number of 27 kings, still, the less that the number 19, which he certainly wished to mark, was confused with other numbers of no designed significancy, the more it would stand out and invite attention. So that its reduplication after the number of 27 kings would rather tell towards the emphasis desired; whereas, if it had merely followed in a series after two other numbers of no designed meaning (as after 24 for Dyn. VIII and 22 for Dyn. IX) no emphasis would have attached to it; and if the number 23 had been given to both the preceding dynasties, it would have been to this number 23 that an emphasis would have attached, rather than to the 19 which followed. It may be, moreover, that Ptolemy wished the sum of 185 years and a low average in his Dyn. X to correspond symmetrically at the end of his Heracleopolites to the somewhat similar sums of 146 years at the end of the Memphites (in his Dyn. VIII), of 184 at the end of the Diospolites in Manetho's Dyn. XVI (his own XIV), and of 151 in his Dyn. XVII at the end of the Shepherds. These four sums are all small in proportion to the number of kings linked to them; and they indicate for 27, 19, 76, and 43 kings respectively averages of only $5\frac{11}{27}$, $9\frac{14}{19}$, $2\frac{32}{76}$, and $3\frac{2}{43}$ years, averages which seem intended to hint the identity of many of Ptolemy's restored, and the affinity of his fictitious, kings with those of Manetho's mythological Dynasties VI, V, IV, and VII, and of his historical Dynasty XVI; while on the other hand Ptolemy's four new Dynasties VII, IX, XIII, and XIV, preceding and coupled with the four above-mentioned, exhibit (all but the first of them, his Dyn. VII, which has no years) such averages as seem to have belonged historically to the kings owning the same years in the hieratic lists. For in the first of Ptolemy's pair of Heracleopolite dynasties, his Dyn. IX, the 19 kings in 409 years

have, as has been shown above, an average of $21\frac{10}{9}$ years, agreeing with that of the papyrus for the historical kings corresponding. And, lower down, if Ptolemy's *kings* in his two Dynasties XIII and XIV, viz. 60 and 40 or 60 and 76, making 100 or 136, be taken together (for none of Manetho's 36, still less of Ptolemy's 40 kings in his Dyn. XIV, have any real claim upon its 184 years, while they certainly all belong to one and the same historical connection), the 453 years of Ptolemy's Dyn. XIII afford to the 100 or 136 kings an average of either $4\frac{53}{100}$ or $3\frac{45}{136}$, which would differ but little from the average of the papyrus for their group, even if there were no error in this way of treating the two dynasties. And, lastly, the 32 kings of the first of Ptolemy's two dynasties of Shepherds have in 518 years $16\frac{6}{32}$ each being the ideal average chosen by him as his own for the fictitious kings who are mere vehicles for his own fictitious years. And this is an average agreeing perhaps very nearly with the highest given in the papyrus to any of those six dynasties of Lower Egypt to which Manetho has given reigns of above 30 years each. For if there were in the papyrus 17 kings corresponding to Manetho's Dyn. XI (IV of Ptolemy), these in 277 years would have $16\frac{5}{17}$ each.

Having restored in a body, *without years*, all those 70 *kings* whom Manetho had transposed from among the first 143 kings of the papyri to stand with month-years not their own as Manes, — having also restored separately all those 753 *years* of the papyri which Manetho had suppressed between the ends of his two Dynasties XIII and XIV (VI and XI of Ptolemy), — and not only so, but having also connected with these 753 years 46 doubles of their 46 owners in the papyri, and 19 supernumerary fictitious kings besides, Ptolemy reproduces unaltered Manetho's Dynasties XIV and XV as his own XI and XII, and so brings us down to the end of the first half of the Karnak Chamber, and to the end of the first series of 143 names in the hieratic lists corresponding to the same.

Here, at the end of his Dyn. XII (XV of Manetho), Ptolemy, by retaining Manetho's Dynasties XIV and XV unaltered, has a surplus of 6 years telling towards the years

of the Nubian group which next follows. For in separating Amenemhe I. and attaching both him and his 16 years, and 43 other years, all in truth belonging to Dyn. XV, to his anonymous Dyn. XIV for a purpose explained elsewhere, Manetho reduplicated 6 years; so that when the 43 and the 16 are restored to his Dyn. XV (XII of Ptolemy) they raise its sum from 160 to 219 years, 6 years above the true sum given by the papyrus.

Of the next great group of 143 Nubian names in the papyrus answering to the second half of the Karnak Chamber, which is to one's right, and matching the other 143 names preceding, — as the 30 Nubian cartouches to one's right in the Karnak Chamber match the 32 of other lines to one's left in the same, — Manetho had given a representation in the xxxvi kings of his Dyn. XVI. But these kings again, like the xvi of his Dyn. XIV, were without either names or years; for the 184 years ostensibly attached to them belonged to them no more than the 16 and the 43 belonged to his Dyn. XIV, but were added only as a covert indication of something else. And as for the other 19 kings following in the papyrus after the 143 Nubians, Manetho had preserved no trace either of their names or of their years. One too of the Shepherd-kings, the last, he probably had omitted. So Ptolemy had to account either for *all* the $(536 + 71 =)$ 607 years belonging to $(143 + 19 =)$ 162 names in the papyri, or for only $(607 - 184 =)$ 423, if he chose to let the 184 years of Manetho's Dyn. XVI, though not really belonging to its kings, tell towards their reigns. And he had to account either for all the $(143 + 19 + 1 =)$ 163 names of the papyrus, if in exhibiting the years he doubled those xxxvi kings of Manetho's Dyn. XVI whom Manetho had deprived of their true years like the xvi of his Dyn. XIV, but like them had not suppressed (and this one might expect Ptolemy to do, since he had already in a like case doubled the xvi kings of Manetho's Dyn. XIV);—or, if he pleased, he might let the xxxvi kings of Manetho's Dyn. XVI reckon with the 184 years attached to them, as if they were the true owners of those years; and in this case he would have to account only for the remainder, viz. for $(143 - 36 =)$ 127 of the

Nubian kings, for the 19 of the group following them, and for 1 Shepherd. In point of fact it is the former of these two methods which he has adopted. Setting aside Manetho's Dyn. XVI as altogether inadequate both in its number of xxxvi kings, not really owners of the 184 years, and in its sum of 184 years, not really belonging to the xxxvi kings, Ptolemy confiscates both the xxxvi kings and the 184 years to his own use; and having thus made a *tabula rasa*, as it were, before beginning, he exhibits himself *de novo*, irrespectively of Manetho, the full number of the $(143 + 19 + 1 =)$ 162 or 163 kings, and the whole sum of the $(536 + 71 =)$ 607 years of the papyri. He exhibits them thus:—Using the designation “Diospolite” in a wide sense so as to cover the Nubians, in like manner as he had before used the designation “Memphite” in a wide sense so as to cover the Tanites and Elephantinites or Heliopolitans, he places 60 of them in his Dyn. XIII, and to these he indirectly adds 40 more by interpolating 40 kings without years into Manetho's Dyn. XVI (his own XIV) where they could have claimed no share in the years of Manetho's xxxvi kings even if those kings had had there any years really their own to defend. And having thus a compact body of $(60 + 40 =)$ 100 kings to begin with, one must look down a little lower to find the complementary number of 43 more Diospolites still wanting; and these we find in Ptolemy's Dyn. XVII, with a sum of 151 years. And if one puts together all the years which Ptolemy has attached to these 143 Nubian kings, viz. 453 in his Dyn. XIII + 0 in his Dyn. XIV, + 151 in his Dyn. XVII, and adds the surplus of 6 years mentioned above as remaining over and to be carried forward from his Dyn. XII (XV of Manetho), they make a sum of 610 years, which contains not only all the 536 given by the hieratic list to its 143 Nubian kings, but also the 71 given (at the same average) to the 19 Heracleopolites following the Nubians; and 3 years besides; which last 3 years are the 3 units thrown up and added by Manetho to Menes and Athothis, but belonging chronologically to certain years suppressed by him before the commencement of his Dyn. XXVI. Having found, then, in one and the same sum

with the years of the 143 Nubians the years also of the 19 Heracleopolites, without their owners, we must look elsewhere in Ptolemy's scheme for some *indication* at least of these 19 kings, if we can find marked anywhere the number of 19 kings not identifiable with any other historical kings, nor in possession of years. Such precisely are those 19 Heracleopolites of Ptolemy's Dyn. X who when we first came upon them seemed to be introduced in mere wantonness, and only to make confusion. But now we understand what was meant by those 19 supernumeraries. Ptolemy's purpose too in making the indication where he did is intelligible, when one considers that so the 19 Heracleopolites were both exhibited, through their years, united with the 143 Nubians, as in the papyri, and were also indicated, and even inserted in a manner, in that place in the lists which best suited their local order, when the native dynasties were enumerated from Tanis and the North southwards. Their contiguity, too, to the Shepherds was hinted perhaps in Ptolemy's Dyn. X by the sum of 185 years seemingly attached to them, and nearly identical with that of 184 really belonging to the Shepherds, and transferred to the Nubians as their contemporaries both by Manetho in his Dyn. XVI, and indirectly also by the Theban priests who constructed the list of Eratosthenes. Ptolemy also, in his own exhibition of the 143 Nubians, retained and repeated (in his Dyn. XVII) the hint given by Manetho, in his Dyn. XVI, of some connection between the time of the Shepherd supremacy and the time not only of the Heracleopolites but of the Nubians. For in Dynasty XVII of Ptolemy 43 of the Nubians or Diospolites are presented as contemporaries and colleagues, or rather as subordinates (since they are mentioned last and the others first), to precisely the same number of Shepherds. And the 151 years there given to the Shepherds with their subordinate Diospolites or Nubians answer exactly to those 150 years in Herodotus during which (so the priests told him) Egypt was subjected to a Typhonian influence under the Shepherds and their Memphite vassals.

The 19 unattached Heracleopolites being brought down then from Ptolemy's Dyn. X (and leaving all the 594 years

of that and the preceding dynasty free to be divided in the proportions of the papyrus among the 28 kings really owning them, or at least among the 28 doubles of these kings), and the $(60 + 40 + 43 =)$ 143 Diospolites or Nubians of Ptolemy's Dynasties XIII, XIV, and XVII having the 19 Heracleopolites added to them, the full number of 162 is thus exhibited, answering to the $(143 + 19 =)$ 162 of the papyrus. And Ptolemy's years for all these kings in his Dynasties XIII, XIV, and XVII $(453 + 0 + 151)$ being thrown together, their sum 604, divided by 162, gives the average of $3\frac{1\frac{1}{2}}{62}$, or about 3 years and 9 months, as in the papyrus.

Now too, at length, it may be perceived that Ptolemy had a reason for preferring the number of 27 fictitious kings or doubles for his Dyn. VIII to any other of the two or three others open to him. For thus, besides *exhibiting* himself the 162 kings and the 607 years of the papyrus in full, he could also *indicate* that addition or supplement of 127 only of these kings which would have been needed, if he had let the xxxvi kings of Manetho's Dyn. XVI (his own XIV) tell towards exhibiting the Nubian group. For upon that view, 127 fresh kings being wanted, 100 of them are ready on the spot, and coalesce with the xxxvi of Manetho: and the remaining 27 are indicated by the 27 fictitious kings of Ptolemy's Dyn. VIII, who are not really Memphites, nor really attached to the years of which they are the vehicles. So Ptolemy's main body of 100 Diospolites or Nubians, being placed in the midst, may be made to coalesce at will either with the 43 of his Dyn. XIII below, so as to exhibit the whole sum of the papyrus independently of Manetho, or with the 27 of his Dyn. VIII above, so as to exhibit the same sum in conjunction with Manetho.

Lastly, for his own addition of 759 fresh years, equally absent from the hieratic lists and from Manetho:—these are to be found in the 184 years of Manetho's Dyn. XVI (Ptolemy's XIV), really the time of the Shepherd supremacy, which Ptolemy appropriates, the xxxvi kings, really separate, being available either as mere vehicles for the years, or for any other purpose, such as that a little before explained. These 184 years, with the 518 of his own new

Dyn. XVI of "32 Shepherds who were Greeks" make together a sum of 702; and the full number of 759 is completed by some lesser additions for which he saw opportunities in Manetho's following dynasties, additions similar to those of 6 years to Manetho's Dyn. XI and 7 to Manetho's Dyn. XIII which have been mentioned above. These later additions telling towards his own 759 years are, first, one of 24 years and 2 months to the 259 years and 10 months of Manetho's vi Shepherds; then 15 years inserted in the middle of Dyn. XVIII (which would have been in some sense a chronological restoration, if he had not also retained at the head of Dyn. XIX Manetho's compensation for the omission of the same); and, lastly, 5 years really new, being part of 12 years and 6 months which he seems to add to the 150 years and 6 months of Manetho's Dyn. XXVI.

The true average of the 6 Shepherds of Manetho's Dyn. XVII was already so prodigious, that it excites surprise and curiosity to find Ptolemy, as it were in mere wantonness, selecting that dynasty for exaggeration. The more so, as the Shepherds are the last of all the kings for whom we should have expected any native Egyptian scheme to multiply either reigns or years. That feeling, however, which shows itself so strongly in the statements of Herodotus and in the anonymous and misplaced Dyn. XXVII of the Chronicle, was already, even when Manetho wrote, somewhat less violent (the remembrance of the *Persian* yoke being less recent, and putting him less in mind of the earlier Asiatics); or else Manetho, like the hieratic lists which he partly extracted, *wanted* the Shepherds in order to magnify the glory of their expulsion. And in the time of Ptolemy, when not only the Persians but the Macedonians too had nearly passed away, even if Egypt were not already under the Romans, the feeling against the Shepherds and their tributaries, and even the jealousy between the Lower and Upper Countries, so strongly marked in the relations of Herodotus and in the lists of Manetho, seems to have lost much of its intensity. At any rate, we find Ptolemy, though himself of Lower Egypt, adopting and continuing from the *Theban* lists of Eratosthenes the substitution of the title

Thinite for that of *Tanite*, belonging to Menes and to the earliest kings in the Chronicle, and no doubt also in the original text of Manetho; and we find him not only reinserting, and with the appellation of "*Diospolites*," all the kings of the Upper Country, and all their years suppressed by Manetho, but even exhibiting in duplicate xvi Diospolites, and xxxvi Diospolites or Xoite-Nubians whom Manetho had *not* omitted, but had mentioned in his Dynasties XIV and XVI. And, lastly, we find him adding whole dynasties even of Shepherds, and making a vast multiplication of these kings, formerly so odious, the vehicle for the bulk of those 759 fresh years which were his own peculiar creation. Nay, even in returning to that cyclical form which Manetho had abandoned, he so entirely dropped the idea of the ἀποκατάστασις of the Chronicle, and the feelings which had given point to its expression, that he made the whole series of the dynasties from Menes, and the whole period of his four cycles, to end and to be completed in a dynasty of Persians, the same impious and hateful Asiatics to whom the Chronicle prefixed, and with whom it in a manner blended, its transposed and unnamed Dyn. XXVII of the Shepherds. In relation, however, to that addition of 24 years which Ptolemy made to the vi Shepherds of Manetho, and which at first sight certainly seems strange, it may be said, that if, as seems probable, the hieratic lists exhibited the name of a *seventh* Shepherd-king, besides the six of Manetho, and Ptolemy wanted for his own scheme fresh *years*, without caring to insert into Manetho's list a fresh *name*, the existence of a seventh Shepherd-*king* may have suggested the addition of a *reign* of 24 *years*, without any fresh name, to that dynasty. And, the bulk of Ptolemy's own fresh years having a fresh dynasty of Shepherds, his Dyn. XVI, for their vehicle, it was natural that any detached portion of these years, to be inserted arbitrarily into some other dynasty, should be inserted by preference into the homogeneous dynasty of Manetho's Shepherds. And even it may be suspected that underneath his multiplication of Shepherd kings and years of Shepherds, Ptolemy was amusing himself at the expense of his Greek readers; since for natives finding two fresh

Shepherd dynasties, and $(32 + 43 =)$ 75 fresh Shepherd kings, all entirely unknown to the hieratic lists, no less than to Manetho, the mere designation "Shepherds," even without the addition that they were "*Ha-nebou*" or Greeks (*Ἑλληνες*), might amount to the same thing as saying plainly that these kings are mere vehicles, and their years merely fictitious, to make out a certain scheme.

But if it be remarked that there are in Ptolemy's Dyn. XVII 43 fresh Shepherds who are irrelevant to the years of his own addition, these, it may be replied, are in truth mere contemporaries and associates of the 43 Diospolites, who alone are wanted or regarded in Ptolemy's scheme, though it suited the symmetry of his insertions to make a *pair* of fresh Shepherd dynasties rather than one only; and for this purpose he both created the 43 Shepherds in question, and put them first, and named the dynasty from them, though the 43 Diospolites whom they thus overlaid were alone historical, and alone had any claim to the years; their *true* Shepherd suzerains being only *four* kings of Manetho's Dyn. XVII. It suited also for the sake of symmetry in Ptolemy's scheme to place 43 of the 143 Diospolites at a distance from their main body of 100, *below*, and to place 27 other fictitious kings, capable of representing Diospolites, also at a distance from the 100 Diospolites, *above*; that so one might at will either make out the exhibition of the whole group of the 143 Diospolites or Nubians, by adding to the 100 the 43 from below, or by adding the 27 from above make out an *indication* of 127, the supplement needed to fill up the xxxvi kings of Manetho's Dyn. XVI (XIV of Ptolemy) to the 163 Nubians and Heracleopolites of the papyri (the 7th Shepherd king being also included). And these 127 kings of the papyrus, omitted by Manetho, but by Ptolemy both exhibited with the rest, and also indicated separately, are no doubt identical with the 127 ghost-kings (though the number is not given) of Manetho's Dyn. VII, his last dynasty of Manes, which has, as it ought to have, by far the largest bulk of years. For it has no fewer than 5813, which, divided by 12, are 484.⁹_m full, and afford for 127 kings $3\frac{10}{12}\frac{3}{7}$, being over 3 years and 9 months to each. This is

so nearly the average of all the Nubians and Heracleopolites of the hieratic lists, as to justify a suspicion that in this instance at least, though in this instance alone, the months-years of Manetho's Manes were intended to *indicate* on reduction the suppressed historical years of the ghosts their holders. Taking the 484 reduced years of Manetho's Dyn. VII to belong to 127 ghost-kings, if we add 36 more ghosts with the same average reigns of $3\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{7}$, the years to be added will be $131\frac{2}{1}\frac{5}{2}\frac{7}{7}$. And these added to 484 make 615, exceeding by only 8 years the $(536 + 71 =)$ 607 calculated above at the average of $3\frac{2}{3}\frac{5}{4}$, indicated by fragments of the papyrus for its 162 historical Nubians and Heracleopolites. But if what has been said of the symmetry of Ptolemy's indications, in the correspondence of the 43 kings of his Dyn. XVII *below* to the 27 of his Dyn. VIII *above* the main body of the 100 Diospolites placed in his Dynasties XIII and XIV, has been understood, it will be noticed that the 43 Diospolites below could not have been so placed, at a distance from their main body, otherwise, than under cover of a dynasty having some other designation.

In conclusion, the hieratic lists, the lists of Manetho, and those of Ptolemy shall be paralleled with one another, the kings of the papyrus being put first, with such subdivisions of their numbers and years as are convenient. Next shall follow in the same lines the kings of Manetho, so as to show his misappropriations and suppressions. Thirdly, still in the same lines, shall be *added* the kings of Ptolemy, so as to show how far he follows Manetho, what he restores from the hieratic lists, and, further, what he adds of his own. In these tables Manetho's misappropriations and suppressions are in red; and Ptolemy's *restorations*; but not his additions, which however are distinguished by Roman numerals, and by being bracketed. In two cases, where 19 Heracleopolites and 1 Shepherd are printed in red and bracketed, this is because they are only *indicated* among Ptolemy's additions but not actually restored by him to their true connection. The xxxvi kings and 184 years of Manetho's Dyn. XVI (XIV of Ptolemy) are bracketed, because Ptolemy has reduplicated them, and made them part of his own peculiar additions.

HIERATIC PAPYRUS, <i>continued</i> .				MANETHO, <i>continued</i> .				PTOLEMY OF MENDES, <i>continued from above</i> .					
Nubians .	60			[vii. Manes]	36	[184]		xiii. Diospol.	59	453	+	[xxxvi	184]
	36			xvi. Diosp.?	—	—		xiv. Xoites.	50	—	—	—	—
	4			[vii. Manes]	—	—		xv. Diospol.	4	80	+ [Sheph.	xliii	—]
	43	536	$3\frac{107}{143}$	[vii. Manes]	—	—		xvi. Diospol.	43	80	+ [Sheph.	xliii	—]
Sum . .	143	536	$3\frac{107}{143}$					[Sum]	143	533			
Herac.	19	71	$3\frac{107}{143}$	[vii. Manes]	—	—		[Heracleop.	71	71			
Nub.&Her.	162	607						Sum indicated	162	604			
Sheph. . .	6	260	$37\frac{1}{7}$	xvii. Sheph.	6	259	+ 10 ^m .	xv. Sheph.	6	260	. . . .	
Diospol. .	17	348	$20\frac{2}{17}$	xviii. Diosp.	16	333	+ 15.—	xviii. Diosp.	16	348	. . . . .	. . . . .	[24]
	2	78	$39\frac{1}{17}$	xix. Diosp.	1	75		xix. Diospol.	1	75	[xvi. Shep.	xxxii	518]
					5	113			5	113	+ . . . . .	. . . . .	[15]
	8	113			5	5				5			
Or to B.C. 1209. . .				xx. Diosp.	12	135		xx. Diospol.	12	135			
				xxi. Tanite	7	130		xxi. Tanite	7	130			
				xxii. Bubast.	9	120		xxii. Bub.	9	120			
				xxiii. Tanite	4	89		xxiii. Tanite	4	89			
				xxiv. Saite	1	6		xxiv. Saite	1	6			
				xxv. Ethiop.	3	40		xxv. Ethiop.	3	40			
				xxvi. Saite	9	150	+ 6 ^m .	xxvi. Saite	9	158			
				xxvii. Pers.	8	124	+ 4 ^m .	xxvii. Pers.	8	124			
				xxviii. Saite	1	6		xxviii. Saite	1	—			
				xxix. Tanit.	4	20	+ 1.4 ^m .	xxix. Mendes.	4	20			
				xxx. Seben.	3	38		xxx. Seben.	3	38			
Sum to } B.C. 345 .				198	3555			Sum to } B.C. 332 .	395	3555	+	clx	[759]

In this lower page the three last columns do not, like the three corresponding to them above, contain years omitted by Manetho and restored by Ptolemy, with reduplications of their kings; but they contain those years which are of Ptolemy's own creation, and peculiar to his own scheme.

CHAP. V.

STATEMENTS OF GREEK AUTHORS.

BESIDES the Egyptian schemes themselves, examined above, there are also certain separate statements and notices of Greek writers directly or indirectly referring to them, which it will be proper to mention in order, and, as far as possible, to explain and account for.

HERODOTUS.

To begin with Herodotus, as the earliest: The Egyptian priests of Phthah at Memphis, told him (about B. C. 450), that “before ordinary kings, Gods, dwelling together with men, had reigned in Egypt”: and they boasted that, besides altars, images, and temples, the art of writing in hieroglyphics, and the solar year of 365 days, the names of the Gods also were of their own institution (*νομίσαι*) or invention. And Herodotus confirms this statement by showing that the Pelasgi and Greeks, at any rate, had learned the first names and rudiments of their polytheism from the Egyptians. He was told that the last of the Gods who had reigned was Horus, son of Osiris; that there were certain VIII Gods older, and certain XII, who were of the VIII, more recent; and others again who were of the XII; that Pan and Buto belonged to the VIII, and Hercules to the XII; that from Dionysus, or Osiris, who was of the third order, to Amasis (to B. C. 525), there 15,000 years; from Hercules (*ἐπέτετε ἐκ τῶν ἡ' Θεῶν οἱ ιβ' θεοὶ ἐγένοντο*) 17,000; and from Pan, still more.

Now, from the death of Amasis, in B. C. 525, to the cyclical epoch of B. C. 1322 there were 797 years; and if to these we add the 3750 years of kings in the hieratic list, with the 5613 and the 3944 of the two divine series preceding, and further the 400 years of the later *Horus*, the

last deity of the first divine series in the Turin papyrus, we find not indeed the name of Osiris, but the accession of this Horus, the son of Osiris, who was often spoken of as avenging his father, and immediately succeeding him, at an interval of 14,504 years above Amasis, which might be called in round numbers 15,000. And if we add to these the 3140 years of the goddess *Ma*, which stand next above, her accession is 17,644 years above Amasis; so that her place is that of the Hercules of Herodotus. And *Sou*, which is written with the *feather*, just like *Ma*, is rendered into Greek by Hercules. Further, *Ma* is apparently the *ninth* in the Turin papyrus from the commencement of its first divine series; and she is certainly *not* among the first *eight*, though one of the next following after them. As for the Pan of Herodotus, if any name among the first VIII of the papyrus answered to him, it may have been the elder Horus, brother of Osiris, and identifiable with one aspect of Osiris himself; (for the deity of Mendes, *Ba-en-Dad*, was a form of Osiris and of Horus). But an hieratic list at Memphis may have varied in its names and order from a Theban papyrus: and perhaps in specifying the number of years from the latest divine reigns the priests did not refer to any list at all, but put them a little above that epoch at which they encouraged Herodotus to place Menes.

Of ordinary kings, Herodotus writes, the first was Menes, who turned the course of the Nile, and founded Memphis, making also its sacred lake. His accession was put by some so far back as to be even before the formation of the Delta, or when all below the lake Mœris was still under water. So, clearly, nothing was said of Tanis as a capital, any more than of Thebes or Bubastis. The sense of the assertion must be this, that if the 3750 years of the kings in the hieratic lists had been really successive, the accession of Menes would have been in the year of true time 292, when even the antediluvian Egypt was as yet unpeopled, to say nothing of the existing world.

“*After* Menes” they read out from an hieratic papyrus 330 names of his successors to Sesostris, whose immediate predecessor was Mœris. And from the death of Mœris to He-

herodotus's own time (about B. C. 450), "there had been less than 900 years." Mæris, then, should have died at some date later, but within half a century later, than B. C. 1350.

Herodotus supposed that these 330 kings, or, as he *should have* reckoned, 331 (but he drops Menes), must have covered with their reigns a space of 11,000 [$11,033\frac{1}{3}$] years, making of each reign a full generation of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years. And the priests told him that during the whole time which they covered (whatever that was), the sun had four times risen so as to change his course, having twice risen from the point where in B. C. 450 he set, and twice set at the point from which in B. C. 450 he rose. "Ἐν τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἡθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι" ("quater cursus suos vertisse sidera," in Pompon. Mela, i. 9, as quoted by Bunsen), "ἐνθα τε νῦν καταδύεται ἐνθεῦτεν δις ἐπανατεῖλαι, καὶ ἔνθεν νῦν ἀνατέλλει ἐνθαῦτα δις καταδύναι." (*Herod. Eut.* c. 142.) Now 11,300 years and more would have given to the sun many more such circuits than two, and would have carried back Menes above the $(5613 + 3750) = 9363$, or $(9363 - 341 =)$ 9022 years real and nominal, which were reckoned to the existing world between the *unnamed* epoch of the Flood and Rameses III. But if the priests in their own minds gave to the 331 kings the same 3750 years which they seem to have had in the hieratic lists, this number of years, if only they had been all successive as well as real, would justify their assertion, though it was not literally the sun, but their own movable year and calendar, which would have twice started afresh, and twice returned, after going round through all the signs of the zodiac. For, if we reckon back in Sothic cycles from the cyclical epoch of July 20, B. C. 1322, there need only 2922 years for two cycles, within which there would have been two complete circuits of the sun or of the calendar. And when these are deducted from 3750, there remain over, at the head of all, 828 years, not enough for a third circuit. Nor would it make any difference if they let Herodotus reckon on, as it seems they did, 340 years more (being 10 generations, and part of an 11th) below Mæris, as if to the deliverance of Sethon, and understand them to speak of what had taken

place in $(3750 + 340 =) 4090$, or, as he fancied, 11,340 years. Or if, instead of Sothic cycles, which do not bring the seasons exactly round, Phoenix cycles were intended, two of these would cover 3010 years: and if the goal whence the sun started and to which he returned was that conjuncture which made the names of the Egyptian months suit the actual seasons, then his first turning ($\xi\xi\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$) would have been at the commencement of the 295th movable year from Menes, in B.C. 4790, and his second return to the same point would have been in the anticipated Julian year B.C. 1780, when the 1st of the movable Thoth was again at an interval of 125 days after the solstice. In Herodotus' own time the sun was within about 43 days' distance (needing about 174 years to traverse) of having returned to this point for the *third* time. For in B.C. 275, as M. Biot has calculated, the movable tetramenia would again become concurrent with the actual seasons. And already their discrepancy was so far reduced as to allow of its being said that the year of 365 days "brought the seasons round," an assertion which would have been paradoxical, if at the time each tetramenion had plainly coincided with some other season than that referred to by the names of its four months.

Herodotus was told that Sesostris, the 332nd king of the lists, placed in the 14th century B.C., in fact at the cyclical epoch of B.C. 1322, was the first conqueror of Ethiopia, or Nubia, and the first and only king, except his immediate predecessor, who had done anything very remarkable. He was also told that this Sesostris was the king who had set up stelæ in Phœnicia, and colossi of himself and of four of his sons at Memphis (if so, he was Rameses II.); and, lastly, that he was the king who had a fleet of ships of war, and was master of both seas, that is, that he was Rameses III., with whom he was also identified by his place in the lists and by the date. But in what relates to Sesostris, upon whom all his Egyptian history turns, Herodotus was deceived by the priests, who blended into one fabulous personage three or more conquerors of very different ages, and two of them of very different names, though the chief element of the name Sesostris, viz. *tsesr*, belonged to them all.

And the end of explaining and accounting for Herodotus's statements will be best served by splitting his Sesostriis into three, and the whole series of 11 reigns or generations connected with Sesostriis, from his predecessor to his 9th successor, both being included, into two distinct series of 11 generations each, the one beginning with *Mæris*, the predecessor of the first Sesostriis (Sesortasen I.), and ending with *Anysis* or *Onnos* (probably the 9th king of Manetho's Dyn. XII), the other beginning with the predecessor of Rameses III. (named *Set-necht*, or *Amen-nechthes*), and ending, for Herodotus, with the king (really *Bocchoris*) who was defeated by the Ethiopian *Sabaco*, as if his were the 9th reign or generation from Rameses III. Thus only can each statement of Herodotus be presented by itself, without confusion, and in its true chronological order. It is true then that Mæris (that is Papa Maire, the 4th king of Manetho's Dynasty XIII), was the immediate predecessor, as suzerain, of Sesostriis—Sesortasen I. the first conqueror of Nubia,—though in the hieratic lists there were 53 names and 951 years apparently between them. But Mæris, instead of being the 331st, stood as the 83rd king; and his death, instead of being less than 900, was seemingly 3427 and really 1524 years before B.C. 450; and Sesostriis the first conqueror of Nubia, and successor of Mæris, stood in the lists not as the 332nd, but as the 137th king; and his accession, as suzerain, was not 900 only, but seemingly 2756, really 1524 years, before Herodotus. This being understood, the statement that these two kings, Papa Maire and Sesortasen I., were the first who did anything very remarkable, is open to no objection; or, rather, it is justified to this day by their monuments, if compared with those of earlier kings. For the builders of the pyramids were neither understood by Herodotus to be, nor were in truth, earlier.

An observation connected by Herodotus with the time of Mæris, the predecessor of the first Sesostriis, deserves to be compared with the records of the height reached by the Nile between the rocks at Semneh in Nubia in the time of Amenemhe III. And it may be that the title *Ma-re* be-

longing to Amenemhe III., was confused with the throne-name of *Papa Mai-re*, the true Mœris and predecessor of Sesostris, both in speaking of the great work of the lake of the Fayoum, and in speaking of the height reached by the Nile in different ages. For this, as the inscriptions still remaining attest, was carefully watched and recorded at the Nilometer at Semneh, in Nubia, in the time of Amenemhe III. Herodotus was told that in the time of Mœris a rise of 8 cubits only was needed for the inundation of the Delta, whereas, in his own time, the rise needed was 15 or 16 cubits. And in speaking of the blindness of Pheron, the son and successor of Sesostris (where the generation next after Mœris and Sesortasen I. cannot be really meant), he says that he had impatiently flung a javelin into the Nile on its having reached the unprecedented and dangerous height of 18 cubits. This implies that the ordinary and proper height had previously come from 8 to be 16 cubits. But the 14 entries made during 37 years of the reign of Amenemhe III. (Mares), at Semneh, show that in the time of Manetho's Dyn. XV the highest point *on the rocks there* reached by the inundation was 8, 17 metres *above* the highest point reached at the present day.

To the earliest Sesostris, according to Aristotle, "long before Minos," (who was sometimes put 700 years before the first Olympiad,) was ascribed the institution of the military and sacerdotal castes, whose lands and allowances, mentioned by Herodotus, had certainly been settled on them before the time of the Patriarch Joseph. Others add the introduction of cavalry. And to his time probably may be traced the origin of some at least of those military stations which are known to have existed later, as at Daphnæ and Mareæ towards Syria and Libya, in the Heracleopolite Nome, perhaps, upon the border of Lower Egypt, at Thebaicæ Phylacæ in the Hermopolite Nome at the entrance to the Thebaid, at some point commanding the valley of Hanamat and the road between Coptos and the Red Sea, and at Syene on the Nubian frontier. The last of these, as well as the first, is repeatedly mentioned by Herodotus. After the conquest and acquisition of Nubia a similar station is known

to have been created or fortified by the third successor of Sesostris, Sesortasen III., at Semneh. And as he, too, gained victories in further Nubia, and bore the same name with the first conqueror, he, too, enters into the composition of the fabulous Sesostris: and when mention is made of the institution of geometrical surveys, of the reservation of the fifth part of the produce of the land to the king, of the multiplying of canals, the banking-up of the cities and villages, and the removing into them of the scattered population (works belonging to the time of Joseph, and imputed as tyranny to the Memphite vassals of the Shepherds), Sesortasen III., who was their contemporary in Upper Egypt, is the Sesostris chiefly to be thought of. But it is not so much the institution of the military caste, or of military stations by the first conqueror, as that of a certain custom connected with military service in the stations, and incidentally mentioned by Herodotus, which deserves our attention. For Herodotus, speaking of the station at Syene, mentions that it had been the custom to change and relieve the men and officers composing it after three years, and that it was in part discontent at not having been so relieved which caused the whole force, in the time of Psammitichus I., to desert in a body, and to settle in Ethiopia. Now it may fairly be presumed that this custom or rule of the service, which was connected, too, with the tenure of the lands of the military, was as old as the establishment of the stations, or even as old as the military caste itself. Indeed it seems to be alluded to as already existing in connection with the garrison at Semneh in that inscription of the 3rd year of Sebekhotep III. which has been quoted above at p. 499: for the words "when *Ren-seneb* was Commandant in the fortress of the late king Sesortasen III." seem to allude to a command of brief tenure in comparison with the reign of a territorial king, and not subordinate to the power of Sevekhotep himself. And if so, it is worth considering whether this custom may not throw some light on the true nature of that multitude of 143 Nubian and 19 Heracleopolite kings in the hieratic list which appear to have reigned, one with another, *under 4 years* each, and so about the time usual for

military service. When one reflects that they are all necessarily included chronologically within the extreme limits of the conquest of Nubia above and the rise of Dyn. XVIII (some 216 years later) below; that there must have been at least three distinct successions of them, probably more, thrown together on the right side of the Karnak Chamber, and in Manetho's Dyn. XVI; that they are connected by monumental traces with no places so much as with Semneh, Syene, Coptos, and Thebaicæ Phylacæ, all military stations; and that they have left no traces in Nubia of any capital cities or of tombs, such as indigenous kings might be expected to leave, while their names occur in the cemetery of Abydos, it is natural to suspect that they were really military commandants rather than hereditary and territorial kings. Their connection with the precise time (184 years) of the Shepherd supremacy (though we may suppose them to have commenced somewhat earlier) is indicated alike by Manetho, by the Theban lists of Eratosthenes, and by Ptolemy of Mendes. Ptolemy has even a group of 43 Nubians, each with a Shepherd for his monitor. It may be, then, that it suited the policy of the Shepherds to multiply kings, and by giving the royal title to the commandants of their military stations, to put them on a level with the hereditary and territorial kings from whom they received tribute. At any rate Manetho, in the passages extracted from him by Josephus, represents the Shepherds as not only fortifying Avaris, keeping a force near Pelusium (which may be an anticipation), holding Memphis, and reducing the Upper as well as Lower Country, with the native rulers, to subjection, but also as "*putting garrisons in such places as were most convenient* for the maintenance of their supremacy, and for the collection of their dues." The "most convenient" places would be the same, no doubt, under them as under Sesortasen I.; and for the same reasons. So that, according to Manetho, they exercised and secured their supremacy in Upper Egypt by garrisoning these military stations either with Shepherds of their own race, or with native Egyptian subjects whom they trusted. And perhaps he has other indirect allusions to the relation in which these numerous kings

stood to the Shepherds. At any rate, in his narrative, after enumerating the Shepherds themselves as six kings only, and leaving no room for any more, since they make his Seventeenth Dynasty, he nevertheless speaks of a multitude of others derived from them, and carrying out their policy,—their spawn, as it were;—and in connection with these last he names a sum of 511 years, approaching to the sum of the Nubians in the papyri. And if the kings of his Dynasty XII, themselves vassals of the Shepherds, were, as seems likely, Heliopolites of the East Bank, he may have thought his play upon the word *Abt* the more colourable because there had, in fact, existed a succession of kings, though not the same, which had held the royal title at Elephantine or Syene. As for the name *Xoite* (*Kesite* or *Ksoite*) given either by the original Manetho, or by some re-editor of his lists, to the Nubians, if it were meant, as no doubt it was, to be misunderstood, like the designations Elephantinite and Thinite, by Greek readers, and to suggest the thought of *Xois* in the Delta, its sense would be much the same as “*Sebennyte*,” or “*Manethonian*,” since *Xois* was in the Sebennyte Nome. If it indicated anything beyond, it might be this, that the kings in question having the 184 years of the Shepherd supremacy given to them, were, in fact, connected with the Shepherds, and halved the Delta with them, the other side of the Delta being substituted for the other end of Egypt. But it must be confessed that there is something in all the three designations of the Thinites, Elephantinites, and *Xoites* of the lists of Africanus out of keeping with the spirit and the scheme of the original Manetho. His favour to the first six dynasties of kings, and his disfavour to the three next following them, is manifest; and it is therefore improbable that he should transfer in name two of his favoured dynasties to the Upper Country, and bring down one of the three really belonging to the Upper Country into the Lower, and even into his own native district. But to return to the question, whether what we call the Nubian group of kings were commandants under the Shepherds:—It may certainly be objected against this view, that foreign conquerors would never have trusted native Egyptians, and

least of all natives of Upper Egypt or Nubia, to command for them in their strongholds; and that the Nubian kings who are so honoured in the Karnak Chamber, while the Memphite pyramid-builders are everywhere suppressed, are the last of all to be suspected of any special connection with the Shepherds. But, on the other hand, Manetho's testimony is express (and on this point he would not exaggerate), that all alike became subject to the Shepherds: and there is no real ground for thinking that they were anything like a foreign army within a conquered nation, ruling as strangers and by force. On the contrary, they are distinguished by little else than the retention of their hereditary preference for the pastoral life over the agricultural. In other respects they had so conformed to the manners of the Egyptians, when Joseph was in Egypt, that it seems impossible to some writers that they should ever have been strangers or Shepherds at all. The only accusation which adheres is that of *atheism*; though even here it is confessed that they worshipped the local god of their own Nome, Soutech, whose symbol was afterwards given to the God of the Hebrews, as identified with the power of evil. But their power over Upper Egypt was obtained, according to Manetho himself, in a marvellous way, without a blow. And in truth it originated in their having saved the whole population, receiving them to be subjects and tributaries only on their own entreaty. So that, in the first instance, and for a long time, there is no need to suppose any bitter hostility between the servants and officers of the suzerain and the local tributary kings or their peoples. In time, no doubt, their hearts changed, so that they hated both the Shepherd suzerains and their Hebrew counsellors. And if at length some one or other of the military commandants in Nubia joined or headed a revolt, and a new dynasty arose which derived its blood at once from the last of the territorial kings of the Thebaid, and from the commandant-kings of Upper Egypt and Nubia, this fact is enough to explain how honour should be attached by their descendants to all names of the same connection.

After three successors of Sesostris, if only names and circumstances inapplicable either to Amenemhe II., Sesor-

tasen II., and Sesortasen III. in Upper Egypt, or to the first three reigns of Manetho's Dynasties XI and XII (IV and V of Ptolemy) in Lower be dropped, Herodotus will be quite accurate in introducing the names of *Cheops*, and *Cephren*, and *Mycerinus* of Manetho's Dyn. XI who built the three chief pyramids. *Asychis* or *Sahoura* too, and *Anysis* or *Onnos*, who follow them, were really the one of them contemporary with Suphis I. the other later by two or three generations than Mycerinus, being the 2nd probably and the 9th kings of Manetho's Dyn. XII, who also built pyramids. And the notices attached by Herodotus to the pyramid-builders, that they were all, except Mycerinus, impious tyrants, of odious memory; contemporaries of the Shepherd, to whom their works might be ascribed; and that in their time Egypt was subjected to a Typhonian influence, are in accordance with indications from other sources. Even the gleam of sunshine meant to indicate the death of Joseph after 80 or 100 years of the impiety and tyranny of Apophis, and the continuance nevertheless of the Typhonian influence for some 50 years longer, are both perfectly intelligible. If *Asychis* be *Sephres*, or at any rate one of the kings of Manetho's Dyn. XII, it might be quite right also to place in his time that unprecedented famine which drove the Egyptians to pawn even their sepulchres and their dead. Only the details respecting his brick pyramid, which was built so admirably, do not suit the northern stone pyramid of Abouseer in which his name has been found, but rather the great northern brick pyramid of Dashoor.

Two cities in the land of Goshen, *Pithom*, said in the Book of Exodus to have been walled by the labour of the Hebrews, and *Avaris*, mentioned by Manetho and on the monuments as the capital of the Shepherds, are mentioned also by Herodotus, the one as Πάτουμος, the other as Ἡρώων-πόλις or *Heroopolis*, which seems to be merely a contraction of Ἀβαρόπολις. And he has the name itself Ἀβαρία (the district of Avaris), written by metathesis Ἀραβία, which affords a valuable illustration of the text of the Septuagint. For there the land of Goshen is rendered “Ἀραβία Γεσσέμ,” and “Γεσσέμ Ἀραβίας:” It is also called from the city of

Ramesses (rebuilt and renamed by Rameses II.) “*γῆ Παμεσσῆς*,” and the city itself called ‘*Παμεσσῆς*’ in the Book of Exodus, and said to have been fortified like Pithom by the Hebrews, is rendered by the LXX “*Ἡρώων πόλις*,” that is, Avaris; so that it had already been rebuilt and refortified long before it was renamed from Rameses II.

“*Anyis* of *Anyis*,” if the last king of Manetho’s Dyn. XII, will be “*Onnos*, who by birth was of the Nome or district of the *Hare*,” the *hare*, the first sign in his name, which reads *onnos*, being also the sign of the South Hermopolite Nome, with which therefore he probably was connected.

Then (after the death of *Onnos* the 9th successor of Sesostris in the line of Manetho’s Dyn. XII, parallel to the 8th in the line of his Dyn. XI), Herodotus, passing on, is again accurate in introducing what might be called (by those at least who *had* known Joseph) an Ethiopian invasion. For it was from Nubia chiefly that the power and the religion came which overthrew the dynasty of the Shepherds. And hence all those later traditions which represent the religion and civilisation of Egypt as descending from Ethiopia, and as first manifesting themselves at Thebes. Under this Ethiopian or semi-Ethiopian dynasty, then, viz. Dyn. XVIII, which followed after the first Sesostris and the pyramid-builders and the Shepherd Philiton, and by no means under the later Ethiopian Sabaco, still less after his abdication, is to be placed an event mentioned by Herodotus without any precise indication of its date. For after having related elsewhere how, in the reign of Psammitichus I. (the very time, or but little lower than the time, to which his chronological transpositions caused by reckoning from a compound Sesostris would bring down the Exodus), the force stationed at Syene had deserted in a body and settled in Ethiopia, he remarks, with an allusion to this, that in former times, implied to be much more remote, a somewhat similar emigration had taken place, when a vast multitude — “no small proportion of the whole force or population of Egypt” — had broken away and settled in the inland parts of Palestine, where they still dwelt, and retained the practice of circumcision, a sign (so he thought at least) of their Egyptian origin.

At length, on coming to the predecessor of Rameses III., who was both in name and exploits a sort of repetition of Rameses II., with something distinctive of his own, Herodotus may be again accurate in saying that 330 names following that of Menes had by this time been read out to him from a book, the last being that of the immediate predecessor of Sesostris; and that from the death of this predecessor to his own time there had intervened less than 900 years. Only, if the priests read out the name of Mœris as that of the 331st king, they transposed or repeated it, and deceived Herodotus, not only by expressions suggestive of misunderstanding, but also by direct falsehood. Nor could it have been said even by those Memphites who were the most envious of Thebes, that none of the 330 kings before Rameses III. and his immediate predecessor, if they were all admitted as legitimate, had done any thing remarkable. Indeed the greater part of the exploits of Sesostris himself as related by Herodotus (all, in a manner, except the fleet, and the first conquest of Nubia) belong to Rameses II., who was himself one of the 330 kings. Especially the story of the treason of his brother, whom he had left governor of Egypt in his absence, being connected with the mention of the stelæ in Phœnicia, belongs clearly to the times of Rameses II. (with whom his father Seti I. was also blended). And the fact that the royal power was really delegated to a brother, whether by Rameses II. himself or by Sesosis his father, is said to be confirmed by contemporary sculptures at Gourneh. It is of some importance to notice this, as in the later narrative and lists of Manetho and Ptolemy the story of the two brothers, identified with Ægyptus and Danaus, is put down to the following dynasty, and is connected, though out of place, and under a double name of Σέθως ὁ καὶ Ραμεσσῆς, with Rameses III. But it might be said to Herodotus with a sort of truth that among the 331 predecessors of Sesostris (Sesostris being Rameses III.) there had been 18 Ethiopians, besides one native, that is, Memphite, queen, Nitocris. For the xviii kings of Dynasties XVIII and XIX from Amosis to *Amenephthes* or *Amen-necht* the predecessor of Rameses III. both included, were

all, as has been said above, of semi-Ethiopian origin. And thus, astonishing as the fact may be, the Memphite priests contrived to suppress and ignore a long line of the most powerful and renowned of all their kings, those precisely who had left the most remarkable monuments, no doubt for this reason only that these kings had been Thebans while they themselves were Memphites. That by the xviii Ethiopians they really meant these kings and no others is plain even from the number itself, which cannot be made out in any other way. For though there were in the lists other kings who with equal or greater justice might be called Ethiopians, their number was not xviii but cxliii; and even as represented in the Karnak Chamber they are xxx; and later in Manetho's Dyn. XVI there are xxxvi, and in Ptolemy's Dyn. XIV lxxvi of them. Or rather in Ptolemy's lists there are all the cxliii with doubles to xxxvi of them added. And, besides, it is only on this supposition that one can understand or account for Herodotus's statement that Sesostris not only first conquered Ethiopia, but that he was the only native Egyptian king who had ever reigned over it; whereas it is clear from the monuments that all the xviii kings who preceded Rameses III., from Amosis downwards, reigned over Nubia as well as Egypt: and Rameses III. himself was not the last who did so, though Herodotus's statement is concerned only with his 331 predecessors. This singular attempt to dissemble and suppress, as it were, in the mass the long dynasties of Theban supremacy is well illustrated by the equally wonderful silence of Herodotus, not only concerning their history but also concerning those monuments of the Theban dynasties which, through the times of the Macedonians, the Romans, and even the Arabs, and to this day, have been the admiration of all beholders. His silence is rendered the more incomprehensible by one or two passages in which he implies, and by one in which he expressly affirms, that he had himself been at Thebes, and even as high up the Nile as to Syene. But there is no doubt that these passages, and one or two others mentioning events which took place towards the close of his century, are merely incidental additions, inserted like notes into his text late in life after a

second visit to Egypt, no detailed notices of which were ever written.

The building of the propylæa on the north side of the temple of Phthah at Memphis, which Herodotus couples with the lake of Mœris, belonged no doubt not to Mœris the predecessor of Sesortasen I. but either to Seti I. the father and predecessor of Rameses II. or to Amenephthes the 331st king and predecessor of the latest Sesostris, Rameses III., within 900 years of Herodotus's time. The lake only with its canal *may* belong to Mœris, though the dimensions given by Herodotus seem to belong rather to the natural lake Birket el Quorn than to any true work of a king. For he makes it 700 miles round, and 300 feet deep at the spot where Mœris built his pyramids in it. The Egyptians, however, when they said that there was as much of the pyramids in the water as out of it, probably meant only that the whole height was doubled in the water by the reflection.

The son and successor of Sesostris, that is, of Rameses III., is named by Herodotus *Pheron*. On the name we can throw no light; but the two obelisks which he is said to have erected at Heliopolis, out of gratitude on recovering from his ten years' blindness, are works such as either Amenoph the son of Rameses II., or any one of the four or five sons who reigned after Rameses III., may be likely to have executed. But as Pheron is not identifiable with any monumental king, he must be regarded only as representing one of Herodotus's generations of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years. And as Herodotus is very far from making out by the reigns which he mentions the sum of something under 900 years from the accession of Sesostris to his own time, we may give him the benefit of the true date for the accession of his Sesostris, that is, of Rameses III., and reckon his generations from the true date B.C. 1321, which is 29 years less than 900 before B.C. 450. Thus the death of Pheron will be put in B.C. $(1321 - 66\frac{1}{3} =)$ 1255. He is succeeded by "a man of Memphis" named *Proteus*. The name is Greek, borrowed from an Egyptian sea-god in Homer: and the note that he was a Memphite may be an oblique acknowledgment that Sesostris himself

and his son Pheron had not been Memphites, but Thebans. On the other hand the handsome temple of the Foreign Hathor erected by Proteus on the south side of the temple of Phthah at Memphis, and the Quarter or "Camp of the Tyrians" around its precinct, are clear signs that the historical king alluded to is really either one of the sons or the grandson of Rameses III., whose naval power prepares one for that closer and permanent intercourse with Phœnicia of which the Quarter of the Tyrians at Memphis and the Foreign Hathor are not the only signs. The end of the generation of Proteus may be brought as low as B.C. (1255 — $33\frac{1}{3}$ =) 1221. But even if we had reckoned that of Rameses III. from B.C. 1350 (the full 900 years before Herodotus), instead of B.C. 1321, so that the years of Proteus should end within some short time after B.C. 1250, this might have been late enough to include Herodotus's date for the war and taking of Troy, which he puts in the time of Proteus. For elsewhere he puts the war of Troy about 800 years before his own time. After Proteus follows *Ramsinitus*, a name which, without identifying itself with any individual king, indicates that we are among the Ramessid successors of Rameses III., and not at the 3rd generation or reign after the first conqueror of Nubia and Mœris, or at the generation next preceding that of Cheops and his contemporary the Shepherd. Of Ramsinitus it is said that he was the richest of all kings; and if Herodotus did not fail by 275 years or more to make out his 900 from the accession of Sesostris, or if we could reckon his generations upwards from the conquest of Sabaco as a known and fixed point, Ramsinitus's generation would lie between B.C. 979 and 946; and he would then be either the dexterous thief who broke into the treasury of Solomon, or the natural inheritor of the spoils brought away from Jerusalem by Shishonk I. Ramsinitus also added to the temple of Phthah at Memphis its western propylæa, seen and admired by Herodotus: and recent discoveries have brought to light remains of magnificent buildings erected at Memphis, and seemingly in connection with the temple of Phthah, by a king who reigned about the end of Dyn. XIX. Reckoning in generations, one must put

the end of the reign of Ramsinitus in B.C. 1188. After him, the Thebans having been already transformed into Memphites in Proteus, five generations of those Memphite kings who built the pyramids are inserted so as to follow after the latest instead of the earliest Sesostris. And these save the priests all need of further mystification to conceal the Diospolites of Dyn. XX still remaining. For us, however, who have retransposed the five pyramid-builders to their true place their names here represent merely as many abstract generations; except that the addition of its eastern propylæa to the temple of Ptthah at Memphis must be detached from the name of Asychis and given to the 7th Ramessid successor or generation after Rameses III. And the five generations indicated under the five names from Cheops to Anysis (both being included) will make in all $166\frac{1}{3}$ years. It is true that Cheops and Cephren are not presented as mere generations, but have long actual reigns of 50 and 56 years given to them: and a space of 150 years is specified: but these details belong only to the historical kings in their true places above; and Herodotus himself shows below that he does not attempt to reckon by actual reigns till he comes to the accession of Psammitichus I. The 5 generations then would take us on from B.C. 1188 $166\frac{2}{3}$ years to B.C. 1021, between which date and the invasion of Egypt by the Ethiopian Sabaco in B.C. 746, there is really a gap of 275 years, equal for Herodotus to 8 generations and above 8 years of a ninth.

But Herodotus by an enormous anticipation connects the invasion of *Sabaco* with the name of *Anysis* or *Onnos* the 8th successor of Sesostris. And after this name has been put back and confined to Onnos the 8th or 9th successor (in one line) of the first Sesostris, it is still implied, and indeed directly asserted, that the invasion of Sabaco took place during the 8th generation after Rameses III., that is, at the latest in B.C. 1021, before the accession of Solomon. And not only so, but while Sabaco (under whose single name the three Ethiopians of Dyn. XXV are consolidated) is said to have ruled Egypt "for 50 years" (*ἐπὶ ἑτέα ν'*), Anysis (who should be Bocchoris), instead of having been burned alive, is

made to survive all this time concealed in the fens. And when at length Sabaco (or Tirhakah) has voluntarily withdrawn to Ethiopia, Anysis reappears, and having regained his throne, dies, it may be presumed, almost immediately afterwards. This event then would seem to be put by Herodotus not later than B.C. ($1021 - 33\frac{1}{3} = 988$)

About the same time, or very shortly after, Egypt, he continues, was invaded by Sennacherib king of the *Arabians* and Assyrians, and was miraculously saved through the piety of a priest of Phthah named *Sethon*, who had succeeded Anysis (*i.e.* Bocchoris) as king. For Sethon having, as a priest, neglected the military caste, and even taken away their lands, the army was disaffected, and absolutely refused to fight for him. So he would have been in the utmost danger. But he went into the temple, and made complaint and supplication to his god: and in answer to his prayer the whole power of the Assyrian host, *both for offence and for defence*, was cut off in a single night. How *soon* this event (a manifest appropriation of the deliverance of Hezekiah) was to be placed after the abdication of the Ethiopian and the return and death of Anysis, Herodotus does not distinctly say; but as he reckons from the death of Mœris (meaning the accession of Rameses III.) only 340 years in all to the deliverance of Sethon, so placing the latter event in the 7th year of the 11th generation after Mœris, this requires that the reign of the Ethiopian Sabaco, to have lasted the 50 years, should have commenced at the least above 11 years before the end of the 9th generation (that is, of the generation of Anysis who is named next before him); and that, even though the 50 years be supposed to have ended only a few months before the invasion of Sennacherib, and Sethon to have had a still shorter time, since the death of Anysis, in which to offend the army. So Herodotus puts the invasion of Sabaco at least as high as B.C. 1032, in the reign of David, and the deliverance of Hezekiah from Sennacherib (by implication) before the death of Solomon. And though one would think that he could not have failed to perceive that after completing the generation of Sethon (which might bring him down to B.C. 955) he had still ($955 - 663 =$) 292 years to account for

between the death of Sethon and the accession of Psammitichus I., below which, as he says, Egyptian history was well known to the Greeks, he writes as if it had never occurred to him to suspect any error. For he deliberately recapitulates and reckons from Menes ($330 + 11 =$) "341 generations" to the deliverance of Sethon with ($11,000 + 340 =$) 11,340 years, forgetting seemingly that the 330 first-named generations were all *after* Menes. And he says that the *priests also* reckoned this same number of 341 generations as consecutive, and taking him into a great hall or court showed him exactly so many images of priests corresponding to the same number of kings; the like to which the Theban priests had done a little before with Hecataeus, except that they showed him 345 images of priests answering to as many kings, and reaching down apparently to his own time. And in all the time of the 341 generations, being 11,340 years as Herodotus imagined, to Sethon, but, as the priests must have meant, 3750 to Rameses III., or at most $3750 + 340 = 4090$ to the fabulous Sethon, no God had ever appeared in human form; but in the same space they said the sun had four times changed his course, as has been explained above. So it is perfectly clear that he was consciously putting the deliverance of Sethon ($900 - 340 =$) 560 years before his own time. And yet in relating the history of Dyn. XXVI below he mentions, without making any difficulty of it, that Necho the father of Psammitichus I. had been slain by Sabaco, and that Psammitichus himself, then quite young, had been saved only by being carried away into Syria; when even the abdication of Sabaco (that is, of Tirhakah) was elsewhere placed by himself ($292 + 27 =$) 319 years *at least* before the accession of Psammitichus I.

The fact is that in what relates to the Ethiopian Dyn. XXVI he corrects himself in a manner by his inconsistencies, just as he does also in what relates to the pyramid-builders and the Exodus. In attempting to connect Sabaco with Rameses III. he draws him up by 200 or 300 years; just as in attempting to make the pyramid-builders follow after Rameses III., as if he and he alone were Sesostris, he draws them down by between 600 and 700 years. But when the

true date which he gives separately (by implication) for Sabaco is compared with the true date also given for the latest Sesostris, then, since neither of them can rightly be moved, it follows at once that there is no real connection between Sabaco and the name Anysis with which his invasion is connected; that the story of Anysis is a mere fable designed to bridge over the chasm; and that there is a gap of some 8 generations between them. Or, rather, there is a gap of 13 generations in all between Ramsinitus the 3rd Ramessid generation after Rameses III. and Sabaco, since the five from Cheops to Anysis or Onnos inclusively must go back to Dynasties XI and XII of Manetho (IV and V of Ptolemy) to follow after the earlier Sesostris.

This was hinted by the priests themselves, after their manner, even at the very moment when they were making Herodotus reassert circumstantially their falsified and mythical chronology. For Anysis, they said, the successor of Asychis or Sahoura who built the admirable brick pyramid, upon the invasion of Sabaco fled and concealed himself in the fens in an island; not such an island as nature might have formed, but an island created on purpose for him by Egyptian patriotism; created too out of the ashes of something which had been burned; on an island so well suited to its purpose that no mortal man, even of the Egyptians themselves, could ever again discover it, till, more than 500 years afterwards (the text has more than 700, which is an error, and would go back to Ramsinitus instead of Anysis), it was wanted again under similar circumstances for Amyrtæus. In plain words, Amyrtæus' successful concealment of himself in the isle of Elbo, where he took refuge perhaps only a little before B.C. 450 (for Inarus was impaled in B.C. 456, and it was in B.C. 450 that the Athenians passed a vote to assist Amyrtæus), was the only historical fact underlying the whole fable. With a like inversion of the truth under the humanity of Sabaco and his excellent government are euphemistically hidden his ferocious cruelty in sacking Thebes (an event alluded to by the Prophet Nahum) and in burning Bocchoris alive (which is quite in keeping with the allusions of the Prophet). And under his pious

horror at the thought of having to deal with the Egyptian priests as Jehu had dealt with those of a neighbouring country, is a hint that his retirement was owing still more to the spirit and firmness of the sacerdotal caste than to either his humanity or his piety.

After the pyramid-builders have been put up, and the three Ethiopian kings put down to their true places, and 13 supplementary generations inserted to bring us from the death of Ramsinitus in B.C. 1188 to the defeat and capture of Bocchoris by Sabaco in B.C. 746, there still remain in the narrative of Herodotus certain notices which really refer, though indirectly, to the same space of time which Anysis and Sabaco have now evacuated; that is, to the 10th century before Christ. Even what is stated of Sabaco himself, of his prudent government worthy of a patriotic Egyptian, his mounding up the cities (especially Bubastis), and putting Egypt into an attitude of military strength, belongs truly to the time with which he is improperly connected. And when Herodotus describes with admiration the great works which he saw at Bubastis, its prodigious mounds, exceeding those of any other city, the great temple of its goddess, and its festival which drew more people together than any other festival in Egypt, he is giving unconsciously the same glimpses of history as if he had heard that, after the decline of the Diospolites, this city of Bubastis had in the 10th century before Christ become the capital of a new dynasty, the kings of which had executed those works which excited his admiration, while the concourse still attracted to its annual festival was a consequence and an indication of a political importance which had since passed away. The wisdom and legislation of Bocchoris and the patriotism of Sabaco towards the country which he had conquered, and the *mounds* ascribed to them both, are all alike adjuncts of the time at which they are unchronologically placed, and underneath the names of Bocchoris and Sabaco those of the Bubastite sovereigns are to be understood.

After dismissing the fable of Anysis, and interposing between the end of the 8th generation after Rameses III. and Sabaco Herodotus's allusions to the Bubastite or Bubas-

tite-Tanite dynasties, and substituting in its true place for the name of Anysis that of Bocchoris, and splitting the single name of Sabaco into three Ethiopian kings, we may examine how nearly Herodotus approaches anywhere towards fixing the true duration of the Ethiopian dynasty, the date of its termination, and the length of the interval between its termination and the accession of Psammitichus I., after which Egyptian history became well known to the Greeks. We cannot reckon upwards for him year by year from his own time, or from the Persian conquest of Cambyses, because he has not specified how long he understood the Dodecarchy, between the withdrawal of Sabaco (that is, of Tirhakah) and the victory of Psammitichus I., to have lasted. Neither can we conclude anything definite from the assertion that Psammitichus was carried away, being then very young, into Syria when Sabaco slew his father; since the name Sabaco here covers equally Sevechus and Tirhakah. Still, considering that Herodotus makes Psammitichus to have been himself one of the Dodecarchy, and to have reigned on for 54 years after putting an end to it, it is clear that he could not have supposed the interval between the withdrawal of Sabaco (meaning the death rather than the withdrawal of Tirhakah) and the commencement of the reign of Psammitichus to have exceeded 20 or 30 years at the most. And if we place for him the conquest of Sabaco at its highest date, that is in B.C. 746, the true date supplied by the Chronicle, his informants acknowledge the power of the Ethiopians over Egypt to have lasted 6 years beyond the 44 given to them from this date by the Chronicle and 10 beyond the 40 of Manetho. The two accounts of Herodotus and the Chronicle are easily reconciled by supposing that the withdrawal of Tirhakah in B.C. 702 to Napata, though it made room for the existence of one or more successions of native Egyptian rulers, by no means terminated his own sovereignty over Egypt. Herodotus was told in effect that this state of things lasted from B.C. 702 to B.C. 694: and by implication that it lasted longer: since it was not pretended that the Ethiopian died, but only that he *withdrew* at the end of 50 years; when yet in fact he had withdrawn after

44. Either then he *died* after the 50 years, or he continued to reign on after the misplaced date of his withdrawal, as he is confessed to have reigned on after its true date. So it may be inferred that Tirhakah reigned on to his death. And Manetho gives to this king alone 18 years; while an Apis-stele marks his 26th. If Manetho's 1st year of Sabaco had coincided chronologically with the first year of the Ethiopians in the Chronicle, commencing in B.C. 746, and if he had given to the dynasty the same sum of 44 years, it would have been natural to remark that the addition of 8 years current, indicated by the monuments for the last reign, might produce a total of 51 or 52, exceeding by one or two only the "50 years" of Herodotus. But now the apparent end of Manetho's Dynasty XXVI is brought down by implication 19 years below the end of the same dynasty in the Chronicle, and 13 below its apparent end for Herodotus, as has been shown above at p. 248: and that, although Manetho cuts off 4 years from the sum of 44. Reckoning upwards from the conquest of Cambyzes, and assuming that to be really fixed to B.C. 525, we find Manetho to have 9 years too few between the death of Amasis and the accession of Psammitichus I., since the monuments require 138 and he makes only 129, while Herodotus, on the contrary, has 7 years too many. But 8 of the 9 years omitted by Manetho are omitted in compensation for 8 unchronological years below, which seem to thrust up the death of Amasis from B.C. 525 to B.C. 533. So his apparent date for the accession of Psammitichus is not 9 years but only 1 year too low, viz. in B.C. 662 instead of 663 (for in this calculation we need not notice an excess of 2 months due to Dynasty XVII far above). But for Herodotus the apparent accession of Psammitichus is in B.C. 670. Then the list of Manetho's Dynasty XXVI has three nominal reigns above that of Psammitichus, with 7, 6, and 8 years respectively, of which the last year must be taken to supply the first monumental year of Psammitichus, which is still wanting. One year, then, having been made over to Psammitichus as its true owner, Manetho has above the accession of Psammitichus I. (now standing at B.C. 663, its true date) and the end of his Ethiopian dynasty as many as 20 years still re-

maining. These take us up to Thoth 1 in B.C. 683 for the death of Tirhakah; and the first 13 of them, lying between B.C. 683 and B.C. 670 (Herodotus's date for the accession of Psammitichus I.), and 13 besides, lying between B.C. 696 and B.C. 683, will make together 26 years; which 26 years will be the apparent duration for Herodotus to give to the Dodecarchy, if the conquest of Sabaco be fixed at its true date, and only 50 years be reckoned downwards from that point to the end of the reign of Tirhakah, while 145, instead of 138, are reckoned upwards from B.C. 525 to the accession of Psammitichus I. Now if from B.C. 683 we were to reckon upwards for Tirhakah only the 25 or 26 years *required* by the monuments, his accession would be found at Jan. 23, in B.C. 708 or 709, only 6 or 7 years above the date of his withdrawal to Napata, according to the Chronicle. But if, in order to obtain an agreement for the units of the three Ethiopian reigns with those assigned or implied for them by Manetho, we suppose Tirhakah to have reigned in all 31 years, his accession will have been in B.C. 714, and he will have reigned 12 years at his withdrawal. And if Sevechus reigned the 14 years of the lists, they will have begun in B.C. 728. And, lastly, Sabaco, whose accession is fixed to B.C. 746, will have had 18 instead of only 8 years. And thus, if we put together all the years indicated either by the Chronicle, or by Herodotus, or by Manetho, and by the monuments, separately, or by all concurrently, they are as follows:—

Herod. from B.C. 746 $(10 + 8) + 14 + (8 + 4 + 6 \text{ —}) = 50$ to B.C. 696.

Chron. from B.C. 746 $(10 + 8) + 14 + (8 + 4 \text{ — —}) = 44$ to B.C. 702.

Man. from B.C. 736 $(\text{—} 8) + 14 + (8 + 4 + 6 \text{ —}) = 40$ to B.C. 696.

Monum. from B.C. 746 $(10 + 8) + 14 + (8 + 4 + 6 + 13) = 63$ to B.C. 683.

Thus, if Tirhakah reigned in all 31 years rather than only the 25 or 26 *required* by the monuments, and Manetho has rightly indicated Feb. 11 in B.C. 683 as the Thoth 1 preceding his death, the whole sum for the dynasty is 63. And when the priests told Herodotus that the Ethiopian ruled Egypt “for 50 years,” carrying his reign on *beyond* the withdrawal to Napata, and yet stopping short of the death of Tirhakah, and omitting the last 13 monumental years of

his reign, this was probably because they thought 50 years were as many as could well be given to a *single* king, who did not die at the end of them, and who had already kept Anysis far too long for probability out of his throne. As for Sethon, he (as a king at least) will disappear altogether, unless any one suppose the invasion of Sennacherib to have taken place *later* than any date at which Psammitichus I. may have been saved in the manner related by Herodotus, and later than the 26th year of Tirhakah, marked on an Apis-tomb at Memphis.

An objection has been urged from the Apis-stele referred to against that chronology which is indicated by the Bible, as well as by profane sources, for the synchronism of the 14th year of Hezekiah with the invasion of Sennacherib, and with some one or other of the years of Tirhakah. And it has been thought necessary either to suppose some corruption in the received text of the Scriptures, or else to deny its historical authority. It is true, indeed, that an Apis-bull, born in the 26th year of Tirhakah, and dying near the end of the 20th of Psammitichus I., would seem to have lived at least 39, and at most 45 complete years. And it is probable that the reign of 18 years given by Manetho to Tirhakah, if not found ready made by the "50 years" of Herodotus, was produced either by cutting off one whole decad from a total reign of 28 years, or by cutting off 4 from the first 12 years of Tirhakah, reckoned down to his withdrawal, while adding to him a whole decad, and suppressing a decad on the reign of Sabaco above. It seems most probable, then, that the three reigns were of the lengths of 18, 14, and $(8 + 4 + 6 + 13 =)$ 31 years respectively; and that the reign of Tirhakah began in B.C. 714 and ended in B.C. 683. And, if so, the Apis born in the 26th year of Tirhakah, however late in the year it may have been, would be born before Thoth 1 = Feb. 12 in B.C. 688, and would die not much before Thoth 1 = Feb. 1 in B.C. 643, at the age of 45 years complete. On the other hand, it is *possible*, certainly, that Tirhakah *may* have reigned only 25 years complete, and the Apis-bull of the stele *may* have been born in a 26th *current* year never completed. It is *possible* too that

even as many as 8 or 10 months of the year commencing with Thoth 1 in B.C. 683, and reckoned by Manetho to his Dyn. XXVI, may have belonged to the actual reign of Tirhakah, *i.e.* to his 26th year current, and that the Apis may have been born towards the end of these 8 or 10 months; and if so, he may have lived only 39 years complete. But in this case the accession of Tirhakah must have been in B.C. 708; and his reign down to Thoth 1, in B.C. 702, where the Chronicle ends the dynasty on his withdrawal to Napata, will have only 6 years; while for its continuance afterwards there will be 19 years and some months; so that its 8 units in the lists of Manetho will be entirely arbitrary and unaccountable. But in any case it is clear that this Apis-bull lived either at the least 39, or at the most 45 years complete; whereas Buffon and other naturalists have assigned as the term of life for the ox kind 15 or 16 years. And though the Apis tombs show one or two undeniable instances of bulls living to 26 or 27 years, there is certainly a long step to be made from 26 or 27 to 45 or even 39. It is not reasonable, however, to set aside the text of the Scriptures, where there are no various readings, nor any discrepancy between the Hebrew and the Greek, still less to deny the historical authority even of the genuine text itself, and that too when its chronology seems to be borne out by the best profane authorities, merely from some presumption about the possible longevity of a bull. Another animal, the horse, is much more often allowed to live on and to die a natural death than are bulls or cows; and yet the exceptional longevity of particular horses is found to go much beyond what is generally known or supposed. The present writer, for one, had heard of horses living to the age of 40, or thereabouts, but not beyond. But after his attention had been turned to the subject, he soon heard from two quarters of horses having lived over 50; and recently he has heard of a horse which at the age of 70 years was still able to carry his master (a priest in America), who was himself as nearly as possible of the same age. Now, though one cannot argue from the life of a horse, or even of a buffalo, to that of a cow or bull, since the animals are not of the same species, one may argue fairly that if our anticipations respecting an animal often kept till

it dies of old age turn out to be inadequate, it is probable that similar anticipations respecting an animal very seldom allowed to die a natural death may be inadequate also. And, in fact, since page 209 of this work was printed (where the difficulty caused by the Apis born in the 26th of Tirhakah was set aside on general grounds), some almanacks and periodicals for this present year (A.D. 1860) have published an account of a cow which was actually living and in her 36th year when p. 209 was written; as if she had been allowed to live on purpose to supply an illustration of the stele in the Louvre.

The case is so much in point, and so well authenticated, that the memoir itself in the form in which it was received from the owner and breeder of the cow shall be here inserted :

History of the old Keillor Cow sent to Aberdeen for the Meeting of the British Association, Sept. 14, A.D. 1859.

The Keillor cow, of the improved Angus Polled or Doddled breed, was bred by Hugh Watson at Keillor, and kept by him till she died, July 1, 1859, at the age of thirty-five years and six months. The object in keeping this cow till she died of old age was to ascertain how long an animal of her class with fine constitution could be profitably kept, and to what age she would live in her natural state ; no well authenticated record of these facts having been previously preserved regarding the domestic cow.

The Keillor cow was the dam of 25 calves, *all* prize animals. She *gave up breeding after her 28th year, and gave no more milk*. Her progeny are spread over various countries, besides the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as specimens of the improved breed of Angus Polled Cattle.

She was exhibited at the Highland and Agricultural Society's Show as extra stock at Aberdeen in 1858, when her owner had the Society's medal awarded as the exhibitor of so extraordinary an animal. And the herd who had attended on her all her lifetime, and had been in the service of H. Watson for 42 years, James Thomson, was presented with a medal and premium of 100 francs, by the *Société Protectrice des Animaux, &c.*, of Paris, through their Secretary M. Dutrone.

An ox, the property of Her Majesty the Queen, a calf of this cow, died at the Home Farm, Windsor, two years ago, in consequence of an accident, at the age of 18 years. He had been a prize animal in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and for many years useful in harness on the farm.

A photograph portrait of the above old cow, taken two days before she died, is herewith sent, to show her emaciated frame and worn out appearance.

The above facts are certified by me, the breeder of the cow, and by James Thomson, the attendant of my cattle at Keillor, this 1st day of September, 1859.

(Signed)

HUGH WATSON.

JAMES THOMSON.

For "the 341 generations and 11,340 years" down to [the deliverance of] Sethon, the priests of Memphis and Heliopolis were Herodotus's only informants: but after Sethon he relates what he had collected from various other sources, and in part what he had witnessed or seen proof of himself.

His story of the Dodecarchy is an acknowledgment of an interval of weakness and dissension; so Diodorus calls some part of it "anarchy." And therein was accomplished the prophecy of Isaiah (xix. 2), saying, "I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians: they shall fight every one against his brother, city against city, and *kingdom against kingdom*." And the discord still remaining may have been one reason with Psammitichus, after his victory, for determining to maintain a permanent corps of Greek mercenaries, to whom he even gave the post of honour over both the rival divisions of the native army. But, on the other hand, to ascribe the building of the stupendous Labyrinth in the Fayoum to any such late time of weakness and discord as that between the Ethiopian and the Saite dynasties is a manifest error. And Herodotus himself, though unconsciously, touches upon the truth when he associates the Labyrinth with the pyramids, comparing it with them, and declaring it to surpass them all. The lists of Manetho and Ptolemy correct his error (which is only the sequence of his transposition of the pyramid-builders): and recent discoveries have demonstrated that the Labyrinth really belonged to the same age with the pyramids, the name of Amenemhe III. (who reigned from B.C. 1854 to B.C. 1811) having been found upon its ruins.

The fact mentioned by Herodotus that Necho, the father of Psammitichus, had been slain by the Ethiopian, and that Psammitichus had himself been saved with difficulty, indicates that their family had some claims of its own, at least in the Delta; and Manetho strengthens this presumption by giving to his Dyn. XXVI, before the name of its true founder, three other names, the last of the three being *Necho*, who must be understood to be separated chronologically from his son and nominal successor by an interval of above 20 years. Parallel in appearance with these three names of Manetho (but really later on account of the in-

terval just mentioned), we find on monuments in the Thebaid two kings named *Kasto* and *Piankhi*, the latter being, as it seems, the Ethiopian consort of *Ammeniritis* the daughter of *Kasto*. For *Piankhi* is also the name of the king who succeeded *Tirhakah* at *Napata*. Hence one understands how the Ethiopian rule of Egypt, which had not really ceased on the withdrawal of *Tirhakah*, might cease nevertheless at his death, if he had married his younger son or nephew to an Egyptian princess who was regarded at Thebes as the heiress of native legitimacy. And such a settlement and partition of his dominions might really have been recommended to *Tirhakah* by those motives which, in an exaggerated form, were named to Herodotus as causing his abdication. Hence in the lists of Ptolemy we find prefixed to the Saïtes of Manetho's Dyn. XXVI the name of the queen *Ammeniritis*, contracted into *Ammeris*, with a note, referring doubtless to her husband *Piankhi*, that she was "an Ethiopian." And this apparition, strange as it seems, of a Theban and even an Ethiopian name at the head of a dynasty of Saïtes, is again illustrated by the monuments, when they show that *Psammitichus I.* took for his wife the Theban princess *Sepunteput*, daughter of *Ammeniritis* and *Piankhi*, and thus strengthened the claims of his own family. And, as it appears further that the Saïte successors of *Psammitichus I.* made a practice of marrying their half-sisters the princesses and "Pallades" descended from *Ammeniritis*, she would stand to the whole dynasty in the same relation as the famous black queen *Aahmes Nofriari* had stood to all her descendants of Dyn. XVIII.

Psammitichus, so Herodotus relates, having engaged in his service some Carian and Ionian pirates driven by stress of weather on to his coasts, these "brazen men," whom the oracle of Buto had bidden him to expect "from the sea," were so useful in the battle at Momemphis that he settled them as a permanent corps on the banks of the river near *Bubastis*, whence, a century later, they were removed to Memphis to become the body-guard of *Amasis*. From that time Egypt was opened to the Greeks. *Naucratis*, on the Saïtic branch of the Nile, the only emporium for strangers,

was ultimately given to them as a settlement, and a race of interpreters was trained to do the work of modern dragomans. Through these interpreters, therefore, it was that Hecataeus and Herodotus proposed their questions to the priests and received answers. Herodotus mentions further on what occasion it was that Greeks and Europeans for the first time ascended the Nile and penetrated beyond Syene into Nubia. It was when the force stationed on the Nubian frontier had deserted. Psammitichus went himself to Elephantine to parley with them; but having arrived, as it seems, too late, he sent some of his Greeks up the Nile to overtake them and persuade them to return. So they went up as far as the island called *Tachomso*, but without success. An interesting confirmation of Herodotus's accuracy has been found at Abou-simbel, about 30 miles below the second cataract, in a contemporary inscription on the leg of one of the colossi before the great rock-temple of Rameses II., recording this same fact, and left there by some of the Greeks themselves. It is written in uncial letters among which there appears both the Ψ and the Η, but not the Ω, and is in the dialect of the Dorians of Caria:

Βασιλέως ἐλθόντος εἰς Ἐλεφαντίνην Ψαμμητίχου,
ταῦτα ἔγραψαν τοι σὺν Ψαμμητίχῳ τῷ Θεοκλοῦς
ἔπλεον, ἦλθον δὲ Κέρκιος καθύπερθεν, εἰς οὗ ποταμὸς
ἀνίει ἀλλογλώσσως Ἡχεποτασίμπτο Ἀἰγυπτίως δὲ Ἀμασις.
Ἐγραφε Δαμεάρχων Ἀμοιβίχου καὶ Πήλεφος Οὐδάμου.

That is: "At the time when the king Psammitichus had gone up and was at Elephantine, this was written by those who under Psammitichus the son of Theocles sailed [up higher], and went above *Kerkis*, to where a river runs up [from the Nile], called in the tongue of the country *Ichepotasimpto*, but in Egyptian *Amasis* (that is, the *River of the Moon* or of *Amasis*). Damearchon son of Amœbichus, and Pelephus son of Oudamus [Eudemus?], wrote this."

The re-establishment of civil unity and a freer intercourse with foreigners explain in some measure the fact that the numerous monuments, small and great, of this dynasty, especially those of the long reigns of the first and the last of

its five kings, show a remarkable revival and improvement of Egyptian art. As regards Psammitichus I., Herodotus mentions more particularly that he completed the additions made by earlier kings to the temple of Phthah at Memphis by building its southern propylæa, with an hypæthral court for the residence of Apis attached. One of the numerous monuments of the same king still remaining is the obelisk which stands on the Monte Citorio at Rome. This is one of those described by Pliny; but he confounds it with another belonging to Seti I. and Rameses II., which stands at the Porta del Popolo near the ancient Flaminian Gate. That of Psammitichus is doubly interesting both for its original connection with the reign under which Egypt first came into contact with the Greeks and with the West, and also because its removal to Rome by Augustus was designed, as is stated in the inscription at its base, to mark the epoch at which Egypt was incorporated into the Roman empire, and he himself became the master of the world.

Of Necho II., son of Psammitichus I., Herodotus relates that he resumed but again abandoned a work originally commenced, according to others, by Sesostris (meaning Rameses II.), and afterwards completed by Darius, viz. that of cutting a ship canal from the Nile, from a little above Bubastis, near Pithom, in the district of Avaris (*Κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλιος παρὰ Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν*), to the head of the Red Sea. Failing in this project, he built fleets on both seas; and an expedition starting by his orders from the Red Sea returned to Egypt in the third year by the Mediterranean, having successfully accomplished the circumnavigation of Africa. The victory of Necho over the Syrians of Palestine at Magdolum, the Jews being then in league with the Babylonians, and the mention of his afterwards taking a city as great as Sardis, named Cadytis, which from another passage is clearly shown to be Gaza, is in perfect agreement with the passages in the Bible in which it is mentioned that Necho defeated and slew Josiah at Megiddo, when he had come out to oppose the Egyptian army, then on its march towards Carchemish on the Euphrates; that he smote Gaza (Jerem. xlvii. 1); and that afterwards,

when he was at Riblah, in the land of Hamath, he made Jehoiakim king instead of Jehoahaz, whom he carried away captive with him into Egypt. (4 Kings xxiii. 34 ; Jer. xlvii. 1.)

When Herodotus relates that in the time of Psammitichus II., ambassadors came from Elis into Egypt announcing there, as in other countries, the regulations made to insure fair decisions in the Olympic Games, either some incidental communication addressed to Greeks settled in Egypt is alluded to, or else, if it were implied that the Olympic Games were instituted in the time of Psammitichus II., Herodotus gives the story as it was told to him by his interpreter without troubling himself to notice an anachronism of two centuries.

There is another story connected with the name of Mycerinus who built the third pyramid, namely, that his calamities began with the death of his only daughter, whose wooden mummy-case Herodotus himself saw in the form of a kneeling cow, with the head and neck thickly gilt and the disk of Hathor or Isis also gilt between the horns, the body of the cow being covered with a purple pall. To this cow they offered incense daily ; and all night lights were kept burning before it. And once a year, at the solemnity of the Lamentation and Search of Isis for Osiris, it was carried out in procession. This story (in some of the details of which Herodotus detected them to be fabling and imposing upon him) has been happily illustrated by Lepsius by putting together the following facts : first, that two princesses and "Pallades," seemingly mother and daughter, and both named alike Nitocris, the one the daughter, the other the granddaughter of Sepunteput the daughter of Ammeniritis, appear from the monuments to have been wives to their half-brothers Necho II. and Psammitichus II. ; secondly, that the place where Herodotus saw the mummy-case of the daughter of Mycerinus was *Sais*, where he saw also the tombs of the kings of the Saite dynasty ; and further, it was in the *palace* at Sais ; and in an adjoining chamber there were the wooden images of the wives and concubines of the same Mycerinus ; lastly, that the name *Menchere* or *Mycerinus* was taken exceptionally by Psammitichus II., one of the

kings of the Saite dynasty. This last curious fact is proved, according to Lepsius, by the inscriptions on the sarcophagus (now in the British Museum) of a daughter of Psammitichus II. and the younger Nitocris, named *Anchnes*, by marrying whom Amasis, after his usurpation, connected himself with the family of his predecessors. The name of an officer, Shishonk, who appears on one monument in attendance upon this queen Anchnes, hints that this Saite dynasty was not destitute of some connection with the Saïtes, Tanites, and Bubastites, who had preceded the Ethiopian invasion. But the facts brought together by Lepsius leave no doubt that Psammitichus II., and not the builder of the third pyramid, was the Mycerinus of whose domestic bereavement (and of whose short reign also, perhaps, of only six years) Herodotus heard at Sais. He may really have lost an only daughter named after her mother and grandmother Nitocris. Or there may be some confusion; and a daughter may have been mentioned, when it was really his half-sister and wife. Of this there is a hint in that other version of the story according to which Mycerinus had desired to contract an incestuous marriage with the princess whose mummy-case was seen by Herodotus. However this may have been, it was hence probably that the Greek name of Rhodopis of the time of Amasis came to be connected with Mycerinus of the third pyramid; and hence that Manetho took the hint for introducing the historical queen Nitocris, described by him as *εὐμορφοτάτη* and *ξανθὴ τὴν χροιάν*, that is, as being *ρόδωπις*, as its foundress.

The monuments (see above, p. 254) show that the 16 and the 6 years reckoned by Herodotus to Necho II. and to Psammitichus II. respectively, make together only 21 chronological years. They show also that Apries, to whom he gives 25 years, reigned in truth only 19 full. These then, are the 7 years (*viz.* the 16th of Necho II., and the last 6 of the 25 of Apries) which are to be deducted in order to make the reigns of Herodotus all chronological. And, when this is done, the synchronism of Josiah and Necho II. is still just exhibited in the 1st or 2nd year of the latter, B.C. 609 or 608. And here Herodotus, together with the

monuments, supplies an important correction of Manetho's lists, in which 6 years only are given to Necho, so that his accession, if reckoned upwards from B.C. 525, would stand no higher than B.C. 600 : and even if the Persian conquest were placed, as thrust up by Manetho, in B.C. 533, still the accession of Necho would be only in B.C. 608, possibly not too low for the synchronism. The last year of Apries being coincident with the 36th or 37th of Nebuchadnezzar (according as his years are reckoned) and ending early in B.C. 569, which is 18 years after the reduction of Jerusalem and 3 after the 13 years' siege of Tyre, it may be inferred from the prophecies (Is. xx. ; Jer. xliii. xlvii. ; Ez. xxix. xxx.) that, besides the defeat of his army sent against Cyrene, Apries near the end of his reign suffered a greater disaster *not mentioned to Herodotus* in the subjugation of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. This was so natural a consequence of the conquest of Syria that it might be taken for granted, unless it had been recorded either that the conqueror died before invading Egypt, or that he was defeated on invading it. Josephus indeed is in error both respecting the siege of Tyre, and the conquest of Egypt. According to Berosus, whom he quotes, Nebuchadnezzar's first campaign, while his father still lived, was caused by the revolt of "the satrap set over Syria and Egypt." And Nebuchadnezzar, having defeated and taken this "satrap," had already regained both Syria and Egypt when he heard of his father's death. And thus far perhaps it is only Berosus who is in fault. But elsewhere Josephus in his own name writes that Nebuchadnezzar began the siege of Tyre in the 7th year of his reign. And in lib. x. of his *Antiquities of the Jews*, he writes that "in the *fifth* year after the laying waste of Jerusalem, that is, in the 23rd year of his reign," Nebuchadnezzar marched upon Coëlesyria, and the countries of the Ammonites and the Moabites ; and having completely subdued these peoples, he invaded Egypt to subdue it ; "and he *slew the king* who was then reigning ; and having appointed *another* to be king in his stead, he carried away captive the Jews who were in Egypt, as it were for the second time, to Babylon." According to these statements Tyre would have been besieged

and taken before the burning of the Temple of Jerusalem; and Apries would have been defeated and slain by Nebuchadnezzar five years after, in B.C. 582, in the 7th year of his own reign, which yet we know lasted 12 years longer. It would follow too that Amasis must have been then made king by the Babylonians. And, if so, that he reigned not 44 only but 56 years, and Apries instead of 19 only 7. But the spoils of Egypt are promised (Ez. xxix. 18) to Nebuchadnezzar and his army *after the reduction of Tyre* as their hire for their long and hard service in that siege. Josephus therefore is entirely out here in his chronology; nor can he be right in his facts; except thus far, that Nebuchadnezzar, before he was driven from his throne, subdued Egypt, and that Amasis on his successful revolt against Apries some years later obtained the recognition of the Babylonians. In any case the relation of Herodotus shows how that which had been prophesied of Apries, that he should "be given up into the hands of the men who sought his life" (Jer. xlv. 30), was accomplished. In like manner it might fairly have been collected that Cyrus also, some 30 years or more later, received the submission of Amasis, even if this had not been implied by a story in Herodotus making Cambyses to be the son of an Egyptian mother, or had not been expressly asserted by Xenophon, who names Egypt among the countries conquered by Cyrus. The prosperity of Apries is probably to be read backwards; but whatever spoils may have been taken or temples burned by Nebuchadnezzar, and whatever degradation may have attached to the royalty of Amasis, under whom Egypt became "a base kingdom" (Ez. xxix. 14), there was material prosperity in *his* time; so that there were then in Egypt more than 20,000 cities and towns, implying perhaps a population of from seven to eight millions. And his monuments, some of which at Sais and Memphis excited the wonder of Herodotus, still by their number and by the fineness of their execution attest the length as well as the wealth and tranquillity of his reign.

The priests by their fables having involved Herodotus in a hopeless confusion as regards his earlier chronology, and Manetho, though not to the same extent, having followed

their example in making unchronological dislocations and transpositions, especially by inserting some 36 years of the Saites and the Ethiopians suppressed below at about the same point as that to which they are drawn up by Herodotus, so as to depress the accession of Shishonk I. far below the death of Solomon, it is important as well as interesting to find monumental records not only illustrating other points of detail, but also determining within a little the true interval of time between the Persian conquest of Cambyses and the commencement of the reign or generation of Shishonk I. According to Herodotus, as we have seen above, the generation of Sethon and Sennacherib occupies that space in which the chronology of the Bible requires us to look for a king named Shishak, who took Jerusalem in the 5th year of Rehoboam the son of Solomon. And according to Manetho the accession of this Shishak (Shishonk I. the head of his Dyn. XXII) is depressed so as to stand as low as B.C. 930, or 938 at the highest, according as one reckons upwards from the true date of the Persian conquest in B.C. 525 or from the same conquest thrust up to B.C. 533. Thus a pretext is afforded to writers whose philosophy prefers possibilities to certainties and lesser probabilities to greater, for either disputing the text of the Sacred Scriptures or denying their authority. But it appears that Shishonk, desiring to leave a record of himself in certain additions to the temple Ammon at Karnak — additions, which still exhibit in the midst of a long series of conquests the country of Judah with its king, — ordered the “Chief Architect of all Egypt” for the time being to quarry stone for this purpose at Silsilis; and the chief architect recorded this order by an inscription in the quarries, an inscription which together with the work itself was left imperfect at his death, but was completed by his son and successor. In this stele, dated in the 21st year of Shishonk, the last according to the lists of his reign, the Chief Architect to whom the order had been first given is naturally named, and his name is *Hor-em-bes-ef*. Now it is well known how ancient and fixed a custom it was in Egypt that the son should inherit the employment or profession

and even the dignities of the father. But one would scarcely have expected to find such an illustration of this custom as is now about to be adduced. In another quarry then, not at Silsilis, but on the Kosseir road between Coptos and the Red Sea, there is another inscription dated in the 44th and last year of Amasis, in which the Chief Architect of all Egypt of that time, by name *Aahmes-si-Nit*, has recorded on the rock the pedigree of his ancestors who had each in turn been Architects of All Egypt, going back to the 24th generation, the 23rd, that is, above his own. But 24 generations calculated backwards at the rate of 3 to a century, as is usual in life generations, take us up 800 years from B.C. 525 to B.C. 1325, that is, just 4 years higher than the date allowed to Herodotus above for the death of Mœris and for the accession of his Sesostrius who is Rameses III., less by 29 than 900 years before his own time. So we may both reckon downwards as if each of the names of the 24 Chief Architects represented one of Herodotus's generations, beginning from Sesostrius; and also, after recognising in the 11th of the 24 names, *Hor-em-bes-ef*, that Chief Architect of the older inscription at Silsilis who in the 21st and last year of Shishonk I. had only lately died, we may calculate the interval between the commencement and the end of this same generation of Shishonk I. and *Hor-em-bes-ef* and the end of the 13th generation after it, coinciding nearly with the death of Amasis. The genealogy in the inscription of Hamamat is given by M. Brugsch as follows:—

I. "*Ka-nefer, Chief Architect of Lower and Upper Egypt, and Sat-nefer-tem his wife;*" whose generation (from B.C. 1325 to B.C. 1292) will parallel that of Herodotus's Sesostrius (Rameses III.), beginning 871 years before B.C. 450, from Thoth 1 = July 20, in B.C. 1321.

II. "*Imhotep, Chief Architect, &c.*" (from B.C. 1292 to 1259), = Herodotus's generation of *Pheron*.

III. "*Ra-hotep-nefer, Chief Architect, &c. and Prophet of Ammon-Ra*" (from B.C. 1259 to 1225), = *Proteus*.

IV. "*Bek-en-chonsou, Chief Architect, &c.*" (from B.C. 1225 to 1192), = Herodotus's next generation, that of *Ramsinitus*.

v. "*Ouza-chonsou, Chief Architect, &c.*" (from B.C. 1192 to 1159), = Herodotus's generation of *Cheops*.

vi. "*Nefer-mennou, Chief Architect, &c.*" (from B.C. 1159 to 1125), = Herodotus's generation of *Cephren*.

vii. "*Mi, Chief Architect, &c.*" (from B.C. 1128 to 1092), = Herodotus's generation of *Mycerinus*.

viii. "*., Chief Architect, &c.*" (from B.C. 1092 to 1059), = Herodotus's generation of *Asychis*.

ix. "*Pepi, Chief Architect, &c.*" (from B.C. 1059 to 1025), = *Anysis*, who in the 23rd year of his generation at the latest flies from Sabaco to the island of Elbo.

x. "*Amen-her-p-mesa, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th (?) Prophet, of Ammon, Chief Architect, &c.*" (B.C. 1025 to 992), = *Sabaco*.

xi. "*Hor-em-bes-ef, Chief Architect, &c.*" (B.C. (992 to 959), = *Sethon*, whose deliverance from Sennacherib, being 340 years from the death of Mœris, is placed in the 7th year of his generation.

Hor-em-bes-ef is the Chief Architect of Shishonk I., named in the inscription of Silsilis as being already dead in the 21st and last year of that king. So *Hor-em-bes-ef* and Shishonk I. may be regarded as contemporaries representing one and the same generation from beginning to end, this generation beginning in B.C. 992 and ending in B.C. 959. And the reign of Shishonk, which began according to the Chronicle in B.C. 978 (seemingly the later of two distinct accessions), ended after 21 years in B.C. 957; so that the chronological place and end of his reign according to the Chronicle agrees perfectly with the place and end of his generation according to the inscription at Hamamat. And his synchronism with Solomon and Rehoboam, according to the chronology of the Bible, is justified by both these Egyptian reckonings.

The remaining generations of the Chief Architects will correspond to as many generations as are wanting to Herodotus to make out his 900 years, until they reach to those times the history of which was known to the Greeks:—

xii. "*. . . mer, Chief Architect, &c.*" (B.C. 954 to 925); parallel to the *first* generation of those wanting to Hero-

dotus, after he has indicated eleven generations in succession from B.C. 1321 to B.C. 959.

XIII. "*Hor-em-bes-ef, Chief Architect, &c.*" (from B.C. 925 to 892) =, the *second* generation wanting.

XIV. "*Pa-ha-bou, Chief Architect, &c.*" (from B.C. 892 to 859), = the *third* generation wanting.

XV. "*Nes-sou-nou, Chief Architect, &c.*" (from B.C. 859 to 825), = the *fourth* generation wanting.

XVI. "*Pa-ha-bou, Chief Architect, &c.*" (from B.C. 825 to 792), = the *fifth* generation wanting.

XVII. "*Nes-sou-nou, Chief Architect, &c.*" (from B.C. 792 to 759), = the *sixth* generation wanting.

XVIII. "*Pa-ha-bou, Chief Architect, &c.*" (B.C. 759 to 725), = the *seventh* generation wanting, including the actual reign of Sabaco, and three years of that of Sevechus, if the Ethiopian conquest be moved down to its true date in B.C. 746.

XIX. "*Nes-sou-nou, Chief Architect, &c.*" (B.C. 725 to 692), = the *eighth* generation wanting; including the remaining eleven years of the reign of Sevechus and twenty-two years of the reign of Tirhakah, if the Ethiopians are moved down to their true place.

XX. "*Pa-ha-bou, Chief Architect of Upper and Lower Egypt*" (B.C. 692 — 659), corresponding to a generation allowable for the remaining 9 years of Tirhakah and for the Dodecarchy.

XXI. "*Nes-sou-nou, Chief Architect, &c.*" (B.C. 659 to 625); reaching from the 4th to the 37th year of Psammitichus I.

XXII. "*Ra-ouah het*" (same as the throne-name of Psammitichus I.), "*Chief Architect, &c.*" (B.C. 625 to 592); reaching from the 37th of Psammitichus I. to the 1st of Psammitichus II.

XXIII. "*Anch Psamtik*" (named after Psammitichus I.), "*Chief Architect, &c.*" (B.C. 592 to 559); from the 1st of Psammitichus II. to the 9th of Amasis.

XXIV. "*Aahmes-si-Nit*" (as if Amasis were already on the throne when the actual life representing this generation began), "*Chief Architect, &c.*" (B.C. 559 to 525); from the 9th to the 44th of Amasis, when *Aahmes-si-Nit* cut the inscription at Hamamat with the foregoing genealogy, adding

the names of "his wife *Sat-nefer-tem*," and "his son *Ra-chnoum-het*."

xxv. The same son, after his father's death, when he had succeeded him in his hereditary post, has repeated his own name in an addition subjoined to his father's inscription, with rather fuller titles, "*Ra-chnoum-het, Chief Architect of the whole country, Director of all the Works of Upper and Lower Egypt, Prophet at Heliopolis, and at Memphis*," and four different dates, all of the reign of Darius Hystaspes, viz. his 26th, 27th, 28th, and 30th years. There are here then 34 or 35 years, being more than the full length of his own generation, between the lowest date recorded of himself by *Ra-chnoum-het* of the 25th generation and the date of his father's inscription and pedigree preceding, viz. the 44th year of Amasis, when *Ra-chnoum-het* is first named in company with his father. And if we suppose *Ra-chnoum-het* to have died shortly after inscribing the lowest of his own four dates, viz. that of the 30th year of Darius, and go back 15 generations from B.C. 492, we shall obtain the year B.C. 992 for the commencement and B.C. 959 for the end of the official generation of *Hor-em-bes-ef*, the Chief Architect of Shishonk I.; while the 21st year of Shishonk's actual reign should end, according to the Chronicle, in B.C. 957. Or, if one begins by *assuming* that the first *Hor-em-bes-ef* is the same person with the Chief Architect of Shishonk I. at Silsilis, and that he died but a little before the end of Shishonk's 21st year, that is, in B.C. 957, according to the Chronicle, then, reckoning downwards 13 generations, we should expect to find the death of *Aahmes si-Nit* at B.C. $(957 - 433 =) 524$, and that of *Ra-chnoum-het* about B.C. $(524 - 33\frac{1}{3} =) 492$, that is, in the 30th of Darius. But if the apparent chronology of Manetho's or Ptolemy's lists were to be followed, as some would follow it, against that of the Bible (to say nothing of the old Chronicle and other heathen sources), then *Hor-em-bes-ef*, dying in the 21st year of Shishonk I., should die in B.C. $(941 \text{ or } 939 - 20 =) 921$ or 919; and his 13th and 14th descendants should die in B.C. 489 or 480 and in B.C. 456 or 447 respectively. To suppose that the second *Hor-em-bes-ef*, and not the first,

was the contemporary of Shishonk I. would only make matters worse. So, whichever way the generations be reckoned, they justify the chronology of the Scriptures and of the Old Chronicle; and they show, independently of any other evidence, that there must be some considerable dislocations in the lists of Manetho and of Ptolemy.

It has already been noticed above (at p. 256) how Herodotus's assertion that the Egyptians claim Cambyses as their own (*οἰκηεῦνται τὸν Καμβύσεα*) is illustrated by the inscriptions which have been translated by M. De Rougé from a statuette in the Vatican. The Egyptian officer, "*Ouza-hor-pen-res*, son of *Pefa-nit*, priest of Neith at Sais," whom the statuette represents, tells us that he was employed successively by the kings *Aahmes*, *Psamtik III.* (the Psammenitus of Herodotus), *Kam-ba-tet*, and *Ntarioush*: that when Cambyses became master of all the world, and of Egypt, he was appointed to some post about his person; that Cambyses received the Egyptian throne-name *Ramesout*, and was initiated at *Sais* into all the greatness of the goddess Neith, the unbegotten mother of *Ra* himself the First-born. He obtained from Cambyses an order to clear the temple of all the foreigners (troops?) who had quartered themselves within its precinct, and to restore all its ministers, with all the customary ministrations and offerings.

There is in the Louvre an inscription of an Apis-bull, which was buried in the 6th year of Cambyses, according to MM. Mariette and Lepsius (the date is not very legible, and M. Brugsch would read the 4th) in the month Epiphi, and which died therefore 70 days earlier in Pharmouthi or Pachons. And it is remarkable that another Apis, which should be the successor of the one just mentioned, and the same as was stabbed by Cambyses on his return from Ethiopia, is recorded to have been born in the 5th year of Cambyses, on the 28th day of the 5th month, and to have died on the 3rd day of the 9th month in the 4th year of Darius, aged 7 years, 3 months, and 5 days. This latter inscription is plain, and suffices of itself to prove that the whole reign of Cambyses, with the 7 months of the Magi included, covered only 8 years. It shows besides that when

it is said by Herodotus that the Apis stabbed by Cambyzes languished from the wound and soon died, and was buried by the priests without Cambyzes' knowing anything about it, this last assertion is based on a misunderstanding or on misinformation, the truth being that this Apis, perhaps in consequence of the wound, died *soon*, since he lived only to the age of 7 years. And, lastly, it seems to result from the date of the birth of this Apis, coupled with that of the death of his predecessor, that there was no absolute necessity that the reigning Apis should be dead before his successor could be conceived or born; but two of these divine manifestations might in fact be living together, though one of them only at a time was recognised and installed. The unusually long interval between the birth of the second Apis in the 5th month of Cambyzes's 5th year (also the 5th month, at least, of the 6 months of Psammenitus), and his installation at Memphis, when Cambyzes had returned from Ethiopia, is explained by the date of the burial of the Apis preceding. That the festival was not literally for the "*discovery*," as Herodotus understood it to be, but for the installation, is plain, since otherwise the Apis would not have been already at Memphis. And if the preceding Apis was buried late in the 6th year of Cambyzes, it is plain that this installation at Memphis must have been at the latest before the commencement of the inundation in the spring or summer of his 7th, that is, of B.C. 523. After his return from Ethiopia it was that Cambyzes committed most of those acts of violence and tyranny which the Egyptians (since they were contrary to the policy he had shown at first) imputed to madness. In the inscriptions on the Vatican statuette the calamities caused by this "madness" of Cambyzes are alluded to in more than one passage, but cautiously, and without naming their author: "I was a good citizen," *Ouza-hor-pen-res* says of himself, "to my city, and saved its population in the huge calamity which fell upon the whole country. Never had there been such a calamity in the land." And again: "when the calamity came upon this Nome, at the same time that the huge calamity came upon all the land." He accompanied Cambyzes, as it appears, into Syria; and

not long after he was sent back to Egypt "by Darius, king of Lower and Upper Egypt, after he had become sovereign of all the world and Great King of Egypt, to settle all things in Egypt on their ancient bases." So that some of the credit of Darius's paternal and religious government may belong to him; and he may have had a share, together with the Chief Architect *Ra-chnoum-het*, in the construction or *restoration* of the great temple of Ammon in the Oasis, on the ruins of which the cartouches of Darius are still to be seen.

Herodotus mentions the revolt of Egypt before the death of Darius (this was in the year of his own birth, B.C. 486, Olymp. 73. γ'), and its suppression early in the 2nd year of Xerxes, B.C. 484. He mentions also the later revolt in B.C. 460 (5 years after the death of Xerxes) of Inarus the Libyan, called by Thucydides "son of Psammitichus," who with the help of the Athenians defeated and slew Achæmenes the uncle of Artaxerxes Longimanus, but was himself afterwards defeated, and eventually impaled. This war lasted 6 years, and ended only in B.C. 455, shortly before the time of Herodotus's being in Egypt. He mentions his having seen the skulls of the Persians and Egyptians who had fallen in the battle with Inarus at Papremis. Amyrtæus, however, after the defeat of Inarus, betook himself to the inaccessible fens of the Delta, and the Athenians sent a fleet of 60 ships to help towards his restoration, though this project had no success. On the death of Cimon, in B.C. 449, he was still holding out; and, about 40 years later, as it seems, he succeeded in establishing himself, and reigned according to Manetho and Ptolemy 6 years. His accession seems to be fixed to the year B.C. 414 by this circumstance, that his son Pausiris is related by Herodotus to have succeeded him with the consent of the Persians, with whom he had made terms. And as 6 years are given also for the reign of Pausiris, and these cannot end later than in B.C. 402 when Egypt again became independent under Neferites, they must have begun in B.C. 408, and the 6 of Amyrtæus in B.C. 414, that is, *if* Pausiris succeeded upon the death of his father. It seems then that Amyrtæus was concealed in his undiscoverable isle of Elbo at the very time when the priests (who wished him

well) made out of him their fable of Anysis with which to amuse Herodotus. And the mention of the accession of his son Pausiris is one of the latest of those incidental notices which Herodotus still continued to insert into his work after he had passed the age of 75 years. Another fact belonging to the year preceding (B.C. 409) is to be found in lib. i. c. 130. The reading which makes the isle of Elbo to have remained undiscovered "above 700 years," from the restoration of Anysis till the time when Amyrtæus had need of it, is clearly either a mere blunder of some copyist, writing 700 for 500; or else, if it be from an oversight of Herodotus himself, he must have forgotten the five pyramid-builders, of whom Anysis was the last, and must have reckoned *the true number* of generations as if from Ramsinitus, as if the 4th generation after the accession of Sesostris, instead of the 9th, had been given to Anysis. For if from B.C. (1321—133=) 1188 we subtract 700, we shall have B.C. 488, and shall still want 33 years more to bring the reckoning down to the end of the war of Inarus and the flight of Amyrtæus in B.C. 455. So the space is "above 700 years;" and Herodotus will again have corrected himself so far as *time* is concerned, and will have made out his 900 years, though the withdrawal of the Ethiopian and the deliverance of Sethon from Sennacherib will seem to be put up even higher by above two centuries than before.

HERODOTUS, PLATO, AND EUDOXUS.

Herodotus joins together two very different doctrines, which he says the Egyptians were the first to teach; that, namely, of the continuance of human souls after death, and that of their transmigration into other bodies than their own. The former of the two doctrines was, no doubt, the source of all the care bestowed by the Egyptians upon the bodies of their dead; though that care, as St. Augustine has well observed, implies a belief in more than the mere continuance of the soul: it implies its continued interest in the same body, and the hope of the resurrection. And this doctrine, the true corollary to that of the continuance of the soul, the Egyptians were so far from being the first to teach, that

they had obscured it by their fable of the metempsychosis, and had rendered their own care of the bodies of their dead scarcely if at all intelligible. The latter of the two doctrines, that of the metempsychosis, may indeed have been taught first by the Egyptians; but it is only a heterogeneous fable engrafted upon the pre-existing belief of the continuance of the soul, and rather inconsistent with their very careful preservation of the bodies of the dead; unless indeed it be said that after some fixed period of circum-migration the soul was ultimately to return not only to a human body, but to the very same body which it had first inhabited. And this may at first have been the esoteric doctrine, resolving all the intermediate transmigrations into fable or allegory. Herodotus mentions further that the period in which the soul accomplishes its circum-migration through all other living creatures, beasts, birds, and fishes, and returns to a human body, was 3000 years, meaning two Sothic or Phoenix cycles, of 2922 or 3012 years, though, as the Greeks knew nothing of these cycles, but reckon by hundreds and thousands, he expressed himself in round numbers. The source of this idea that the ἀποκατάστασις of the soul took place after two cycles has been explained above in Chapter I.; and the same period is marked in the structure of all the Egyptian Chronicles, where the first 2922 years of human time are the period of the old world lengthened out so as to fall into the cyclical form, and capable of being stated either as 2922 full or 35,064 month-years. “Πρῶτοι δὲ Αἰγύπτιοί εἰσι οἱ εἰπόντες ὥς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατός ἐστι, τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐς ἄλλο ζῶον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται· ἐπεὰν δὲ περιέλθῃ πάντα τὰ χερσαῖα, καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια, καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ, αὖτις ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύνειν· τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοισι ἔτεσι.” (Lib. ii. c. 123.)

Plato, who visited Egypt soon after the death of Socrates, perhaps in B.C. 399, when he was about 30 years of age, has made some use in his *Phædrus* of Egyptian doctrine respecting the soul; but he has altered it and presented it in a form of his own, making the ἀποκατάστασις of the soul to be not her return to a human body, whether some other which is

born for her (*γινόμενον*) or her own, but her return, *without any body*, to her original celestial and divine sphere, whence it was only by a mishap and degradation that, having her wings bruised, she had ever fallen to earth and been united to a body at all. And, apart from this difference, the sums of years (being all round thousands, myriads, or hundreds) which he specifies are so entirely Greek, that, if it were not for the older notice in Herodotus it would have been difficult to make out any true Egyptian element underlying them. For he names first a round myriad of years, as if this were the term for the transmigrations of ordinary unphilosophical souls. And in this term there is from an Egyptian point of view no propriety nor significancy, whether the years be regarded as full years, or as months, or as partly of both kinds. Then, afterwards, he names a sum of 3000 years, as the term for the higher and more philosophical souls, which are so set free and depart with their wings fully grown and bodiless to the height of heaven, if they have thrice in succession chosen the human and philosophical life. For both their term of 3000 and the 10,000 of ordinary souls are subdivided, as it seems, into spaces of one round thousand each; and after each such space of a thousand years the souls are made to choose, in the order appointed to them by lot, into what bodies of brutes or men and to what models of life they will return. So in this passage of the *Phædrus* the space of one round thousand of years seems to be taken for the unit; and the higher souls obtain their restoration at the end of three of these, but ordinary souls have to pass through ten. “Εἰς μὲν οὖν ταῦτον ὅθεν ἦκει ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκάστη οὐκ ἀφικνεῖται ἐτῶν μυρίων· οὐ γὰρ πτεροῦται πρὸ τοσούτου χρόνου, πλὴν ἡ τοῦ φιλοσοφῆσαντος ἀδόλως . . . Αὗται δὲ τρίτῃ περιόδῳ τῇ χιλιετεί, ἐὰν ἔλωνται τρεῖς ἐφεξῆς τὸν βίον τοῦτον, οὕτω πτερωθεῖσαι τρισχιλιοστῷ ἔτει ἀπέρχονται· Αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι, ὅταν τὸν πρῶτον βίον τελευτήσωσι, κρίσεως ἔτυχον· κριθεῖσαι δὲ αἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς δικαιωτήρια ἐλθοῦσαι δίκην ἐκτίνουσιν, αἱ δ’ εἰς τοῦρανοῦ τινα τόπον ὑπὸ τῆς δίκης κουφισθεῖσαι διαμένουσιν ἀξίως οὗ ἐν ἀνθρώπου εἶδει ἐβίωσαν βίου. Τῷ δὲ χιλιοστῷ ἀμφοτέραι ἀφικνούμεναι ἐπὶ κλήρωσίν τε καὶ αἵρεσιν τοῦ δευτέρου βίου αἱρῶνται ὃν ἄν

ἐθέλη ἐκάστη· ἔνθα καὶ εἰς θηρίου βίον ἀνθρωπινὴ ψυχὴ ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ἐκ θηρίου ὅς ποτε ἄνθρωπος ἦν πάλιν εἰς ἄνθρωπον.” κ. τ. λ. (c. xxix.). Hence Virgil also, in the Sixth Book of his *Æneid*, treating of the same subject and following Plato, has the same sum of 1000 years:—

“Has omnes, ubi *mille* rotam volvere per annos,
Lethæum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno,
Scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant,
Rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti.”

But by the help of Herodotus one may perceive that the original and Egyptian sum is that of the 3000 (standing for 2922) years allowed by Plato for the higher souls only; and that the meaning of the myriad of years named first is merely this, that the unphilosophical souls have to pass in transmigrations ten periods of one round thousand each instead of only three; since, having taken the sum of 3000 for the higher souls, whether directly or only through Herodotus, from an Egyptian source, Plato resolves it into three periods of one round thousand each. That this is so in fact appears still more clearly on comparing with the above-cited passage of the Phædrus another respecting the judgment of souls in the Tenth Book *De Republicâ*, where a certain Armenian named Er, of Pamphylian descent, who was taken up on the tenth day among the slain from a field of battle, and came to life again on the twelfth after being placed on the funeral pyre, relates as a messenger from the other world all that he had seen and heard there. In this story the 10,000 years do not reappear; but some light is thrown upon their sense and origin. Both the souls which justice has acquitted and rewarded on high, and those which she has condemned to punishments beneath the earth, meet together after one round thousand of years, and converse of what they have respectively enjoyed and suffered, before presenting themselves to the three Fates and receiving lots determining the order in which they are each to choose the kind of body and the model of life into which they will return. After which they are taken to drink of the waters of Lethe, and falling asleep are waked up by thunder and lightning at midnight, and pass like sparks into bodies which are begotten for them. And in the

account given of themselves by those souls which had suffered beneath the earth it is said that they had been made to pay for every single wrong that they had ever committed while living on earth just ten times over, a round century of years being taken to represent a man's life, and the round thousand containing ten such lives: while in the case of such as deserved more, as in that of a certain Ardiæus of Pamphylia, whose crimes were committed 1000 years before, the passage which should have brought them round denied itself to them, and fiery ministers of vengeance bound them hand and foot and dragged them upon hooks and thorns, and cast them into Tartarus. So when some souls which had come from above inquired after Ardiæus, the answer was, "He has not come up, and he is not likely to come." From these details it is clear that the ten round thousands of delay and repeated transmigrations in the *Phædrus*, before ordinary souls can wing themselves to arrive at bodiless perfection and union with deity, are imagined on the same principle as the ten round hundreds into which each single thousand is subdivided for those which have to suffer under the earth: "Τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον, ἔφη, τόδε εἶναι· ὅσα πρότε τινὰ ἠδίκησαν καὶ ὅσους ἕκαστοι, ὑπὲρ πάντων δίκην δεδωκέναι ἐν μέρει, ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου δεκακίς· τοῦτο δ' εἶναι κατὰ ἑκατονταετηρίδα ἑκάστην, ὡς βίου ὄντος τοσούτου τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου, ἵνα δεκαπλάσιον τὸ ἔκτισμα τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἐκτίνοιν." So in Plato's unit of a round thousand, and in his multiplication of this by ten, as in his subdivision of the same by ten, there is probably nothing Egyptian. Indeed, according to Plato's scheme, there would be room only for two transmigrations (the original life counting for one of three) for philosophical souls, and for only nine (besides the first life) for ordinary souls; whereas, according to Herodotus, the souls generally had but 3000 years in which to accomplish the whole round of the animated creation before returning to a human body.

It is said by Strabo that the Egyptian priests explained both to Plato and to his disciple Eudoxus of Chios the true length of the year, and the necessity of adding a quarter of a day to its 365 days, making one whole day in four years. This would imply the understanding of the Sothic Cycle:

and it is likely enough that the Cycle was really explained to Plato, though neither in describing the transmigrations of souls nor elsewhere has he left any distinct allusion to it. As for Eudoxus, who was about 20 years younger than Plato, and who visited Egypt probably in B.C. 362, with great advantages, having letters of recommendation from Agesilaus to Nectanebo II., there is no doubt that he was instructed in the Egyptian mode of reckoning, for he made the Canicular quadriennium the basis of his own octa-eterid cycle consisting of 2922 days. And he is quoted by Proclus as having learned in Egypt that the vast periods spoken of there consisted in their earlier part of *months* reckoned as years. “Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ φησιν Εὐδόξος ἀληθὲς, ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μῆνα ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκάλουν, οὐκ ἂν ἡ τῶν πολλῶν τούτων ἐνιαυτῶν ἀπαρίθμησις ἔχοι τι θανμαστόν.” (*Proclus in Timæum*, 31, 50.)

This testimony, earlier than any of the Græco-Egyptian chronicles, and unconnected with any attempt to apply the principle of reduction to particular sums, is of great value both in itself, and as affording a key to the true meaning of certain large sums of years mentioned by Plato in a passage of the *Timæus* (in the scholia upon which it is that Eudoxus is cited), and in another similar passage in the *De Republicâ*. The sums of 10,000, 9000, and 8000 years mentioned in these passages are not, like the myriad and the single thousands and single centuries connected with the transmigrations of the soul, of Plato's own fabrication; but, though still in the form of round thousands, they are nevertheless, no less than the 3000 years in Herodotus and in the *Phædrus*, really derived from an Egyptian source.

Plato, as it seems (and in this he agrees with Herodotus), understood that the Egyptians went back for the origin of their own nation and of the arts of life as many as 10,000 years. “There,” he says, meaning in Egypt, “you will find the figures and objects written or engraved 10,000 years ago (10,000 years not hyperbolically, but literally), neither better nor worse in execution than the works of art of the present day, but exactly alike.” “Σκοπῶν δ’ εὐρήσεις αὐτόθι τὰ μυριοστὸν ἔτος γεγραμμένα ἢ τετυπωμένα (οὐχ ὡς εἰπεῖν μυριοστόν, ἀλλ’ ὄντως) τῶν νῦν δεδημιουργημένων οὔτε τι καλλίονα, οὔτ’ αἰσχίω,

τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ τέχνην ἀπειργασμένα.” (*De Rep.* ii. p. 656, E.) Elsewhere, in the *Timæus*, he introduces a priest of Neith at Sais undertaking to tell Solon (who might be there about B.C. 600) of the admirable laws and institutions and the heroic exploits of those whom we may call the antediluvian Athenians, Egypt alone having by the happiness of her position escaped those deluges and conflagrations which had from time to time destroyed almost entirely all other peoples, so that in Egypt alone there were preserved in the sacred books historical notices of them all. After this preamble the priest Peteneit complimented the Athenians and their state or city as having been taken up and nursed by their common goddess a thousand years before the city of Sais, saying that it was 9000 before their own time when the race of the Athenians was first engendered of Phthah and Mout (electricity and mud). The admirable institutions of that primæval Athens might best be understood by considering those still preserved in Egypt, seeing that these were from the same source. And, as for their exploits, they consisted chiefly in having met and repelled all the power of Atlantis, an island larger than Africa and Asia together, when it had already overrun Africa nearly to Egypt, and Europe as far as Etruria. After all the peoples had been thus generously restored to freedom, both the island Atlantis itself and those heroic Athenians were swallowed up by vast floods and earthquakes, and scarcely a seed of the human race left, from which the existing Athenians were derived, yet so as to be unconscious of their former worth and glory. But for their own Egyptian nationality and civilisation, notwithstanding that their country had escaped all those mighty floods and conflagrations, they modestly claimed no higher antiquity than 8000 years. “Φθόνος οὐδεὶς, ὦ Σόλων, ἀλλὰ σοῦ τε ἔνεκα ἐρῶ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς Θεοῦ χάριν, ἣ τὴν τε ὑμετέραν καὶ τήνδ’ ἔλαχε καὶ ἔθρεψε καὶ ἐπαίδευσε, προτέραν μὲν τὴν παρ’ ὑμῖν ἔτεσι χιλίοις, ἐκ Γῆς τε καὶ Ἑφαιστοῦ τὸ σπέρμα παραλαβοῦσαν ὑμῶν, τήνδε δὲ ὑστέραν. Τῆς δὲ ἐνθαδὶ διακοσμήσεως παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν ὀκτακισχιλίων ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸς γέγραπται. Περὶ δὴ τῶν ἐνακισχίλια ἔτη γεγονότων πολιτῶν σοι δηλώσω διὰ βραχέων νόμους τε καὶ τῶν

ἔργων αὐτοῖς ὃ κάλλιστον ἐπράχθη· Τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς περὶ πάντων ἐφεξῆς εἰσαυθις κατὰ σχολήν, αὐτὰ τὰ γράμματα λαβόντες, διέξιμεν.” (*Tim.* p. 94, ed. *Stalbaum*, 1838, E.)

These three sums of 10,000, 9000, and 8000 years are all easily explainable from the hieratic scheme; and in fact they scarcely differ in the amount of real years underlying them the one from the other. The origin of human society in the existing world could not well be carried back further than to the date of the Flood; but when it suited the purpose of the speaker it might be carried back as far as to the Flood. Or, if it pleased him to allow an interval for the settlement of different countries and the growth of nations and institutions, he might name some sum of years under what would go back to the Flood. Now, if we go back in terms of the hieratic scheme from B.C. 600, there will be 722 years up to the Cyclical epoch of B.C. 1322, and above that 903 more years of kings, 217 of the interval between the month-years and Menes [341 fictitious years inserted after the 24 cycles of month-years], and 7902 month-years (equal to $658\frac{6}{12}$ full years), before we reach the Egyptian date for the Flood. But these sums together make a total of 10,085 mixed years, real and nominal, from B.C. 600, assumed to be the date for Solon, or 10,285 from B.C. 399, which may be assumed for Plato. The second sum of 9000 years is short by only 1088 month-years, or $90\frac{5}{12}$ full, of that which would commence from the Flood; and, besides, it is introduced only for the sake of the Athenians, in order that their origin, without reaching quite back to the Flood, may be somewhat earlier than that of the Saïtes. Here, no doubt, the Saïte priest who gives to Athens the precedence for antiquity, and introduces an antediluvian anticipation of Marathon and Salamis, and a free and generous *liberation* of all the *peoples* by Athenian heroism, can be no other than Plato himself. And yet the additional thousand years given to Athens have a propriety in the story beyond that of mere compliment, and would be in place, even if its details were all really Egyptian. For, since it is pretended that those floods and conflagrations which had destroyed all records of other countries had been only partial, and that Egypt, through her own more advan-

tageous position, had always escaped, this makes it proper that in strictness the origin both of the existing Egyptian society and of all other nations, the Athenians included, should be kept below the Flood, the times above being reserved exclusively to the Gods. And so the commencements of Athens and Sais are put at 9000 and 8000 nominal years before Solon, and are both below the Flood. Yet, with all this, the story of the primæval Athenians is so told as plainly, though indirectly and inconsistently, to refer them to the antediluvian world, above or beyond the *greatest* of all known floods (ὕπὲρ τὴν μεγίστην φθορὰν ὕδασιν), such as might submerge whole continents. It was convenient, therefore, to put the story back to such a date that the first thousand years, by which Athens preceded Sais, might be taken in two ways; so that, if taken simply as month-years, as they would be in the hieratic scale, standing next above the 8000 or more nominal years reckoned up from B.C. 600, they might merely indicate an origin somewhat higher than that of Sais, but still post-diluvian; but, if taken to be full years, irrespectively of the 8000 previously reckoned up according to the hieratic scheme, and equal to 12,000 of its month-years, they might carry back the primæval Athenians into the midst of the antediluvian world ($1000 - 174 =$) 826 years before “the greatest of all preceding deluges,” which then will be understood to have submerged both Attica and Atlantis, and, if the truth were told, even Egypt itself.

The lower sum of 8000 years, assigned by the Saite priest for the antiquity of the existing institutions and civilisation of his own city and of Egypt, would go back to within 2085 month-years or $173\frac{1}{2}$ full years of the Flood. And though this is a higher date than is likely to have any true historical meaning, and in some of the Egyptian schemes the Gods (“living together with men”, according to Herodotus), that is, the surviving antediluvians, are brought down much lower, the whole space between the Flood and Menes seems to have been assignable at will either to deities or to men. When human society was most thought of, irrespectively of any succession of kings, its origin might be carried back as high as the epoch of the Flood, or as little short of it as any one

pleased. When kings only were thought of, Gods might be brought down as rulers as low as to the end of the first 2922 [or 35,064] years, and Demigods 217 years later. These however were the extreme limits; and neither could ordinary men be carried up above the Flood, nor could terrestrial Gods be brought down below the 2922nd year of the world, nor Demigods below Menes.

ARISTOTLE, ALEXANDER THE GREAT, AND DICÆARCHUS.

Aristotle in his *Politics* (lib. vii. c. 9), speaking of the division of the people into castes ascribed to Sesostris, says that Sesostris reigned *very long* before Minos. Ὁ χωρισμὸς ὁ κατὰ γένος τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους ἐξ Αἰγύπτου· πολὺν γὰρ ὑπερτείνει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μίνω βασιλείαν ἢ Σεσώστριος. But Minos was put about 200 years before Troy, which is either quite as high or nearly as high as Herodotus's date for Sesostris. Aristotle therefore, it is clear, did not follow Herodotus, but distinguished rightly a Sesostris very much earlier than either Rameses III. or Rameses II.; and though he does not specify exactly *how much earlier* he understood him to be than the Sesostris of Herodotus, this also will appear a little below, when we come to consider a similar statement of his scholar Dicæarchus. Eudoxus very probably was the source of information to them both.

Whether the knowledge of that reckoning of "48,863 years to Alexander's entry into Egypt" which has been explained above (pp. 20, 21) was really derived from Aristotle, or rather from some other source later than B.C. 305, the latter part of this sum, viz. $(3139 + 1881 + 13 =) 5033$ years, is simply the true and chronological reckoning of human time, and equal to $(2922 \times 12 =) 35,064 + [341 +] 217 + 903 + 978 + 13 = 37,516$ nominal years in the hieratic scheme. And as it coincides (all but a few months cut off at top to make it begin with the Egyptian movable year) with the reckoning of the Septuagint and Josephus harmonised, it would be easy to divide it at the epoch of the Flood by the help of this reckoning, even if the hieratic scheme had not contained within itself, as it does, an indication of the point at which this division is to be made.

And when it is so divided at the point of the Flood, there being before the Flood 2263 Egyptian years and 6 months, and below the Flood (658 years and 6 months + 217 + 1881 + 13 =) 2769 years and 6 months to Alexander, which in terms of the hieratic scheme are 27,162 month-years before the Flood, and (7902 [+ 341] + 217 + 903 + 978 + 13 =) 10,354 nominal years after it, this division throws light both on those 10,000, 9,000, and 8,000 years which are implied in the *Timæus* of Plato to have passed since the last and greatest of all floods had submerged Atlantis, and upon any other passages in which later Greek or Latin writers make an epoch of the most ancient and greatest of all floods, whether called Ogygian, or by any other name. So Censorinus (*De Die Natali*, c. 2) says that Varro, who wrote about B.C. 70, "divided all [human] time into three parts, reckoning the first to extend down to the most ancient Flood, concerning which period absolutely nothing was known; the second from the Flood to the first Olympiad, which he called the *mythological* period; and lastly, that from the first Olympiad downwards, which was *historical*." These three divisions, *mutatis mutandis*, answer exactly to those of the Egyptians; only the epoch of the first period was merely indicated by them, the Flood itself being by no means named; and the commencement of the historical period would be set by them much higher than the first Olympiad, viz. at the foundation of their monarchy by Menes. "Varro tria discrimina temporum esse ponit, primum ab hominum principio ad cataclysmum priorem, quod propter ignorantiam temporum vocatur ἄδελον; secundum a cataclysmo priore ad Olympiadem primam, quod, quia in eo multa fabulosa referuntur, μυθικὸν nominatur; tertium a primâ Olympiade ad nos, quod dicitur ἱστορικὸν, quia res in eo gestæ veris historiis continentur." But from what source Varro derived this method of division is uncertain. The same Egyptian division with which this is parallel, and from which it is ultimately derived, will cast light also on other reckonings of the time of Alexander the Great, similar to those of Plato in the *Timæus*, which will be mentioned as in due order immediately below.

For Athenagoras, Cyprian, Minucius Felix, and Augustine, as if from some common source, mention a long letter written from Egypt by Alexander the Great to his mother Olympias, which, if one puts together a few additional expressions of the three earlier writers with those of St. Augustine, must have contained, besides other details, the following:—Alexander wrote her word that he had held a conversation with a certain priest, one of the chief priests, or the chief priest of the Egyptians, whose name in Greek was Leo: that he had forced him, by the fear of his power, to reveal the secret that the gods were originally men; and that their worship and sacrifices had originated in the honour paid to the memory of ancestors and kings. “Hoc ita Alexander magnus insigni volumine ad matrem suam scribit, metu suæ potestatis proditum sibi de Diis hominibus a sacerdote secretum, quòd majorum et regum memoria servata sit, inde colendi et sacrificandi ritus inoleverit.” (*Cyprian. De Idol. Vanit.*, iii.) They said, it seems, that certain powers and elements of nature, as fire or ether, earth, the sun, and the moon (Phthah, Mout, Ra, &c.), were [originally and properly] gods, but that all the rest were originally mortal men. “Καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἄνθρωποι δηλοῦσι καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ λογιώτατοι, οἱ θεοὺς λέγοντες αἰθέρα, γῆν, ἥλιον, σελήνην, τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους θνητοὺς νομίζουσι, καὶ ἰερά τοὺς τάφους αὐτῶν.” (*Athenag. Oxon.* 1706, p. 111.) The priest who conversed with Alexander “named Vulcan (that is, Phthah) as the first of the gods, and next after him he placed the *generation* of Jupiter,” that is, of Ammon-Ra. (*Minucius Felix*, c. xxi.) St. Cyprian, as a Christian, asks, “if gods in remote times were thus born and died, why should not gods be equally born now?” So, too, Alexander himself seems to have reasoned: and to this his conversation with the priest may probably be traced his journey to the oracle of the Oasis, and his claim or acceptance of divine honours, with the title of Son of Ammon. What precise genealogy of those gods who were confessed to be of human origin the priest made out, or whether he told Alexander any thing of their reigns, and the spaces of time which they covered, is not mentioned. Only it is added by St. Augustine that,

after confessing even the greater gods to have been men, the priest, as if alarmed at what he had done, as one who had revealed the mysteries, cautioned and begged Alexander that, if he chose to write an account of this conversation to his mother, he would not fail to desire her to burn the letter as soon as she had read it. "In eo genere sunt etiam illa (ut aliquid de Numâ mitius suspicemur) quæ Alexander Macedo scribit ad matrem, sibi a magno antistite sacrorum Egyptiorum quodam Leone patefactum, ubi non Picus et Faunus, et Æneas et Romulus, vel etiam Hercules et Esculapius, et Liber Semele natus, et Tyndaridæ fratres, et si quos alios ex mortalibus pro diis habent, sed ipsi etiam majorum gentium Dii, quos Cicero in Tusculanis tacitis nominibus videtur attingere, Jupiter, Juno, Saturnus, Vulcanus, Vesta, et alii plurimi, quos Varro conatur ad mundi partes sive elementa transferre, homines fuisse produntur. Timens enim et ille quasi revelata mysteria, petens admonet Alexandrum ut, cum ea matri conscripta insinuaverit, flammis juberet concremari." (*De Civit. Dei*, lib. viii. c. v.)

Then, passing to such history as was professedly human, he informed Olympias that the priest (just like Plato's Saite priest to Solon) "had professed to have records in their sacred books of the history [not only of Egypt itself, but also] of other kingdoms and peoples known to the Greeks: among which in Alexander's letter the empire of the Assyrians was made to have lasted above 5000 years, whereas, according to Greek history, it lasted about 1300 years only from the reign of Belus himself, whom the Egyptian priest also named as its first king. And to the dynasties of the Persians and the Macedonians, down to Alexander himself to whom he was speaking, he assigned above 8000 years, whereas," (continues St. Augustine,) "according to the Greeks the years of the Macedonians down to the death of Alexander are 485; and those of the Persians down to the victory of Alexander, which ended their empire, are computed to have been 233. These numbers, then, are vastly below those assigned by the Egyptians; nor would they come up to them, even though we were to treble them, going upon the assertion of some" (e. g. Diodorus), "that the Egyptians once had a short year consist-

ing of only four months; so that the full and true year, which they now have in common with us, contained three of their older years. But not even so can the Greek reckoning of the duration of the empires be made to agree." "Fallunt eos etiam quædam mendacissimæ litteræ, quas perhibent in historiâ temporum multa annorum millia continere, cum ex litteris sacris ab institutione hominis nondum completa annorum sex millia computemus. Unde, ne multa disputem quemadmodum illarum litterarum in quibus longè plura annorum millia referuntur vanitas refellatur, et nulla in illis rei hujus idonea reperiatur auctoritas, illa epistola Alexandri magni ad Olympiadem matrem suam quam scripsit, narrationem cujusdam Ægyptii sacerdotis insinuans, *quam protulit ex litteris quæ sacræ apud illos haberentur*, continentem regna quæ Græca quoque novit historia: in quibus regnum Assyriorum in eâdem epistolâ Alexandri quinque millia excedit annorum; in Græcâ verò historiâ mille ferme et trecentos habet ab ipsius Beli principatu, quem regem et ille Ægyptius in ejusdem regni ponit exordio. Persarum autem et Macedonum imperium usque ad ipsum Alexandrum cui loquebatur plus quam octo annorum millia ille constituit; cum apud Græcos Macedonum usque ad mortem Alexandri quadringenti octoginta quinque reperiantur; Persarum vero, donec ipsius Alexandri victoriâ finiretur, ducenti et triginta tres computentur. Longè itaque hi numeri annorum illis Ægyptiis sunt minores, nec eis, etiamsi ter tantum computaretur, æquarentur. Perhibentur enim Ægyptii quondam tam breves annos habuisse ut quaternis mensibus finirentur: unde annus plenior et verior, qualis nunc et nobis et illis est, tres eorum annos complectebatur antiquos. Sed ne sic quidem, ut dixi, Græca Ægyptiæ numero temporum concordat historia." (*De Civit. Dei*, lib. xii. c. x.)

It is probable that in this case also the true meaning of the Egyptian priest was merely that the origin of the Macedonians and Persians, (who are joined together like two consecutive dynasties with one sum of years, while the Assyrian empire has a separate sum of its own,) like the origin of the Egyptians themselves, might be carried back in terms of their reckoning above 8000 nominal years; so that

the 8000 named for them to Alexander were identical, or very nearly identical, with the 8000 named for the Egyptians themselves to Solon in the *Timæus* of Plato. It is true that the account is given as if the priest had jested with Alexander: and it is likely enough that he amused himself, as was their fashion, by speaking ambiguously, even while explaining or giving a hint of the real nature of the vast Egyptian periods, and a key for their reduction; since the sum of the years of the Macedonian and Persian kings together, viz. $(485 + 233 =) 718$, if multiplied by 12, *would* produce 8616, or "above 8000" month-years. But if this was intended, it was only a fancy of the moment; and the sum of 8000 nominal years so obtained had no connection with any native Egyptian scheme. For in the Egyptian schemes the artifice of multiplying by 12 is not of variable application, as if *any* years chosen at will might be so multiplied; but it was applied only to the first 2922 years of human time, $658\frac{6}{12}$ of which, multipliable into 7902 month-years, were below the Flood. And the same method will not suit at all for the sum of 5000 years given to the Assyrian empire; since if we multiply by 12 the 1300 years assigned to it by Herodotus, they produce not 5000 only, but 15,600 month-years; or if we divide 5000 by 12 we obtain $416\frac{8}{12}$ full years only for the duration of the Assyrian empire; and this is a number which seems to have no meaning nor propriety. But in truth, if we reckon up 5000 years in terms of the Egyptian hieratic scheme from B.C. 538, when Cyrus took Babylon (and the Babylonian and Assyrian empires are probably here spoken of as one), we shall find the accession of Belus to be placed at some point more than $784 + 903 + 217 [+ 341] + 2755$ month-years (reducible to $229\frac{7}{12}$ full) making in all, without the 341 fictitious years, 2133 full years above B.C. 538, that is, more than $(538 + 2133 = 2670 - 2224 =) 446$ years above Menes, and only 429 below the Flood. Or if the 5000 years were brought down to the time of Alexander, which is possible, though that was $(538 - 332 =) 205$ years below the end of the Babylonian empire, the accession of Belus would be placed $\frac{205}{12}$, that is, 17 years lower, 429 only above Menes.

Or it might be calculated in another way, if one supposes the Egyptians to reckon first from the date of the capture of Babylon, in B.C. 538, up to Menes, which according to the hieratic scheme, would be $(784 + 3750 =)$ 4534 nominal years, and then to prefix as many years as he calculated to have *really* intervened between the accession of Menes in Egypt and that of Belus at Babylon or Nineveh: and these it seems would be more than 466, which, if full years, like all the other years of the kings, are only 40 more than were obtained by the other method. Or, if the 5000 years of the Assyrians were brought down to Alexander, the accession of Belus might be set only $(466 - 205 =)$ 261 years above Menes, and $(658 + 217 = 875 - 261 =)$ 614 years below the Flood.

Dicæarchus of Messene was "a hearer of Aristotle, contemporary," according to Suidas, "with Alexander the Great, or somewhat later, so that he may be reckoned to have flourished from Olymp. cxi." (that is, from about B.C. 336). It may, therefore, safely be assumed that he wrote at the latest before B.C. 305; before, that is, either the author of the Old Chronicle or Manetho. He is cited in the Scholia upon the Argonautics of Apollonius Rhodius as having written in the first book of his work, *Περὶ Βίου Ἑλλάδος*, that "*Sesonchosis* [meaning Sesostriis] reigned after Isis and Horus, so that there were from him [his accession] to [that of] *Nilus* 2500 years, and from that of *Nilus* to the first Olympiad 436, making a total to the first Olympiad of 2936 years." The Scholiast himself is commenting upon some lines of Apollonius in which it is said that in very ancient times — so ancient that some of the stars had not yet appeared, nor were the Danaï known, but only the Arcadians, who are older than the moon, dwelt in their mountains, feeding on acorns — a certain king, going forth from *Aeria*, overran with his army all Asia and Europe, and left in divers places colonies, from one of which are descended the Colchians. The following are extracts from the Scholia:

Lib. iv. v. 272. "Ἐνθεν δὴ τινα] Σεσόγγχωσις, Αἰγύπτου πάσης βασιλεὺς, μετὰ Ὠρον τὸν Ἰσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος παῖδα, τὴν μὲν Ἀσίαν ὁρμήσας πᾶσαν κατεστρέψατο, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα Εὐρώπης. Ἀκριβέστερον δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ παρὰ

Ἡροδότῳ. Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τρίτῳ Σέσωστριν αὐτὸν καλεῖ . . . Φησὶ δὲ Δικαίαρχος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἑλληνικοῦ Βίου καὶ τοῦτο Σεσογχώσιδι μεμεληκέναι· καὶ νόμους αὐτὸν θέσθαι λέγει, ὥστε μηδένα καταλιπεῖν τὴν πατρίαν τέχνην . . . καὶ πρῶτόν φασιν αὐτὸν εὐρηκέναι ἵππων ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβαίνειν. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς Ὀρον ἀναφέρουσιν.” And on v. 276: “Δικαίαρχος ἐν πρώτῳ μετὰ τὸν Ἰσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος Ὀρον βασιλεῖα γεγονέναι Σεσόγχῳσιν λέγει· ὥστε γίγνεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Σεσογχώσιδος βασιλείας μέχρι τῆς Νείλου ἔτη δισχίλια φ’, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Νείλου βασιλείας μέχρι τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔτη υλς’, ὡς εἶναι τὰ πάντα ὁμοῦ ἔτη δισχίλια ἐννακόσια λς’.” (*Apollon. Rhod. Argon.* Ed. *Brunckh.* Lips. 1813, vol. ii. p. 588.)

Apollonius himself was in part contemporary with Eratosthenes, whom he succeeded at Alexandria as Librarian, so that he might have been expected to take his notions respecting the time of Sesostris either from Manetho's Αἰγυπτιακά or from the Theban list of Eratosthenes; but his language seems to carry him up much higher, and to agree rather with that of Dicæarchus, while in the details about Colchis he evidently follows Herodotus. That Theopompus of Chios, who flourished about the time of Alexander the Great, should name the Egyptian conqueror “Sesostris” is a matter of course, as he wrote an epitome of Herodotus; but in the short notices cited by the scholiast from Dicæarchus there are several particulars worthy of attention: *First*, that like Aristotle he carries back the king who instituted castes far above the date of Herodotus, and specifies distinctly the date which he has in his mind, which Aristotle had omitted to do: *Secondly*, that in reckoning upwards from the first Olympiad to that Egyptian date which he means to synchronise with Troy he names not the “Proteus” of Herodotus and Homer, but “*Nilus*” putting him at B.C. (776 + 436 =) 1212; so that “Thouoris or Nilus,” who is (really) at the same date at the end of Manetho's Dyn. XIX with a note that “he is the *Polybus* of Homer,” was no creation of Manetho, but was already in possession of his name and place in the list before Manetho wrote. *Thirdly*, it is remarkable that Dicæarchus varies the name of *Sesostris*, writing it *Sesonchosis*, as if Shishonk I. (Σέσογχις), the latest Egyptian conqueror, had since Herodotus's time been aggre-

gated to the group of kings who even before had been fused together into one fabulous personage in Sesostris. In this, indeed, there would be nothing very strange; but what is curious and important is this, that the same peculiarity is *repeated by Manetho*, who thus incautiously betrays his own artifices. For Dicæarchus, or the source which Dicæarchus followed, varied only the *name* of the Herodotean Sesostris, but retained the adjuncts of his person and history unchanged, whether they belonged in truth to the earlier or the later Sesostris: and the years assigned by him fix, as we shall see, the Sesonchosis-Sesostris of Dicæarchus to be no other than Sesortasen I., the first conqueror of Nubia, and the successor of Mæris, that is, of Papa Maire. Manetho, for reasons of his own, thought proper to shift the compound story of Sesostris from Sesortasen I. to Sesortasen III., to whom he transfers in a lump all the details of Herodotus, and the name itself, Sesostris. But at the same time he retains also *in connection with Sesortasen I.* that peculiar name *Sesonchosis* which had already been connected with the history of Sesostris by Dicæarchus, or by those whom he followed.

Whatever were the sources of the names *Nilus* and *Sesonchosis*, which are not from Herodotus on the one hand, nor, as we may safely assert, from the hieratic lists on the other, the sum of years reckoned by Dicæarchus between his Sesonchosis or Sesostris and Nilus is no less peculiar and remarkable; and if we had only the later schemes of Manetho and Ptolemy to examine it by, it would be altogether unintelligible. For if one reckons up from Nilus and from B.C. 1212 in the scheme of Manetho 2500 years, they take us for the accession of Sesostris or Sesonchosis to the 191st year after Menes, a date which has no meaning: while in the scheme of Ptolemy of Mendes his accession will be found in the 46th year of Ptolemy's Dyn. X, the second of his two anonymous dynasties of Heracleopolites: and this date is even still more unmeaning than the former; not to mention that both Manetho and Ptolemy expressly ascribe all the exploits and adjuncts of the Sesonchosis of Dicæarchus to Sesortasen III., whom they name Sesostris, and whom they put at such dates as to differ widely both from Dicæarchus and from one

another. But if we reckon up the 2500 years according to the hieratic list, as it has been made out above, it will be easy to see the meaning of Dicæarchus's date, though if he confused Sesostris with Menes, and supposed him to have been the *first* king who ever reigned after Horus, he misunderstood his informants, or his source, the true meaning being only that he was like Horus or Osiris in his victories and in going over the earth, and was the *first* and greatest conqueror after Horus: just as it is noted in the lists of Africanus concerning Sesortasen III., whom Manetho and Ptolemy make into Sesostris, "ὥς καὶ ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων μετὰ Ὀσίριον πρῶτον νομισθῆναι." ("So that he was accounted by the Egyptians as *first* after Osiris.") Reckoning up then from B.C. 1212 in the hieratic scale 110 years to the cyclical epoch of B.C. 1322, and thence 78 of Dyn. XIX + 348 of Dyn. XVIII + 260 of the Shepherds + 71 of the Heracleopolites + 536 of the Nubians + 213 of the Diospolites of Manetho's Dyn. XV (XII of Ptolemy; the 2nd king of the eight of which is the very Sesonchosis whom we are seeking), + 243 + 355 + 331 + 22, which make in all 2567 years, we arrive at the death of Papa Maire the 4th king of Manetho's Dyn. XIII (VI of Ptolemy), the Mæris of Herodotus, and the immediate predecessor, as suzerain, of the first Sesostris, the first conqueror of Nubia, who was in truth not Sesortasen III. but Sesortasen I. That the priests should prefer to reckon up in the lists to the death of Mæris the predecessor of Sesostris, rather than to the accession of Sesostris himself, is intelligible enough, both because the former method gave a higher apparent antiquity by nearly 900 years, and also because it was from the death of Mæris the predecessor of Sesostris that Herodotus had been taught to reckon 900 years, when it was an object to magnify the antiquity *above the latest*, as it was now to magnify the antiquity *below the earliest* Sesostris. The only other point to be noticed is this, that from the reckoning preserved by Dicæarchus it would seem as if in our reconstruction of the Turin papyrus we had made 67 years too many below Manetho's Dyn. XIII (VI of Ptolemy) and consequently had allowed 67 too few above to the Tanites of Manetho's Dyn. IX (II of Ptolemy). So that perhaps instead of giving to these Tanites

only 205 years of the 302 given to them by Manetho, and 331 to the 18 kings who in the papyrus stand next after those of Manetho's Dyn. XIII, we ought to have allowed in the former case as many as $(205 + 67 =)$ 272 years (cutting off only 30), and in the latter no more than $(331 - 67 =)$ 264 years. So that the $(9 + 10 =)$ 19, or $(9 + 6 =)$ 15 Tanites would have had an average of $14\frac{6}{19}$ or $18\frac{2}{5}$ years, and the 18 kings whom we call conjecturally Abydenes would have had an average of $14\frac{1}{8}$ years. But it has already been remarked above that the number of years to be allowed to these two groups is open, within certain limits, to revision: and it is not absolutely necessary to make any change, as the 2500 years of Dicæarchus may possibly be only a round sum.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

The last writer needing to be treated at any length is Diodorus Siculus, who was in Egypt in Olymp. 180 γ'. B.C. 58, under Ptolemy surnamed Νέος Διόνυσος. His Egyptian notices are valuable chiefly for their relation to those of Herodotus, whom he has ever in view, either simply copying from him, or attempting to correct his errors and to fill up his omissions. It is true that he speaks slightly of Herodotus, and professes for himself, that instead of being content with incidental notices which might drop from the priests, and preferring to write amusing fables to truth, he had diligently made out the true contents of the hieratic records, and would lay the result before his readers. For in Book I. of his *Bibliotheca* he writes thus: "Ὅσα μὲν οὖν Ἡρόδοτος καὶ τινες τῶν τὰς Αἰγυπτίων πράξεις συνταξαμένων ἐσχεδιάκασι, ἐκουσίως προκρίναντες τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ παραδοξολογεῖν καὶ μύθους πλάττειν ψυχαγωγίας ἕνεκα, παρήσομεν· αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς γεγραμμένα, φιλοτίμως ἐξητακότες ἐκθησόμεθα." But notwithstanding this profession, which does not refer primarily to the mythology or history (for Diodorus has already completed his own account of these subjects when he inserts it), but which still is made in such general terms that his mythology and history cannot be excluded, he is very far from showing that superiority to Herodotus which he claims:

And if he explains or corrects some statements, and omits here and there some little details of Egyptian *φλναρία* (as that of the bridge by which Sesostriis and his wife crossed the fire), he repeats from his own informants many worthless and fabulous statements in which he was clearly imposed upon, and which are not at all amusing. He does not *mention* any of those Greek writings on Egyptian history which nevertheless existed in Egypt when he was there. But as the priests with whom he conversed were probably some of those who knew Greek, and were acquainted with the writings of Herodotus and Manetho, and perhaps also of Ptolemy of Mendes (for it is only on slender grounds that he is commonly supposed to have written under Augustus, and he may have been as old or older than Diodorus), this is to be borne in mind; and in reviewing the statements of Diodorus we must be on the look out for any indications which may connect his sums of years with some one or more of those Egyptian schemes which have been considered above.

As regards those names of the gods which the Egyptians, according to Herodotus, claimed to have first invented, the account given to Diodorus resembles closely (in substance) that contained in the passages quoted by Eusebius from Sanchoniathon. "The Egyptians," he writes, "say that at the beginning of the world the first men were produced in Egypt, owing to the happy temperament of that country and the prolific nature of the Nile. And in this country alone the spontaneous formation of some small animals from the mud may still be observed." Also, alluding to the distinction between the antediluvian and the existing world, they told him that "whether in the great Flood—of Deucalion—it were only the greater part of all living creatures that had been destroyed, the inhabitants of southern Egypt, *where it never rains*, would be those who escaped; or if, *as some said was the case*, the destruction of living creatures was universal, still, on this view also, the earliest reproduction of living creatures must be ascribed to the same country of Egypt which had been the first originally to produce them." The statement and reasoning is nearly the same as that made by the Saite priest to Solon in the *Timæus* of Plato.

It being left then uncertain whether any human inventions, or even the present races of men and animals, have any connection with the world before the Flood, it follows that whatever was told to Diodorus concerning the first institution of the names of the gods, or concerning any deification of men, could, *in consistency*, be referred by him only to the first age of the existing world and the existing Egypt. But what they told him was as follows:

That the men who in that old time came into existence in Egypt, "looking up and around upon the world and nature with awe and admiration, saw two original and eternal deities in the *sun* and the *moon*, which they named Osiris and Isis, meaning the *Many-Eyed* and the *Ancient* (the horns given to Isis being primarily from the moon, and secondarily from the cow which was her emblem): that these two deities, the sun and the moon, produce and maintain and order all things, in three seasons of four months each; and from them are derived five other elementary deities; two, viz. *spirit* (the source of living souls) and *fire*, from the sun; two, viz. dry and moist matter, *earth* and *water*, that is, from the moon; and lastly one other, which is *air*, jointly from both. And the composition of the universe bears a certain analogy to that of the parts of the human body." Thus Diodorus has enumerated seven powers or elements of nature, "all of which had from of old their own Egyptian names, spirit being Zeus, who is the father of souls or lives (*Kneph*?), fire being Hephæstos (*Phthah*), earth Demeter (*Mout*), water Oceanus or Nilus (*Hapi*), and air Athene (*Neith*). These go over the earth, and appear in the forms of sacred animals, or of men, or otherwise. And these the Egyptians regarded as primary eternal and celestial deities."

"From these had been derived other *terrestrial* [deities] who were all originally mortal men, but as common benefactors had been immortalised: and *some* of these were once kings in Egypt." [In fact the names of *some*, not all, of the Egyptian deities occur on the monuments inclosed in cartouches, and with the usual titles of kings.] "Their names were some of them borrowed from the celestial deities, but some were peculiar." He enumerates of these terrestrial

deities Helios (*Ra*), Cronus and Rhea (*Seb* and *Nutpe*), Zeus, who is by some called *Ammon*, also Here and Hephaistos (*Sate* and *Phthah*), and Hestia (*Onka*), and lastly Hermes (*Thoth*). And they said that of those who had reigned in Egypt the first was Helios (*Ra*), so named after the luminary which shines in heaven. But some of the priests say that Hephaistos (*Phthah*) reigned first, owing to his merit in having discovered the use of fire." Thus here *Ra* or *Phthah*, and elsewhere, by parity of reasoning, Cronus also, and Zeus, and Osiris, are identified with Adam.

"Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα," that is, after an interval, the priests passing in their own minds from the human *Ra*, or Osiris, or *Phthah*, or Cronus, the first deified ancestor of men as *originally produced*, to the first deified ancestor of the existing world, when men were *reproduced*,—"afterwards," then, "*Cronus* reigned, who, having married his sister *Rhea*, begat, according to some mythologers, *Osiris* and *Isis*, but as most said *Zeus* and *Here*, who for their merit reigned over the whole world. And of these were begotten five gods, one on each day of the five *epagomenæ*, their names being *Osiris*, and *Isis*, and *Typhon*, and Apollo (*Horus*), and Aphrodite (*Hathor*). And Osiris is in Greek Dionysus (though it is difficult," as Diodorus remarks, "to fix him to any one name, some calling him *Ammon*, some *Mars*, and many *Pan*, &c.), and for *Isis* the nearest rendering is *Demeter*."

About the time when the Nile mud first produced or reproduced mankind (the time meant being the epoch of the Flood) the earth engendered those Titans and giants who warred upon the celestial gods. At this same time there appear together, and as it were upon the stage, a whole group of kindred deities, the chief of which are the three brothers Osiris, Typhon, and Horus (Cronus himself also being sometimes still mentioned, at first, in conjunction with Osiris), their two sisters Isis and Nephthys, or Isis and Hathor, a kinsman named Hercules, another, much honoured in Egypt, who should be somewhat older than Hercules, named Pan, a counsellor named Thoth, and, lastly, a younger Horus, son of Osiris and Isis, and two other sons of Osiris named Anubis and Macedo. Mankind, being still recent

from the mud, were quite barbarous, ignorant of corn, wine, and oil, and even devouring one another. Osiris, as being the first of the group of deities at this time dwelling on the earth together with men (*οἰκέοντες ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνθρωποῖσι* in Herodotus), having married his sister Isis, and succeeded to his father Cronus or Zeus (the two together being only a reduplication of Noah, and Osiris himself being partly Noah and partly Ham), reigned over Egypt, and became the greatest as well as the first benefactor of mankind. For, first, he made them leave off devouring one another, Isis (like *Αἰὼν*, or Eve, of Sanchoniathon) having discovered the seeds of wheat and barley, and Osiris having introduced their cultivation. He had also discovered the vine at Nysa in Arabia, where he was bred up; and Thoth discovered the olive. So men began to eat bread, and to drink wine or beer, and to anoint themselves with oil.

Osiris founded Thebes, "the most ancient of all Egyptian cities, [so that here Diodorus's informants are Thebans,] though some say that it was founded by a *king* much later." This part of the story may have been suggested to a Theban imagination by the fact that Osiris, one of whose titles was the "Old in Heliopolis," was entitled also the "Young in Thebes." The true meaning probably was merely this, that as Thebes or Hermonthis the "*On* of the South" was younger than the original *On*, that is, than Heliopolis, so Osiris as a god in the younger city was youthful compared with his antiquity in the elder. But it might be argued that the *youth* of Osiris must go back to a more remote antiquity than his *age*. And so the city which had known him as an infant must be the most ancient. The "much later king" who is entirely unhistorical, is merely Osiris over again with the article prefixed, making Busiris. But to return to Diodorus: "Naming the city which he had founded from his father, the *terrestrial* Zeus or Ammon, *Diospolis*, Osiris dedicated in it two temples, one to the *celestial* or elementary Zeus, the other to his own father and predecessor, the *terrestrial* or *human* Zeus."

Osiris, having appointed Isis to be regent in his absence, with Thoth for her minister, and Hercules for her Com-

mander of the Forces, started on a progress over the whole earth, taking with him his *brother* Horus, and Pan, and his two sons Anubis and *Macedo*, the latter to be left in *Macedonia*. The Greek fables of the progress of Dionysus, in which India of course figures, are now interwoven with the story of Osiris, who introduces every where civilisation among men, with the cultivation of corn, of the olive, and of the vine; or if any where the climate did not suit for wine, he taught them to make beer instead.

Meantime, during his absence from Egypt (the story so going back to the epoch of the Flood), the giants or Titans warred upon the celestial gods (elsewhere Diodorus says "upon Cronus and Osiris" himself); and the Nile itself or Oceanus, the original source, that is, of all fresh waters, made so destructive a deluge, that Prometheus, who had the charge of it, in despair had nearly committed suicide. But Hercules both aided the celestials, and dammed up the Nile (which Osiris himself did afterwards more completely at its sources in Ethiopia).

Then follows the return of Osiris into Egypt, the treachery of his brother Typhon, who after killing him divided his body into 27 pieces (there being one for each of his 26 fellow-conspirators), according to the number of the 27 Nomes of Egypt. Isis searches after and collects his remains; and encloses each portion in the representation of a whole body, so that each Nome may have his tomb and body entire; teaching them at the same time to dedicate in each Nome some one animal, *as a representative of Osiris*, besides the sacred bulls Apis and Mnevis, and the cows of Isis herself, which were worshipped alike by all.

Horus, son of Isis, being assisted by Thoth, encountered and slew Typhon, so becoming the "avenger of his father." And when he had himself been slain by the Titans (a reduplication of the war against Cronus and Osiris, the Flood caused by Oceanus, and the murder by Typhon), and his body was found floating on the waters, his mother Isis, having discovered an elixir of immortality, by her charms or incantations brought him to life again. "So he reigned in Egypt after his father's removal from the earth."

It is plain from the details of this fable that the actors in it are properly and originally introduced as contemporaries, the time being only one complete generation from about the end of the reign of Cronus or Zeus, the father of Osiris, to the beginning of the reign of Horus. So that any distribution of the deities named into a succession of reigns covering a great space, as if with a number of generations, would be an afterthought: and the arrangement of particular reigns in any such series would probably be more or less variable and arbitrary. And the time to which the whole drama is referred is plainly one including the Flood and the earliest age or ages of the existing world after the Flood; just as in the parallel mythology of Sanchoniathon.

Indeed, after concluding the story of Osiris and Isis, Diodorus (lib. i. c. xxiv.) gives their epoch in terms of the hieratic reckoning correctly enough: for he writes thus: "But from Osiris and Isis to the [Egyptian] reign of Alexander who founded Alexandria they say that there are above 10,000 years." And according to the hieratic reckoning there are in fact, from the epoch of the Flood to the passage of Alexander into Asia, $7902 + [341 +] 217 + 1881 + 11 = 10,352$ nominal years. It is true that he adds, "but as some write there are *nearly* 23,000," as if this latter sum were based upon some other distinct and discordant reckoning, beginning from the same point and terminating at the same point with the 10,000. But in truth the 23,000 years (strictly 23,218) were reckoned from a different and earlier commencement of mankind than that of Diodorus's human Osiris, and ended not at the crossing of Alexander, but 3944 nominal years above that first production or reproduction of men from the Nile mud which was the only epoch distinctly apprehended by him. This is shown by another passage (in c. xxvi.), in which he mentions the same sum of 23,000 years, saying that, "the priests reckon *from Helios (Ra)* to the crossing of Alexander into Asia a round sum ($\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha} \pi\omega\varsigma$) of 23,000 years." For it is clear that "the human Ra, homonymous with the physical sun," is in all the Egyptian schemes at the very head of human time: and it is equally certain that all those schemes took

account of $(23,218 + 3944 =)$ 27,162 month-years before coming to those 10,352 mixed years which would reach from the epoch of the recommencement of mankind to Alexander.

But it is not once only that Diodorus indicates the true Egyptian reckoning of 10,000 nominal years from about the time of the Flood. In c. xxiv. there is another statement to the same effect, and one much more important, because in it the Flood itself, the group of Osirian deities, and the commencement or recommencement of the existing race of mankind, are all together distinctly connected both one with another and with the date given. Diodorus is describing how the Egyptians reasoned against the pretensions of the Greek Hercules, showing how little the particulars related of him even by the Greeks themselves suited the age at which he was put, only one generation before Troy. Since neither did the earth then produce Titans and giants, nor was it then overrun by monsters and wild beasts; nor were mankind then so rude as to have no better weapons than clubs; whereas these particulars "all suited perfectly *the time of the first production of mankind from which* the Egyptians reckon to the first generation before Troy above 10,000 years, while from Troy there are under 1200." (*κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἀπ' ἐκείνης μὲν γὰρ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἔτη καταριθμῆσθαι πλείω τῶν μυρίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἐλάττω τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων.*)

It is clear then that, though the precise sum may not always be mentioned, but sometimes "above 10,000" years (if any of those deities whose age contains the epoch of the Flood are spoken of as beginning to reign somewhat earlier), or under 10,000 (if the commencement of any particular nation or city, or of empires and nations generally, be spoken of), the sum of $(5613 + 3750 =)$ 9363 nominal years, which is found in the hieratic scheme between the end of its first two periods of $(23,218 + 3944 =)$ 27,162 marking the epoch of the Flood, and the cyclical epoch of B.C. 1322, is the main element in such statements as those occurring in Plato, or those made to Alexander or to Diodorus, respecting sums of "10,000," "above 10,000," "9000," and "8000" years.

In the statements of Herodotus indeed, which make to Amasis, that is, to B.C. 525, 15,000 years from Osiris, and 17,000 from Hercules (though both these deities are of that group whose myth contains the epoch of the Flood), there is a difference of some 5000 or 6000 years from the parallel statements of Diodorus, who makes only "above 10,000" from the Egyptian Hercules to the Greek, in B.C. ($1212 + 33 =$) 1245, and from Osiris, seemingly, less by about 1000 years; since from Osiris and Isis there are "over 10,000" to the passage of Alexander, near a thousand years later. But it is to be borne in mind that as Herodotus calculated back nearly 12,000 years of kings from B.C. 525, which were ($11,000 - 3750 =$) 8250 too many, it would be natural that the priests who encouraged him in this exaggeration should put back somewhat the dates for the later deities Hercules and Osiris, so as still to leave room between them and the kings for Horus, and perhaps also for Demigods. And in like manner any priest conversing with Diodorus who was cognisant of the reckoning of Herodotus, and not inclined to disturb the 331 kings in their possession of 11,000 years, might be likely to name to him only the first great sum in the hieratic scheme, viz. about 23,000 years, as the period of the reigns of the Gods, rather than the first two, making together 27,162 *month-years*, or in the terms of *Manetho's scheme* 17,844 ("a little under 18,000") *mixed years*. And even Herodotus does not put Hercules more than ($17,000 - 10,160 =$) 6840 *month-years* above the epoch of the Flood. And the historical Patriarchs, who are the human element in this mythology, actually cover 600 chronological years *above*, as well as 500 of survival *below*, the Flood, and are common, in a manner, in truth as well as in fable, to the times of both worlds.

"It seems," says Diodorus (c. xxv.), following and as it were confirming the statement of Herodotus, "that the last of the Gods who reigned was Horus, who after the removal of his father Osiris from among men avenged and succeeded him." Then a little below, it is that he mentions how the priests reckoned from Helios (*Ra*), that is, from the very commencement of all the divine reigns, a round sum of

23,000 [for 23,218] years, reaching really to the end of the first great hieratic period, 3944 nominal or $328\frac{8}{12}$ full years short of the Flood. And, in answer probably to some inquiries about the *length* of the divine reigns, he was told that the *earlier* Gods reigned “above 1200 years each,” and the later “not under 300.” And when he objected that, these being all confessedly terrestrial or *human* Gods, it was incredible they should have reigned or lived so long, he was told that men sometimes lived 100 years, and that if he pleased he might divide the 1200 years of the earlier Gods as *months* by 12, and the 300 of the later Gods as *seasons* of four months each, by 3; and so both the earlier and the later would be reduced within the same bounds of credibility. In this they gave him certainly a broad hint of the truth; but, at the same time, as they misled him by suggesting that some of their nominal years were seasons, which they were *not*, and did not tell him how many nominal years in all were reducible, whether by the one method or the other, and he had not the wit to cross-question them, he remained none the wiser.

In another place, after he has already named the sum of 23,000 years, and misunderstood it as if reckoned from Osiris to Alexander, he mentions another reckoning of “something under 18,000 years.” “Some of them,” he writes, “in their mythology reckon that Egypt was first reigned over by Gods *and* Heroes for a little less than 18,000 years, the last of the *Gods*” (the Heroes or Demigods, though only just before mentioned, being now as it seems unnoticed) “who reigned being Horus the son of Isis. But *men*, they say, have reigned in their country from Mœris [Menes], a little less than 5000 years to Olymp. 180 [γ'. B.C. 58] when I visited Egypt, in the reign of Ptolemy surnamed Νέος Διόνυσος.” And elsewhere (c. lxix.) he says that they made “above 4700 years of kings from Menes to the passage of Alexander.” Here he seems himself to doubt about the true meaning of the sum of 18,000, and mentions it first as if it were one of three discordant reckonings of 10,000, 23,000, and 18,000 years, all beginning from Osiris and all ending with Alexander, or even with his own time. But perhaps he regarded the sum of 18,000 as reconcilable with that of

23,000 by the supposition that the 18,000 were properly to be reckoned not to Alexander but only to Menes; and then the 4700 or 5000 years of kings, being added, would complete a sum of 23,000. And since the sum named was "*something under 18,000*," and the years of the kings also to his own time are "*something under 5000*," he does some little violence to the words reported by him concerning the 23,000 (for in one place there were said to be either "above 10,000" or else "23,000" to Alexander, and in another "about 23,000 from *Ra* to the passage of Alexander);" and by putting together "*something under 18,000*" and "*something under 5000*," makes a sum of *something under 23,000, not to Alexander*, but to his own time, 276 years later. It was natural indeed that he should so mistake; and that he should suppose the 18,000 as the smaller sum to be contained within the 23,000 as the greater, if they both began, as he would understand they did (and as they did in fact begin), from one and the same epoch. But the truth was precisely the reverse. The 18,000, though in appearance the smaller sum of the two, was really the greater; and the 23,000, apparently the greater sum but really the smaller, was contained within the 18,000. And if Diodorus had only understood the true nature of the sum of 18,000 years, he might have been said by his two sums of "nearly 18,000" and "above 10,000" years to exhibit consecutively and entire with only a slight error (for the 18,000 run on by 582 month-years into the 10,000) the scheme of the hieratic reckoning, which if stated uniformly, and with all its month-years in full, consists of the following elements:—

$$\text{or } \frac{27,162}{23,218 + 3944} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{3750}{5613 + 2289 + [341 +]217 + 903} + \frac{1265}{[+ 978 + 11 + 276 \text{ to B.C. 58.}]} = 5015. \\ \frac{7902}{1461} + \frac{1265}{1265} = 10,628. \end{array} \right.$$

But the first of these sums is varied by Manetho thus:—

900 full years (= 10,800 months) + 12,418 month-years (= 23,218) + 582 more month-years make for him 13,900 *mixed* years (= 23,800 month-years).

The first two sums of the hieratic scheme, viz. 23,218 and 3944, put together, make one uniform sum of 27,162 month-

years to the epoch of the Flood; and from that epoch there follow 7902 more month-years divided into two sums of 5613 and 2289, the 2289 being part of 3750 years of kings which are reckoned from Menes to the cyclical epoch of B.C. 1322; below which again there are 989 more years of kings to the passage of Alexander, or 1265 to the time of Diodorus; making from the commencement or recommencement of mankind after the Flood to the passage of Alexander 10,352, or to the time of Diodorus 10,628 years, but of kings from Menes to the passage of Alexander 4739, or to the time of Diodorus 5015 years.

In these sums of the hieratic scheme we distinguish the source of Diodorus's round sums of "23,000 from *Ra*," and of "above 10,000 from Osiris and Isis," and from the recommencement of mankind, to Alexander, or to his own date. And his statement of "over 4700" years of kings from Menes to Alexander is *exact*. His other, of "a little *under* 5000" to his own time, is *not* exact, if the true chronological reckoning of the Old Chronicle be assumed as the proper supplement and continuation of the hieratic scheme; for so he should have written not a little *under* but a little (*viz.* 15) *over* 5000 years. But it is probable that he or his informants reckoned improperly to the end of the generation of Rameses III. Sesostriis, instead of its beginning, so as to lose that reign of about 33 or 34 years. And on this supposition both his statements respecting the time of the kings are accounted for.

In reckoning "above 10,000 years" from the Egyptian Hercules to the Greek, one generation before Troy (B.C. 1212—33=1245), Diodorus must be supposed to place Hercules one divine reign higher than Osiris, like Herodotus, and so to carry back his accession into the years preceding the epoch of Osiris and of the Flood. For from B.C. 1245 up to the epoch of the Flood there are not 10,000, but only ($77 + 3750 + 5613 =$) 9440 years in the hieratic scheme. But Diodorus was probably taught to place Hercules about 1200 month-years above the epoch of Osiris and the Flood; and then there would be from the Egyptian Hercules to the Greek ($1200 + 9440 =$) 10,640, which are "above 10,000

years." If they had preserved the *same* interval (of about 2000 years) between Hercules and Osiris with Herodotus, there would have been *above* 11,000 years.

But Diodorus's sum of "something under 18,000 years" is *not* explainable from the hieratic scheme alone. To account for *it* one must have recourse to the scheme of Manetho, in which the first sum of the hieratic scheme is exhibited in a varied form, and, though *apparently* much reduced, yet *really* has an addition made to it of 582 month-years. For Manetho reduces to their original and true form of 900 full years the first 10,800 month-years of the hieratic scheme; and then, continuing himself in month-years, he needs only 12,418 of these (making a *mixed* sum of 13,318) to equal the first 23,218 month-years of the hieratic scheme. But in order to obtain a round sum, or rather that his 900 full years may become visible and separable, he adds 582 more month-years, which raise his first sum to 13,900 *mixed* years, exceeding by 582 month-years the first 23,218 of the hieratic scheme. This sum then of 13,900 being taken from Manetho, as if it were identical with the first sum of the hieratic scheme, to which it answers, and the second sum of the hieratic scheme, viz. 3944 month-years, being added to it, the two together produce a sum of 17,844 *mixed* years, justifying the expressions of Diodorus, being "not much under 18,000." If Diodorus's informant had added to Manetho's first sum of 13,900 only those $(3944 - 582 =)$ 3362 month-years of the second sum of the hieratic scheme which would seem to remain, the product would have been only 17,262, and would *not* have accounted for Diodorus's expressions, being much nearer to 17,000 than to 18,000. On the other hand, after perceiving that Diodorus's sum of 17,844 mixed years takes us 582 month-years below the end of the second sum of the hieratic scheme, the epoch of the Flood, we must not attempt to join on Diodorus's other reckoning of "above 10,000 years" from the recommencement of mankind to Alexander or to his own time, as if it were the exact continuation, beginning from the same point where the 17,844 years end. For from that point to the passage of Alexander, instead of "over 10,000," there are only (10,629

$-276 = 10,353 - 582 =$) 9771 years. And, besides, the 18,000 years of Diodorus seem to be reckoned to Horus, while the 10,000 probably begin from Osiris, and certainly from the epoch of the Flood.

There is some difficulty in accounting for the manner in which Horus, son of Osiris and Isis, is spoken of both by Herodotus and by Diodorus as reigning "last of the Gods," and as it were immediately preceding human kings, when yet there was in every scheme a space of time which must be reckoned either to Demigods or to human generations without kings between the Gods and Menes. A similar question may be raised as to the distribution of the bulk of the earliest month-years. In the Turin papyrus the second Horus, to and from whom its great sums of 23,218 and 13,420 years are reckoned, stands, as it seems, no lower than the end of the first 23,218 years; while, if we reckon up from thence his 400 years, with the 3140 of *Ma*, the 3226 of *Thoth*, the 338 (?) of the elder *Horus*, and the 300 of *Set*, there are between the end of the reign of *Osiris* and the accession of *Rameses III.* *Sesostris* no fewer than $(7404 + 5613 + 3750 =)$ 16,767 years. And the end of the reign of the later Horus himself is $3944 + 5613 + 3750 =$) 13,307 years before the accession of *Rameses III.*, and 3944 above the epoch of the Flood. Herodotus, even after carrying up *Menes* 11,000 nominal years above B.C. 1322, has still 4000 years or so between *Osiris* and *Menes*, with only one God, *Horus*, to fill them, unless Demigods or men be added: and, as the priests themselves who conversed with him reckoned, if they put *Osiris* 15,000 years above B.C. 525 they made an interval between *Osiris* the father of *Horus* and *Menes* of 10,453 years, their date for *Osiris* being 896 month-years above the end of the 23,218 (the first great sum of the hieratic scheme) and 4840 above the epoch of the Flood. *Manetho* also emphatically names *Horus last* ("ad extremum *Horus*"), though he appears as last only of the first series of his Gods. And between *Horus* and that point where the hieratic scheme places *Menes* he has not only 1230 month-years of Demigods, and 3701 years of *Manes*, making together 4931, but all the years of his second dynasty

of Gods "who reigned in continuous succession from Horus to Bytis." Of Ptolemy of Mendes it is unnecessary to speak, as he carries the kings back in effect almost to the very head of the hieratic scheme. But in the Chronicle, on the contrary, the whole of those 2922 chronological years which were the source of all the 35,064 month-years or their equivalents of other schemes, and other nominal years besides which, as no names were given, are as nothing, are given to the XIII human Gods, while VIII Demigods have only the short interval of 217 full years between the Gods and Menes. (This arrangement has been examined and accounted for in Chapter I.) On the whole, the existence of such great discrepancies in those schemes of which some knowledge is preserved makes it probable that for the arrangement of the Gods and Demigods in successive dynasties and reigns there was no one settled system. But, so far as Diodorus is concerned, since he reckons from Osiris and Isis to Alexander 10,353 nominal years under his round sum of "above 10,000," but of kings only just "over 4700," and Horus, who reigned last of the Gods, is made by him to succeed at once after Osiris and Isis, he has an interval of above 5613 years between his two epochs of Osiris and Menes, to cover which he gives only the two reigns of Osiris and Horus, unless we add those Demigods or Heroes whom he names after the Gods in connection with the sum of "nearly 18,000 years." Yet, even with them, the 17,844 years, and consequently both the Gods and the Demigods, end ($5613 - 582 =$) 5031 nominal years before the accession of Menes; and one is at a loss to conjecture with what his informants would have covered these, unless it were with human generations anterior to the establishment of monarchies. Manes, which were probably peculiar to the scheme of Manetho, are not to be thought of, because Diodorus's informants clearly reckoned in their original places according to the hieratic lists all those kings whom Manetho had ejected, and had grouped into his four dynasties of Manes.

Yet Diodorus, without giving any account of the 5031 years, or of the Heroes whose time should have preceded, passes at once from the Gods to Menes. "The first king

after the *Gods* was Menes ;” of whom Herodotus heard some say that his accession was of such remote antiquity that the Delta, or rather all Egypt below lake Mæris, was as yet under water. This statement probably put it into the head of Diodorus to ask questions concerning the antiquity of the Delta as connected by Herodotus with the accession of Menes. For he stumbled upon an answer which is intelligible only on this supposition, but which taken in this connection is both intelligible and valuable. For Diodorus, questioning upon this idea, that the accession of Menes was as far back or farther back than the formation of the Delta, elicited from some informant who was a rather drier humourist than his colleagues that Herodotus’s information was not *quite* accurate ; that the Delta, or at least *the country below Lake Mæris*, must have been formed before Menes could *found Memphis* ; but supposing it to have been formed only just before, it had in that case existed *at least a thousand years*, the thousand years being probably reckoned back from Herodotus’s epoch of Sesostris. For from the cyclical epoch of B.C. 3322 back to the accession of Menes there were *chronologically* 903 years. And, however recent might be at that time the formation of the Delta, it could not well be put *less* than about a hundred years higher. Diodorus seems to have so little understood the ironical turn of the Egyptians that he was simply mystified, and he even gives the statement as if the thousand years were meant to be reckoned back from his own time, which he could scarcely have imagined. But from others he heard that so short a time as only 1000 years was mere nonsense, quite out of the question ; and that the formation of the Delta must be placed at the very least more than 3400 years back. These also, equally with the first, accepted the idea that the formation of the Delta and the accession of Menes were separated by no long interval, and agreed probably with the first in making the formation of the Delta the earlier of the two events, and in reckoning back the years which they named from the cyclical epoch of B.C. 1322. Their meaning was that the accession of Menes could not be put at the lowest lower than 3409 years above the cyclical epoch, or (which is

the same thing within one year) above the accession of Rameses III. Sesostris. They were so conscientious as to admit tacitly that the 341 fictitious years added in the hieratic scheme to make time run from the beginning in cycles, and covered in appearance by kings, were not really chronological, so that these 341 might be deducted from the 3750 years of the kings after Menes, and set aside as merely concurrent. But after this one deduction it was impossible to disallow any of the remaining 3409 years. The formation of the Delta, therefore, being somewhat earlier than the accession of *Menes*, must necessarily be carried back from the cyclical epoch of B.C. 1322 "more than 3400 years." Or, if any one prefer, he may suppose that they were unusually impudent, and actually allowed the notion that the formation of the Delta *was later* than the time of *Menes*. Then, as they put *Menes* with the hieratic lists 3750 years above Rameses III., knowing all the time that there were to Rameses III. only $(2922 + 1120 =)$ 4042 chronological years from the beginning of the antediluvian world, they would intend the epoch of *Menes* to stand at the $(4042 - 3750 =)$ 292nd year of the antediluvian world; and the formation of the Delta, though allowed to be some 350 years later, would still be only 652 below the beginning of the world, and about $(2263 - 652 =)$ 1611 years above the epoch of the Flood.

There are two passages in which Diodorus states how long kings had reigned in Egypt from *Menes* to *Alexander*, or to his own time; and in one of the two he adds other details respecting the kings, natives or strangers, and the queens who had reigned during the time specified:

"Καὶ τούτων μεγίστην ἀπόδειξιν φασιν εἶναι τὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πλείω τῶν ἑπτακοσίων καὶ τετρακισχιλίων ἔτων βασιλεύσαι τοὺς πλείους ἐγγενεῖς, καὶ τὴν χώραν εὐδαιμονεστάτην ὑπάρξαι τῆς ἀπάσης οἰκουμένης." (Lib. i. c. lxiv.)

"Μυθολογοῦσι δ' αὐτῶν τινες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄρξαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου θεοὺς τε καὶ ἥρωας ἔτη βραχὺ λείποντα τῶν μυρίων καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων, καὶ θεῶν ἔσχατον βασιλεύσαι τὸν Ἰσίδος Ὠρον· ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων δὲ τὴν χώραν βεβασιλευσθαί φασιν ἀπὸ Μοίριδος [Μηνᾶ] ἔτη βραχὺ λείποντα τῶν πεντακισχιλίων

μέχρι τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καθ' ἣν ἡμεῖς παρεβίλομεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἐβασίλευσε δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Νέος Διόνυσος χρηματίζων.

“Τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν πλείστα κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγχωρίους βασιλεῖς, ὀλίγα δὲ Αἰθίοπας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Μακεδόνας. Αἰθίοπας μὲν οὖν ἄρξαι τέτταρας, οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκ διαστήματος ἔτη τὰ πάντα βραχὺ λείποντα τῶν ἑξ καὶ τριάκοντα. Πέρσας δὲ πέντε πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτεσι σὺν ταῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀποστάσεσιν ἃς ἐποίησαντο φέρειν οὐ δυνάμενοι [τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Θεοὺς τῶν Περσῶν ἀσέβειαν.] ἐσχάτως δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἄρξαι καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἑξ ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς διακοσίοις καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρόνους ἅπαντας διατελέσαι βασιλεύοντας τῆς χώρας ἐγχωρίους ἀνδρας μὲν πρὸς τοῖς τετρακοσίοις ἑβδομήκοντα γυναῖκας δὲ πέντε, περὶ ὧν ἀπάντων οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς εἶχον ἀναγραφὰς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων ἀεὶ τοῖς διαδόχοις παραδεδομένας” [with particular notices of each king, which Diodorus thinks it useless to attempt to follow in detail, but instead] “τῶν ἀξίων ἱστορίας τὰ κυριώτατα συντόμως διεξιέναι πειρασόμεθα.”

The sums of “over 4700” and “nearly 5000” *years*, given in these passages for the kings to Alexander and to Olymp. 180 γ' respectively, having been found, the one to agree perfectly with that of the hieratic scheme, the other to differ only by an explainable error causing the loss of one reign or generation of about 33 years, (Herodotus's exaggerated sum of 11,000 years to Rameses III. being so corrected), it might be expected that the number of the *kings* also would be identical with that of the hieratic list and of Herodotus down to Rameses III., and from the accession of Rameses III. identical or nearly identical with that obtainable from the lists of Manetho and Ptolemy. So we should have expected 331 kings down to the death of Amenephthes (who should be “Menophres”) the predecessor of Rameses III., or 330 only if the inaccuracy of Herodotus in dropping one king was retained. And in this latter case there would be 331 at the *death* of Rameses III. instead of at the cyclical epoch of the year preceding his accession. There would also be some further elements of uncertainty, according as Rameses III. were reckoned in his true place as

the *third* legitimate king of Dyn. XIX, or in the place where Manetho has joined his name and blended his person with that of Seti II., the head of that dynasty. And below it would be a chance whether Diodorus's informants simply followed the list of Manetho in consolidating the four or five sons of Rameses III., or reckoned four of them at least, if not all the five, separately; and whether they reckoned all the seven Tanite kings of Manetho's Dyn. XXI, who can scarcely be all historical, or his three Saite predecessors of Psammitichus I. in Dyn. XXVI, or the single reign of Amyrtæus which makes his Dyn. XXVIII. If Rameses III. were put at his true place, and 331 kings were reckoned to the death of his predecessor, then, according to Manetho's lists, taken simply as they stand, there ought to be 64 more kings down to the death or flight of Nectanebo, and 3 more Persians to Alexander, making a total of 398 kings. But, if we consider those elements of uncertainty which have been alluded to, the reckoning might vary between $331 + (7 + 4) + 60 + 3 + 3 = 408$ at the most, and $330 + 64 + (7 + 4 + 1) + 3 = 385$ at the least.

But, instead of any such number of kings as might agree with that of Herodotus and of the hieratic list, he names one greatly exceeding it, viz. 470 kings and 5 queens; and these all natives; so that to obtain the full number we ought still, as it seems, to add the 4 Ethiopians whom he mentions, and the 8 Persians of Manetho's Dyn. XXVII, and again 3 more Persians below Nectanebo, which will bring up his sum to 487 reigns in all from Menes to Nectanebo, or 490 to Alexander.

The specification of *five* native queens, instead of the "*one* native queen, Nitocris," of Herodotus, is borne out by the lists, four being named by Manetho, viz. *Nitocris*, *Sebeknofreou*, *Amesses*, and *Achencheres*, and the fifth, *Ammeris*, being added in the lists of Ptolemy. And here Diodorus certainly corrects a misunderstanding of Herodotus, who himself connected with the name of Nitocris, the only queen of whom he heard any thing in detail, words spoken perhaps by his informants with reference to *Amesses*. For the priests told Herodotus that among the 331 kings from Menes to Rameses III., or among

the 341 to Sethon, "there had been 18 Ethiopian kings, and one queen." Probably *they* did not add the word "*native*" (though, even if they did, there might be some ground for it of which we are now ignorant); and they meant not that there had been *in all* only one queen, but one Ethiopian queen with and among the 18 Ethiopian kings. *Achencheres*, it may be said, was another, belonging to the same semi-Ethiopian dynasty with Amesses; and *Hatasu* (unless she is to be identified with her mother Amesses) is a third. But *Hatasu* did not reign *alone*; and even if she claimed to reign by her own right, that claim was disallowed by her successors: and *Achencheres* seems to have reigned merely as regent for her brother.

The fifth of Diodorus's queens, *Ammeris*, enables us to make a guess at least as to the meaning of the extraordinary falsehood put off upon him, when they told him that, instead of 18 Ethiopians mentioned to Herodotus (besides *Sabaco* or the three later Ethiopians whom he represented), there had been in all only *four* Ethiopian kings, who had reigned in all "some-what fewer than 36 years," and even these "not successively but at intervals, or with at least one interval (*ἐκ διαστήματος*)."

For since *Ammeris* is distinctly alluded to as a *native* legitimate queen, it may be presumed that her Ethiopian consort *Piankhi* is *not* to be reckoned separately so as to make one of Diodorus's four Ethiopians; though else his would be the name naturally presenting itself under that of "*Ἀμμερίς, Αἰθίοψ*" in the lists of Ptolemy, if a fourth historical Ethiopian were to be looked for. The same seems to follow also from the mention of "an interval." It is probable then that the fourth (or rather the first) of the four Ethiopians is the mythical *Actisanes* whose episode is substituted by Diodorus's informants for the 18 earlier Ethiopians of Herodotus. He reigned according to Diodorus "till his death." Then followed a long "interval" (from the middle of Dyn. XVIII in truth) to *Sabaco*. The name *Sabaco* covers naturally only the first *two* Ethiopian kings of Dyn. XXVI, who will be the second and third of the four Ethiopians of Diodorus. The *two* *Sabacos* then will seem to hold the 50 years connected with the name *Sabaco* by Herodotus. But since Herodotus

confesses that the native and legitimate king however named *survived* all that time, these 50 years *need not be reckoned separately to the Ethiopians*. And, besides, it is at once insinuated to Sabaco that he cannot reign over Egypt *for any long time*, except by perpetrating atrocities from which his piety recoils. (And, since Anysis recovered his throne, the time of the Sabacos, whether short or long, is separated by an interval from any fourth Ethiopian reign still to come.) The 50 years then being reckoned to the native king or kings, there remain only 13 years of the survival of Tirhakah the fourth Ethiopian; and these 13, with 5, as we shall find reason to guess, for the personal reign of the first Sabaco, and 18 or something under 18 for the earlier unconnected reign of Actisanes, will make out a sum of 36 years. Or, taking it another way, if one thinks only of the historical kings of Dyn. XXV, and suppresses as covered by the survival of Anysis not 50 but $(18 + 14 =)$ 32 years, which are really connected with the name of the two Sabacos, the remaining 31 years of the reign of Tirhakah which are *not* naturally connected with the *name* Sabaco, and which so *need* not belong to the survival of Anysis, with or without three or four years for the earlier invasion of Actisanes, will make out Diodorus's 36 years. As for the Persians, all the 124 years belonging to Manetho's Dyn. XXVII are fairly allowed to them, and 11 more for the interval from Nectanebo (B.C. 345) to the passage of Alexander in B.C. 334. So they have in all their "135 years."

Four queens only of Diodorus's five being traceable to Manetho, while the name of the fifth, *Ammeris*, is found in Ptolemy's lists, this, though it *proves* nothing (since the same hieratic sources may have been used both by Diodorus's informants and by Ptolemy), suggests nevertheless the inquiry, whether it is after all certain that Ptolemy's work (supposing always the lists of Africanus to be really his work) was not already extant in the time of Diodorus. It is true that we have hitherto followed others in conjecturing that Ptolemy wrote under Augustus; but the grounds on which this conjecture rests are very slender. In the guess that he may be the Ptolemy who wrote the Life of Herod

there is absolutely nothing; the spurious letter of Manetho to Ptolemy Philadelphus, styling him *Augustus*, is quoted by Syncellus from "*the Book of Sothis*," and there is no proof that it was copied into the Book of Sothis from any earlier work; and, lastly, the notice attached in Africanus's lists to the name of Amenoph III. that "he is the vocal statue called Memnon," though it implies some date later than the earthquake of B.C. 27 (as has been shown by M. Letronne), may just as well be supposed to be from Africanus as from Ptolemy.

And in truth, if Diodorus's number of 475 *native* reigns to Nectanebo (for there is no hint of native pretenders between Nectanebo and Alexander) is to be accounted for at all, it can, seemingly, be accounted for only by the help of the two following suppositions. First, we must suppose that, though the 475 reigns seem to be spoken of as if the strangers (viz. 4 Ethiopians, and the 8 Persians of Manetho's Dyn. XXVIII) were simply omitted, this is not the case, but either they, or an equal number of native contemporaries, who are tacitly substituted, are included. And, secondly, we must suppose that Diodorus had in fact through his informants some knowledge of the Greek arrangements both of Manetho and of Ptolemy of Mendes, and that he alludes in part to them when he boasts of having made out the true contents of the hieratic records. For if we take from the hieratic lists and from Herodotus the number of 331 kings down to Sesostris-Rameses III., the third legitimate king of Dyn. XIX, and then add the 64 kings of Manetho's Third Book which should remain, these (which are all equally to be found in Ptolemy's lists) make a sum of $331 + 64 = 395$ kings. But as Manetho has blended Rameses III. into one fabulous personage with Seti II. the head of Dyn. XIX, and Ptolemy seems in this to have followed Manetho, it is probable that Diodorus's informants also might identify Sesostris-Rameses III. with the first king of Dyn. XIX: and, if so, they would add, in the way of continuation after the first 331 kings, not 64 only, but all the 66 names of Manetho's Third Book, or 67 perhaps, according to Ptolemy, who adds the name of Ammeris, making a sum of 398.

Then, if we suppose the priests to have showed to Diodorus Ptolemy's work, pointing out to him the dynasties of the original Manetho, allowing him to make a hasty use of it, and giving some hints to enable him to distinguish the kings rightly restored by Ptolemy from those which were unknown to the hieratic lists, it may either be that the information given was imperfect, or that Diodorus misunderstood or forgot some part of it, and so arrived at his sum of 475 down to Nectanebo, a sum midway between that of 397 which he ought to have obtained from Ptolemy's lists by reckoning only the historical kings, and that of 551 or 552 which results from the indiscriminate acceptance of all contained in them. For Diodorus may have rightly understood that the 36 kings of Manetho's Dyn. XVI (XIV of Ptolemy), having been reduplicated by Ptolemy, were to be omitted; and also that in the case of Ptolemy's Dyn. XVII the 43 kings were to be reckoned once only (that is, that the 43 Diospolites were to be reckoned, and their 43 Shepherd colleagues or doubles were to be omitted). Then, if he had simply taken Ptolemy's sum of 551 or 552 kings ending with Nectanebo, and had deducted $(36 + 43 =) 79$ only, he would have had 473. But the process seems rather to have been this, that he assumed the kings of Ptolemy's lists in his First and Second Books to amount to 331 or 330 ending with the predecessor of Sesostris, or with Sesostris himself, independently of his Dynasties VIII, IX, XIV, XVI, and XVII, containing $(27 + 19 + 36 + 32 + 43 =) 157$ kings of Ptolemy's own fabrication, all of which Diodorus *ought to have omitted*, whereas he omitted only the $(36 + 43 =) 79$ of Ptolemy's Dynasties XIV and XVII, and *added* all the rest, being $(27 + 19 + 32 =) 78$, to the 331 supposed to be the sum of the other dynasties. And so, having as he thought 409 kings in Ptolemy's first two books, and adding to these 66 kings of Book III., he would bring up the sum to 475. But in truth, if he had counted, he would *not* have found 331 kings in those other dynasties of Ptolemy's first two books, which he supposed to contain so many, for these two reasons, — first, that 1 Shepherd of the hieratic list was not distinctly restored by Ptolemy; and, secondly, because the

last king in Book II. was not the predecessor, but *short by two places* of being the predecessor, of Sesostris-Rameses III. Diodorus, however, may be supposed to have included the first king of Dyn. XIX and of Book III. in his 331 (following Herodotus in dropping one king, and supposing the first king of Dyn. XIX to be Herodotus's Sesostris); and he may still have found 66 kings in Book III. to add on to his $(331 + 78 =)$ 409 preceding, since Ptolemy adds to the 66 of Manetho's Third Book one fresh name, *Ammeris*, and may have had 10 names instead of 9 in Dyn. XXVI. And thus the number 475 may perhaps be accounted for. But, after all, this explanation rests on the hypothesis that Ptolemy's work, or at any rate the work used by Africanus, was already extant in the time of Diodorus. If it were not, either the text is corrupt, and the true sum may have been 375 or 385 instead of 475; or Diodorus misunderstood; or some unknown scheme was alluded to which exceeded by some 70 or 80 that number of kings which would agree with the hieratic lists, but fell short by about the same amount of the additions of Ptolemy. This last alternative is certainly not probable.

It may be remarked, however, that if, after taking the number of 331 or 330 kings to Sesostris from Herodotus, and adding 64 or 66 more as the continuation needed from Herodotus's date for the death of Mœris (let us say B.C. 1322) to Nectanebo, it were *then* noticed that Manetho and others placed Mœris and Sesostris very much higher, and that there was an interval between the hieratic date and that of Herodotus for the death of Mœris of no less than $(78 + 348 + 260 + 71 + 536 + 213 + 243 + 355 + 331 + 22 =)$ 2457 years, this might be made a *pretext* by Diodorus's informants, if they put up Mœris from Herodotus's date and made him at the same time carry up with him all the 330 kings as if really his predecessors, for introducing or allowing from the additions of Ptolemy at least as many fresh kings as there were generations in 2457 years. But so there might be added about 74 kings, making with 331 and 66 or 67 as many as 471 or 472, and with the 3 between Nectanebo and Alexander 475 kings. But Diodorus ought

to have been told, and perhaps was told, that the 331 kings really reached down to Herodotus's date for the death of Mœris. And even, of himself, he ought to have seen that with his sum of only 4700 years to Alexander for $331 + 66 + 3 = 400$ kings, this number of kings, who had already reigns of less than 12 years each, could need no addition.

In conclusion, the kings of the hieratic list, and those of Herodotus, of Manetho, of Ptolemy, and of Diodorus, may perhaps be compared together thus (the asterisk marks the place of Sesostriis-Rameses III.):

Papyr. 1 + 328 + 1 + 1 + *1 +				Additions of Ptolemy.				
Herod.	—	328 + 1 + 1 + *1 + 10	to Sethon	Dyn.	Dyn.	Dyn.	Dyn.	Dyn.
Man.	1	+ 131 + *1 + 1 + 1 + 63	to Nectanebo	VIII.	IX.	XIV.	XVI.	XVII.
Ptol.	1	+ 328 + *1 + 1 + 1 + (63 + 1)	to Nectanebo, also	27	+ 19	+ 36	+ 32	+ 43 = 553
Diod.	—	330 + *1 + 1 + 1 + (63 + 1)	to Nectanebo, also	27	+ 19	—	+ 32	— = 475

In his more detailed historical notices Diodorus does not profess to give any close account either of the 4700 years or of the 475 kings; but he makes a patchwork from *Manetho* and Herodotus, the idea of which was perhaps suggested by observing that the reigns of Manetho's first six dynasties of kings, as they stand, approach in length to such generations as are used in reckoning by Herodotus.

Commencing, then, in agreement with Herodotus, and with the uniform tradition, he says that, after the Gods, the first king of ordinary men who reigned after the Gods was Menes. “Μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖνυν πρῶτόν φασι βασιλεῦσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου Μηνᾶν.” (c. xxvi.) The Menes of Diodorus, however, is not said to have turned the course of the Nile, nor to have founded Memphis with its temple, its palace, and its sacred lake. All that he did was to prescribe the public forms of religion, and to *introduce luxury*, for which latter demerit he incurred ages afterwards the curse of Tnephacthus or Technatis, father of the sage Bocchoris.

After Menes he reckons “52 successors of Menes, his descendants, who reigned during a space of more than 1400 years.” These 53 kings (Menes being included) answer to the 49 kings of Manetho's (and Ptolemy's) first six dynasties of Lower Egypt; and the addition of four to Manetho's forty-nine may be accounted for by supposing that Diodorus's informants, after showing him (and probably in

Ptolemy's lists) Manetho's first six dynasties of kings, remarked, on coming to the end of the sixth, that there were here in the hieratic list *four* more kings whom Manetho had omitted. Hence, without restoring any of the other 36 whom Manetho had equally omitted from the five preceding dynasties, Diodorus restored these four, and made to his first pause 53 instead of 49 kings. The number of years, "above 1400," stated for them, no less than the addition of four kings omitted by Manetho, shows that his informants were not simply following Manetho, but were referring for part at least of what they said to the hieratic list. For with Manetho the first 49 kings have 1491 years, which might have been called "nearly 1500," but not with any propriety "above 1400." But if Manetho's first addition, of 63 years to the reigns of Menes and Athothis, were omitted, the remaining sum of $(1491 - 63 =)$ 1428 would answer very well to Diodorus's expressions; though even this was not the true hieratic sum, but a mixed sum still containing some of Manetho's additions.

The notice that "none of these first 53 kings did anything very memorable" is taken from Herodotus, and belongs with him to *all* the 331 or 330 predecessors of Sesostris except the last of them, Mœris. And it is to be observed that Diodorus's first 53 kings are all Manetho's kings *down to Mœris*, who though unnamed is in truth the 47th; with a continuation of six successors whom his informants added in order to complete that dynasty, and to pause together with Manetho at the end of his six dynasties of Lower Egypt. And if, instead of passing with Herodotus from the person of Mœris to that of Sesostris, that is to Sesortasen I., the earliest Sesostris, which is the true chronological succession (at least for the sovereignty of all Egypt), they had added as an appendage to Mœris his 6 successors, and had then passed to Sesortasen I., this king as Sesostris would have been presented as if he were the *seventh*, instead of the first, successor of Mœris.

After the first 53, Diodorus gives a number of $(9 + 8 + 13 =)$ 30 kings who are entirely unhistorical, being mere doubles, with or without names, of some of those kings who have been already enumerated from Manetho. And notices

are interspersed of such a kind as to show only the inferiority and the impudence of Diodorus's informants, and his own want of discernment in writing down the worthless fables put off upon him. The only hints which enable one to divine the origin of these fictitious kings are to be found in the *numbers* by which they are strung together in groups, or as it were dynasties, and in the name of the last of them all, which is *Mæris*. “Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, κατασταθέντος βασιλέως Βουσίριδος καὶ τῶν τούτου ἐκγόνων ὀκτὼ, τὸν τελευταῖον, ὁμώνυμον ὄντα τῷ πρώτῳ, φασὶ κτίσαι Θήβας.” κ. τ. λ. That is, “after Menes and his 52 descendants, *Busiris* having been made king was succeeded by *eight* of *his* descendants, of whom the last (the ninth, that is), *Busiris II.*, *founded Thebes*.”

These nine (if we reckon 30 places either downwards so as to end with *Mæris*, or upwards from *Mæris*, the fourth king of Manetho's Dyn. XIII), appear to be doubles of the ix earliest Memphites of Manetho's Dyn. X (III of Ptolemy). As regards the name *Busiris*, it is merely *Osiris* with the article prefixed. Diodorus has already related in his mythological notices how the terrestrial god *Osiris* (who in one of his aspects is the first man, either absolutely, or from the time of the Flood) founded *Thebes* with its temples, *Thebes* being the most ancient of all cities and its inhabitants the most ancient of all men. And when he started on his expedition *Osiris* left a double of himself, named *Busiris*, to guard the Syrian frontier. “But others,” Diodorus in the place referred to added, “said that *Thebes* was founded by a *king* much later.” The king thus alluded to has now appeared as *Busiris II.*, who is really the double of the 9th and last king of Manetho's Dyn. X (III of Ptolemy). In what capitals meantime the eight predecessors of *Busiris II.* have been reigning, to say nothing of the 53 earlier kings answering to the 49 of Manetho's first six dynasties of Lower Egypt, it would be indiscreet to ask. Perhaps, like the Chaldaean *Oannes*, they lived all with their mother the goddess *Heki* under water, “the *Delta* being not yet formed.” The city of *Thebes*, when founded, was 140 stades about. The hundred gates mentioned by *Homer* were the numerous propylæa and pylons of its

temples; and its 20,000 chariots went out not from those hundred gates, but from 100 barracks maintained at intervals on the road down the banks of the river between Thebes and Memphis. These explanations are reasonable. But the assertion that Busiris founded the four great temples of Thebes and set up obelisks there is another thing. His filling the city with private houses of four and five stories, shows only that he knew how to cap by anticipation the three and four-storied houses of Babylon in Herodotus. Diodorus's assertion that the priests reckoned from their books that there ought to be at Thebes 47 tombs of kings, though only 17 were still known in the time of Ptolemy Lagi and Hecataeus of Abdera, is worthy of attention, though it may be difficult to make out exactly which were the 47 kings intended. If one thinks only of the three great Theban Dynasties, XVIII, XIX, and XX, and calculates the number of tombs to be expected for them from Manetho's lists helped out by the monuments and by the tombs known at this day, these would indicate about $(15 + 9 + 12 =)$ 36 tombs. But it is known that the earlier Diospolites of Manetho's Dyn. XIV (XI of Ptolemy) were also buried at Thebes, though in tombs of a much simpler kind. And if each of Manetho's xvi kings of this dynasty had a tomb to himself, the tombs of kings at Thebes might have amounted to $36 + 16 = 52$, which are five more than the 47 mentioned to Diodorus. But perhaps in some cases more kings than one were buried in the same tomb; and some kings may have appropriated tombs made by others; and some may have died without having had time to prepare themselves a tomb. At the present day more tombs than 17 are known; and one or two of those known (as that of Seti I. discovered by Belzoni) show no traces of having been visited by Greeks. The name "Tomb of Osymandyas" given by Diodorus to the Ramesseum of Rameses II. is perhaps explainable by putting together these two facts; first, that the great palace-temples on the west bank were certainly connected in some way with the tombs of the kings behind the neighbouring mountain of the Assassif, and with funeral ceremonies and anniversaries; and, secondly, that

among the numerous sons of Rameses II. known from the monuments there is one, the *last of 23 in the Ramesseum*, named *Osymandyas* (*Si-mentu*). It is possible therefore that the building or dedication of the Ramesseum was connected by tradition with the obsequies of this prince.

In connection with his parenthetical description of Thebes (partly taken from Hecataeus of Abdera), and especially of the Ramesseum, with its "Library," Diodorus has a remarkable passage concerning the Egyptian month and year, in which he shows more exact information than appears in the parallel passage of Herodotus: "Their months and years are," he says, "peculiar; being not lunar but solar, 30 days going to each month; and after the 12th month they add five days *and a quarter*;" meaning, that they take account of the quarter (which makes a day in every quadriennium or "square year") and add it in the 1461st and last year of the Sothic Cycle. "Τὰς γὰρ ἡμέρας οὐκ ἄγουσι κατὰ τὴν σελήνην ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν ἥλιον, τριακονθημέρους μὲν τιθέμενοι τοὺς μῆνας, πέντε δ' ἡμέρας καὶ τέταρτον τοῖς δώδεκα μηνσὶν ἐπάγουσι, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τὸν ἐνιαύσιον κύκλον ἀναπληροῦσιν." But with his kings he goes on thus:—

"Τῶν δὲ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπογόνων ὄγδοος, ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς προσαγορευόμενος Οὐχореὺς, ἔκτισε πόλιν Μέμφιν." "The eighth descendant of this king (that should be of Busiris II. who founded Thebes), viz. *Uchoreus II.*, so named after his father Uchoreus I., *founded* the city of *Memphis*, damming off the Nile, making the sacred lake, and building a palace, not equal, however, to the buildings of his predecessors at Thebes" (in fact doing all that Herodotus ascribes to Menes). "And so happily did he discern and turn to account the advantages of that site, that the kings who reigned after him, *nearly all*, deserting Thebes made Memphis their capital and their residence. And they so adorned it, that it came to be generally reckoned the first, or at least the second, city in the universe" (that is, second only to Thebes). One understands that the viii fictitious kings ending with Uchoreus II. are the doubles of the viii of Manetho's Dyn. XI (IV of Ptolemy) as the preceding ix were the doubles of the ix of his Dyn. X (III of

Ptolemy). And, if Memphis was to be founded later and Thebes earlier, there is a sort of symmetry in making Uchoreus II. the *last* king of this *second* group of doubles found it, as Busiris II. the *last* king of the *first* group had founded Thebes. The hint too that Memphis was second only to Thebes is consistent. But the remark that after this foundation of Memphis *nearly all* the following kings deserted Thebes for it and made Memphis their capital is a falsehood destitute even of *poetical* propriety, seeing that Diodorus's informants are Thebans, and show in most of their falsehoods their Theban partialities. It is the same thing as to admit that the exclusively Memphite view of Herodotus, a view which ignored all the great Theban dynasties, was correct, with this limitation only, that Thebes was founded first, and was the capital during eight reigns, until supplanted by the foundation of Memphis. "Some say that by the daughter of Uchoreus II. the founder of Memphis the Nile-god begat Ægyptus, who succeeded him, and from whom Egypt was named. The name itself *Uchoreus*, or as it seems to be written elsewhere *Nenchoreus*, is perhaps taken from a Diospolite king really of note on the Theban monuments, *Neb-kher-re*.

"Διαδεξάμενον γὰρ τοῦτον γενέσθαι βασιλέα," κ. τ. λ. "Μετὰ δὲ τὸν προειρημένον βασιλέα δώδεκα γενεαῖς ὕστερον διαδεξάμενος τὴν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἡγεμονίαν Μοῖρις," κ. τ. λ. That is, "*Ægyptus* succeeded his father, the founder of Memphis: and the twelfth from Ægyptus was *Mæris*, who built" (here he copies from Herodotus) "the north propylæa to the temple of Phthah; and at a distance of 10 schoeni above Memphis made a lake 3600 stades in circuit, and in most parts 50 orguiæ deep, with a canal, still named after him, connecting it with the Nile. And in digging this lake he *left in the midst of it a space* on which he built himself a tomb, and two pyramids a stade in height" (so correcting the story told to Herodotus that there was as much of their height under the water as above). Of the thirteen kings here mentioned together the first nine, with Ægyptus at their head, are doubles of the ix kings of Manetho's Dyn. XII (V of Ptolemy) called Elephantinite.

The next three are doubles of the first three kings of Manetho's Dyn. XIII (VI of Ptolemy); and the last, the thirteenth, is proclaimed by his name as well as by his place to be the double of *Papa Maire*, the true Mœris of Herodotus: his *double* only (although all that Herodotus relates of Mœris is given to him), because Mœris *himself* has already been reckoned before, though unnamed; in like manner as Cheops also, and Cephren, and Mycerinus, whose *doubles* will be introduced lower down, have already been reckoned, though unnamed, as the 28th, 29th, and 30th kings of the 52 successors of Menes.

“Σεσώωσιν δὲ φασιν ὕστερον ἑπτὰ γενεαῖς βασιλεῖα γενόμενον,” κ. τ. λ. “*Sesoosis*” is the name which Diodorus gives to his Sesostriis, the mixed particulars of whose history are again taken from Herodotus, with some additional stories of his education *derived from the Cyropædia of Xenophon*, and concerning his conquests in and beyond India to the ocean eastwards, and to the banks of the Don northwards, *that he may not in any way be surpassed by Alexander*. “About him,” Diodorus says, alluding no doubt to the difference between Manetho and Herodotus, accounts differ greatly. “Not only Greek writers, but the Egyptian priests and hymnographers themselves are at variance.” But before continuing we must look back to see how Diodorus has arrived at this point, and what point in fact in Manetho's lists it is. Herodotus, it will be remembered, made Mœris the immediate predecessor of Sesostriis. But Diodorus has both in his first 53 kings tacitly reckoned six successors of the same dynasty with Mœris after him, without having yet come to any Sesostriis, and now again after his second series consisting of 30 doubles, in which Mœris is named as the last king, “six more generations” are made to intervene before the introduction of Sesostriis or Sesoosis as the “seventh from Mœris.” These six generations may be accounted for. For having doubled the first four names of Manetho's Dyn. XIII (VI of Ptolemy) as well as the twenty-six (9+8+9) of his three dynasties preceding, Diodorus wants two more after his Mœris to complete his six doubles corresponding to the vi kings of Manetho's

Dyn. XIII. And if we consider that Manetho identifies with the Sesostris of Herodotus the *fifth* king of his own Dyn. XV (XII of Ptolemy), viz. Sesortasen III. (though he stands apparently as the third), and if from the dynasty of Mœris, without noticing Manetho's Dyn. XIV (XI of Ptolemy) we pass at once to that of Sesostris, its first five reigns will complete the seven generations of Diodorus. And supposing only Sesortasen III., the Sesostris of Manetho, to be reckoned in his true order, after instead of before Sesortasen II., Diodorus has reached the Sesostris of Manetho with a surplus of $(9 + 8 + 9 + 6 =)$ 32 abstract generations; or, if 16 of these be allowed to parallel Manetho's Dyn. XIV (XI of Ptolemy) which has been passed over unnoticed, with a surplus of 16 abstract generations, which are as yet in truth *unplaced* (for as doubles they belong only to places preoccupied), and which will be available for covering any space which may be left otherwise uncovered between Manetho's Sesostris of his Dyn. XV (XII of Ptolemy), and Herodotus's Sesostris of Manetho's Dyn. XIX.

The name *Sesoosis* is probably identical with the Σέθωσ of Manetho and with the monumental Seti or Setai, belonging properly to the father of Rameses II. It belongs also to the head of Dyn. XIX, whom Manetho confuses both with Rameses II. and with Rameses III. The gigantic stature of four cubits and four fingers given by Diodorus to his Sesoosis (*i. e.* to the sculptured effigies of Rameses, whether in Egypt or in conquered countries), being no adjunct of the Sesostris of Herodotus, but being taken from Manetho, at once identifies him with Manetho's adaptation of the Herodotean Sesostris to Sesortasen III.; and shows (if anything were needed to show) that Diodorus really knew and used Manetho's or Ptolemy's lists, though without distinctly alluding to them. In ascribing to his Sesoosis-Sesostris (who in this respect is not any Seti or Rameses but the older Sesostris, whether Sesortasen I. or III.) the subdivision of Egypt into a fixed number of Nomes Diodorus follows other authors. But the number of "36 Nomes" which he specifies, is merely that of his own time. The

statement that Sesoosis-Sesostris founded in all the chief cities a temple to the local god, may very possibly be true of Sesortasen I., since the foundation of the earliest temples known in Tanis, at Heliopolis, in the Fayoum, and at Thebes, is traced to that king. The mounds, the canals, the land-surveying, the reservation of the fifth part of the produce to the king, and other legislation, belong probably to the time of Sesortasen III.; at any rate to some time vastly older than that of the Sesostris of Herodotus. In making Sesoosis begin his conquests by invading Ethiopia Diodorus virtually identifies him (like Herodotus) not with Manetho's Sesostris, Sesortasen III. (who did not *invade* but already *possessed* the greater part of Ethiopia), nor with either Seti I. or Rameses II. or III., but with Sesortasen I., the first Egyptian conqueror, and the first invader and conqueror of Nubia. The huge barge of cedar gilt, 200 cubits long, constructed according to Diodorus by Sesoosis for Ammon, is probably the same which is still seen represented on the walls of the temple at Karnak among the sculptures of Seti I. and his son Rameses II. And the enumeration said to have been made at the Ramesseum in hieroglyphics of the king's forces amounting to 400,000 foot and 20,000 cavalry, and of his revenues amounting to 32,000,000 silver minæ, remind one of that similar statement of the forces and revenues, "equal to those of either the Roman or the Parthian empires," of the great conqueror "Rameses," which is said by Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 60.) to have been translated from the monuments for the information of Germanicus. In both authors too the Egyptian king is said to have warred with the *Bactrians* (*Pa-khita*, i. e. *Hittites*). Of other details copied by Diodorus either directly from Herodotus, or indirectly, through Manetho, the stelæ set up in Phœnicia and elsewhere, the obelisks, the colossi at Memphis, the treachery of the brother, and the escape of Sesoosis and his wife by the favour of Phthah the god of fire (*without having made a bridge of the bodies of any of their sons*), are to be referred to the time of Seti I. and Rameses II. But the fleet on both seas, taken only from Herodotus (for Manetho has disjoined the fleet from the name of Sesostris, and con-

nects it with "Sethos-Rameses," not so very much above the true date), and the reign of "above 33 years" belong only to Rameses III. One circumstance added by Diodorus is peculiar, namely, that not only the *son* of Sesostris (as Herodotus also had related before him), but Sesostris himself also is made to lose his sight. And this statement, whence-soever obtained, deserves attention. For though, if it be understood of Rameses II. (who reigned 66 years, and outlived many of his children) there would be nothing in it remarkable, it may possibly in connection with the name *Sesoosis* help somewhat towards explaining how Seti I., whose victories "over the revolted Bactrians" were only shared by his son, who is immortalised together with his son by their joint monuments, and whose magnificent tomb must have cost many years of preparation, nevertheless disappears after his first year from the monuments as if he were dead; has a reign in the lists of only 1 year and 4 months; and is often blended confusedly into one person with his son, as in this very narrative of Diodorus. But all becomes intelligible if it be historically true that this great king did in fact lose his sight, perhaps through some casualty in war, within two years after his accession, and so was incapacitated for reigning personally, though he may have lived on, and may have inspired the counsels of his son.

Diodorus's story respecting the foundation of Babylon in Egypt attracts attention both for the interest attaching in later history to the place itself, and also on account of the historical obscurity of its origin. He writes that among the multitudes of Asiatic captives brought into Egypt by Sesoosis (who here means Rameses II.), and compelled to labour on his great works, there were some Babylonians, who were driven by the hardships they endured to mutiny. So having banded together and seized a position which offered them some advantage, they held out so obstinately that at length they were allowed to found a town for themselves, where they lived not as slaves but as free subjects. Ctesias indeed, he admits, had another story, viz. that the Egyptian Babylon was founded by the Babylonians *when they had conquered Egypt* under Semiramis. And this is

probably much nearer to the truth. Only, we must not think of Semiramis, whose conquest is a fable of the Asiatics, intended as a set-off against the early Egyptian conquests in Asia, and irreconcilable with the monumental history of Egypt. For the date of Ninus and Semiramis, if one reckons up 520 or 525 years from the revolt of Media, putting that at B.C. 747, would be about B.C. 1272. And though Nineveh itself may possibly about that time have become independent under Ninus, the stele of the Imperial Library at Paris (see above, p. 235, &c.) shows that a century later the Ramessid kings still retained some supremacy over the neighbouring countries. And even in the time of *Her-Hor-Siamon* (p. 237) tributes from "all the lands of the *Rotennou*" (Chaldennou) were still brought into Egypt. But if, instead of Semiramis, we understand Nebuchadnezzar, there will be nothing improbable in the statement that *he* left behind him in Egypt a fortress garrisoned by Babylonians just opposite to Memphis. (The site adjoins that of Old Cairo and of "*Fostat*," founded where the "*Tent*" of Amrou had been pitched over against Babylon). On the overthrow of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus the Egyptian Babylon, together with Egypt itself, became subject to Persia: but a hint of the nature of its origin may be traced perhaps even in Roman times under the fact that the Romans made it one of their *military stations*, and that the great road, provided with wells at short intervals, connecting Gaza and the sea-coast of Palestine with Egypt ran by way of Heliopolis to Babylon. Hence it is that tradition names Heliopolis and Babylon as the places through which the Holy Family passed, and in which they abode when they took refuge in Egypt; and hence it is intelligible that St. Peter (according to the local tradition of the Copts) should date one of his Epistles from that Babylon which was a double type both by its name and by its locality.

He alludes in lib. i., but like Herodotus only incidentally, to the fact that "the Jews who inhabit the country between Arabia and Syria and practise circumcision had gone forth from Egypt:" "τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων γένος ἀνὰ μέσον Ἀραβίας καὶ Συρίας οἰκίσαι τινὰς ὀρμηθέντας παρ' ἐαυτῶν," κ. τ. λ. And

as the topic on which his informants were speaking was that of Egyptian colonisation, the Exodus of the Hebrews was mentioned in order after the flight of Danaus and the settlement in Colchis, as if these three events might all be referred to the reign of Sesostris-Sesooosis (meaning Rameses II.), whether that were put down with Herodotus to the time of Rameses III., or put up with Manetho to the time of Sesortasen III. And Diodorus's scheme was elastic enough for either view. In two other passages, fragments of lib. xxxiv. and xl., Diodorus plainly follows the same fable respecting the Jews which has been extracted in its original form from Manetho by Josephus. In the first he writes that "when Antiochus (in Olymp. 161 β') was besieging Jerusalem, most of his friends urged him to grant no terms, as the Jews were on principle the enemies of all mankind, and had no claim to favour, telling him also of their ancestors, how, as impious wretches and hateful to the gods, they had been expelled from all Egypt. For, in order to make expiation and to purify the country, all who had sores or leprosies were collected together and driven beyond the frontier. And these outcasts having taken possession of the parts about Jerusalem, and formed there the nation of the Jews, bequeathed to their descendants in revenge a spirit of universal misanthropy. Antiochus Epiphanes, they added, having entered their sanctuary, found there the stone statue of a bearded man *seated on an ass*, and holding a book in his hand. This he supposed to be Moses, the founder of Jerusalem, who had first made that nation and given it its misanthropical laws." And again in lib. xl. (Olymp. 179 β'), before entering upon Pompey's war with the Jews, he gives a more detailed account of their origin: "In old time," he writes, "there was in Egypt a great plague, which the people ascribed to the displeasure of the gods. For there were then *settled* among them a vast multitude of all sorts of *strangers* following customs in respect of worship and sacrifices opposed to those of the Egyptians; so that their ancestral worship of the gods was dishonoured and brought low (*καταλέλυσθαι*). Wherefore the natives thought that, unless they cast out the strangers, they should obtain no re-

mission of their plagues. So the strangers having been forthwith cast out, the *most distinguished* and energetic of them found their way to *Greece*, and to some other countries, under leaders of note, of whom the most eminent were *Danaus* and *Cadmus*. But the great multitude were driven out into the country now called *Judæa*, which is not far from *Egypt*, and which at that time was *totally uninhabited*. And this colony was led by *Moses*, a man of eminence for prudence and valour. He, having taken possession of the country, founded in it both other cities, and the capital called *Jerusalem*, with its temple which they so much venerate. He also instituted their worship and ceremonies, and gave them their laws and polity," &c. And here *Diodorus* relates with accuracy that *Moses* taught them "to worship only one God, and to make no image." Those Egyptian fables connecting the Jewish worship with an ass, traces of which appear in *Diodorus's* story of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, are explained by considering that the ass was the hieroglyphical sign for *Soutech* or *Typhon*, the local god of the *Sethroitic Nome*, who was worshipped there by the Shepherd kings to the exclusion of all others; so that in later times he was regarded by the Egyptians as the special god of the Asiatic strangers, and as the evil or malignant deity for themselves. And, further, the Egyptian name for the ass, *Iao*, derived plainly like many other names from the voice of the animal itself, is the very same word *Ἰάω* which the Greeks sometimes write, having heard it from the Syrians, as the name of the God of the Hebrews, and the sense of which was understood by the Jews when Christ took it to himself, according to its Hebrew etymology, *ʿOʿQv*, or *ʿEgōw Elmi*.

The error of *Herodotus* in putting down some details belonging to *Sesortasen I.* or *III.* far too low, and fixing them together with what belonged to *Rameses II.* and *III.* to the time of *Rameses III.*, was owing in part to the intentional misrepresentations of the *Memphite* priests, and in part, perhaps, to some unavoidable misconception and confusion of his own. But the contrary error of *Manetho* in carrying up to an earlier *Sesostris* of his own Dyn. *XV* (*XII* of *Ptolemy*) those other details which *Herodotus* had

rightly connected with one much later, and that too in words plainly borrowed from Herodotus himself, was an impudent imposture. Diodorus by the help of his informants has made such a harmony as retains all the confusion and nearly all the errors of both Herodotus and Manetho, though he could not avoid showing, by the very attempt to join together the two accounts, that the Sesostris both of Manetho and of Herodotus must be a compound and fabulous person. But the Egyptians, without being servile imitators,—for each of them in turn wished to exercise his own ingenuity,—seem to have made a point of never wholly rejecting the fables or exposing the artifices of their predecessors.

Sesoosis-Sesostris was succeeded, according to Diodorus, by his son *Sesoosis II.*, who corresponds as a generation or abstract reign (when Sesoosis I. is identified, as in Manetho's lists, with Sesortasen III.) to Amenemhe III., or it may be to Amenemhe IV., since these two kings, like Sesortasen II. and III., reigned for some time together, and one or other of them may be omitted or transposed. The particulars, however, related of his blindness and recovery, being the same as belong to Pheron the son and successor of Sesostris in Herodotus, are connected by his *obelisks* with the times of Herodotus's rather than Manetho's Sesostris. Indeed the elder Pliny, after ascribing the Flaminian obelisk (of Seti I. and Rameses II.) to "Sothis," "Sethosis," or "Sesosis," shows that under this name he alludes to Rameses II., as if one with his father and also with the Sesostris of Herodotus, by mentioning another obelisk as set up *by his son* Nenchoreus (who therefore is Merienphthah, or Amenophis, son and successor of Rameses II., and also the Pheron of Herodotus, and the Sesoosis II. of Diodorus) "*after his recovery from his blindness.*" "Is [autem obeliscus] quem [D. Augustus] in Campo Martio [statuit, excisus est] a rege Sethoside." . . . "Tertius est Romæ in Vaticano Caii et Neronis principum Circo, quem fecerat *Sesosidis filius* Nencoreus. *Ejusdem* remanet et alius centum cubitorum, quem *post cæcitatem* visu reddito ex oraculo Soli dedicavit." (*Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. cap. xi.) The name of Sesoosis II., which seems a needless variation from Hero-

dotus, may be accounted for by remarking that two kings of one and the same name *Seti*, viz. Seti I. and Seti II., had been blended by Manetho with Rameses II. and Rameses III. respectively, and that while three out of these four kings entered by their acts into the character of Herodotus's Sesostris, the other one who did not, viz. Seti II., was not indeed the son, but the grandson of Rameses II., the chief component of the same Sesostris. It is observable that in Manetho's Dyn. XV (XII of Ptolemy) to which the earlier Sesostris, whether Sesortasen I. or III., belongs, there is a recurrence of the name *Sesortasen* in no less than three kings similar to the recurrence of the name *Seti* in Dynasties XVIII and XIX. But, so far as the mere name goes, Diodorus's name *Sesoosis* cannot with any probability be derived either from *Sesortasen* or from *Sesostris*.

After ending his account of Sesoosis II. Diodorus introduces "a considerable number of the kings who succeeded him" as doing "nothing worthy to be recorded;" "*συχνοὶ τῶν διαδεξαμένων οὐδὲν ἔπραξαν ἀναγραφῆς ἄξιον*." Following the clue given in the words "*after*" and "*succeeding*," but understanding that we must look for this posteriority and succession in Manetho's lists *below* his Dyn. XV, there being no place for it between the two kings Amenemhe III. and IV. (or IV. and III.) before the completion of that dynasty, we collect that these "numerous kings" are in fact the xxxvi of Manetho's Dyn. XVI (XIV of Ptolemy) and the vi Shepherds of his Dyn. XVII (XV of Ptolemy), who would otherwise be unnoticed. That the numerous kings of Manetho's Dyn. XVI did nothing remarkable may be true enough, since they reigned only 4 or 5 years each; and whatever was done by the six Shepherds, no doubt, in the opinion of Diodorus's informants, it *did not deserve to be recorded*. And all these kings belonged to the 330 of whom the same thing had been said by Herodotus. And, since the Nubians of Manetho's Dyn. XVI and the Shepherds of his Dyn. XVII were really contemporary with six out of the eight reigns of his Dyn. XV (XII of Ptolemy) which they outlasted, the point of time at which the mention of them is inserted by Diodorus, one reign below Sesoosis I. or Sesostris, is not inappropriate.

“Many generations later (Πολλαῖς δ’ ὕστερον γενεαῖς) — later, that is, by many generations than Sesoosis II., but immediately after those many generations of his successors who “did nothing remarkable”—a king named *Amosis* dealt harshly and tyrannically with the multitudes subject to him (“*Ἀμμωσις ἤρχε τῶν ὄχλων βιαιότερον*”). *Amosis* here contains within himself by implication a number of his successors, being in fact that “king who had not known Joseph,” from whose accession the oppression of the Hebrews began, and of whom *Josephus* rightly observes that he represents a new “house” or dynasty; “τῆς βασιλείας εἰς ἄλλην οἶκον μετεληλυθυίας, δεινῶς ἐνὺβριζόν τε τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις καὶ ταλαιπωρίας αὐτοῖς ποικίλας ἐπενόουν.” (*Ant. Jud.* ii. 9, 1, p. 97.) “In consequence of this tyranny, when some time later” (that is, 164 years later, after the death of *Amunoph* III.) “the king of the Ethiopians named *Aktisanes*” (by metathesis, perhaps, for *Atn-kasan-es*) “invaded Egypt, the greater part of the population went over to him, and Egypt thus fell under the Ethiopians. *Aktisanes* governed with prudence and moderation” (of course), contenting himself with “cutting off the noses of criminals, whom he settled at *Rhinocolura*” (though it is true that *Manetho* suspects him of having also roasted and eaten *Apis*); “and he retained possession of Egypt till his death.”

In this episode the Hebrews and the Sun-worshippers are blended together as in the fable of *Manetho*, only more compendiously, and with less clearness, the earlier *Shepherds* being omitted, though no doubt the later and shorter subjugation of Egypt which is confessed is intended to cover the earlier and longer which is dissembled. *Aktisanes* is *Khou'en-Atin* or *Cushan Risathaim* (called *Χουσαράθων* by *S. Theophilus*). Only, instead of being an “Arab Cushite,” king of the *Arabian Shepherds* (*Shasou*) and of the *Mesopotamians*, he is made into an *Ethiopian* by a play upon the first syllable of his name, which *Gesenius* also, according to *Bunsen* (vol. iii. p. 290), interprets “the most insolent *Ethiopian*.” That he is really the *Hierosolymite* of *Manetho* and the *Sun-worshipper* of the monuments is indicated in the lists of *Anianus* and *Panodorus* (which *Syncellus*

adopts as his own) by a parenthetical notice, of which only the heading and the first words are preserved, "*Concerning the Ethiopians, whence they came originally, and where they settled. The Ethiopians came from the river Indus, and they settled in the parts next above Egypt.*" ("Περὶ Αἰθιοπῶν, πόθεν ἦσαν, καὶ ποῦ ᾤκησαν· Αἰθιοπες ἀπὸ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναστάντες πρὸς τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ᾤκησαν.") This note is inserted in the middle of Dyn. XVIII, *between the reigns of Amunoph III. and Horus*, a position which speaks for itself, and shows that the compiler of the lists (though the *note* is not *his*, but older than the Chronicon of Eusebius) had here inserted the Ethiopian invasion of Diodorus, placing it not after the reign of the literal Amosis, but after that of his seventh successor.

The purposes of this myth are as complex as its composition. By help of a hint taken from Manetho all that "did not deserve to be recorded" concerning the Shepherds, the Hebrews, and the later Sun-worshippers, was thus disposed of together covertly and inoffensively. And whereas Egypt according to Manetho had been twice or even thrice subjugated by Shasou ("Shepherds,") that is to say, both by the Shepherds properly so called, by the Hebrews, and by the "Hierosolymites," and had remained under the yoke of the first-named Shepherds during six long generations, while according to Herodotus there had been also no fewer than eighteen *Ethiopian* kings (all no better than strangers) before the accession of his later Sesostriis, Diodorus's informants compressed all these strangers into a single Ethiopian, and the double or treble subjugation of Egypt into one; so that in summing up their whole history they had no need to except from the list of native kings any more in all than *four* Ethiopians, and those at intervals, besides the three Persians between Nectanebo and Alexander, the Shepherds being slurred over unnamed together with a crowd of native faineants their contemporaries, and the eight or five Persians of Dyn. XXVII having exercised only an interrupted and disputed sovereignty.

Here again it is remarkable how closely Diodorus's informants adhere to the exclusively Memphite account of Herodotus even at the expense of poetical propriety. For

though it might be intelligible that *Memphite* priests should ignore, if they could, as semi-Ethiopian strangers the kings of Dyn. XVIII, as well as those of the later Theban dynasties, it is difficult to understand how *Thebans* should have let Diodorus retain a misrepresentation so offensive to their own local patriotism. Yet this they did, and worse. For while they had Egyptian patriotism enough to consolidate for him Herodotus's eighteen Ethiopians into one, they had not enough of Theban zeal to think it even worth while to fill the seventeen places vacated with the Theban kings to whom they really belonged; but they supplied Diodorus only with doubles of earlier kings of some of Manetho's six dynasties of Lower Egypt, as abstract generations, with which to bridge over the chasm. But this is a slight matter. So reckless were they, and so off-hand in their fabling, that they actually for once let out, as if unconsciously, some part of that disagreeable truth which Egyptian falsehood was ordinarily most studious to conceal. As if it were not enough to let Diodorus omit all their Theban dynasties, they actually introduce by name Amosis, and in him his successors, not as the glorious expellers of the impious and tyrannical Shepherds, but as kings chiefly remarkable for *their own tyranny and oppression towards multitudes of their subjects*. They add that, *in consequence of their tyranny*, the oppressed multitudes (not really on occasion of any foreign invasion) cast off their obedience. If one passes on to the later invasion of the Sun-worshippers (which as a *consequence* is confessed, as it is by Manetho too, to have been also a *retribution* for the oppression of the Hebrews), Diodorus's informants agree exactly with Manetho in hinting that the success of the invaders was owing to the circumstance that they were favoured by a party among the Egyptians themselves. Manetho mentions also some affinity of blood. But as regards the Shepherd-Hebrew-Hierosolymites of Manetho and Herodotus's semi-Ethiopian kings of Dyn. XVIII the parts in Diodorus's account are completely reversed. Instead of the former being expelled for their impiety or leprosy by what might seem to *them*, but not to Theban priests, an *Ethiopian invasion and conquest*, the latter (as if they were themselves

the impious tyrants who under a Typhonian influence had oppressed their subjects), are conquered and dispossessed not by Hierosolymites, but by Ethiopians, when they were in truth the Ethiopians themselves.

After this curious parenthesis — according to the text of Diodorus “after the death of the Ethiopian Aktisanes—the Egyptians recovered their independence, and set up a native king named *Mendes* (Amenemhe) or *Marros*, who was *by no means warlike*” (that is, he was a vassal under the Shepherds), but who built the Labyrinth. And from this original Labyrinth it was, as Diodorus adds, that Dædalus *afterwards* took a hint in the time of the Cretan Minos. This mention of the Labyrinth, as well as the name of the king, leaves no doubt that the narrative here reverts to that point in Manetho’s Dynasty XV (XII of Ptolemy) at which the episode of the numerous faineants and of Amosis and Aktisanes was inserted; since Manetho (and Eratosthenes too) have in the same place both the name Lamares or Mares, and the notice respecting the Labyrinth (in which there is a real correction of Herodotus).

Here Diodorus ends his notices of the earlier Sesostris and of the times following, in a word, of all the history belonging to Manetho’s Dynasties XV, XVI, XVII, and XVIII. And here we are suddenly reminded that his Sesostris-Sesoosis, like the Sesostris of Herodotus, is compound and unchronological. For while we have been fancying ourselves perhaps to be distinctly and exclusively occupied with the kings of Manetho’s Dyn. XV (XII of Ptolemy), though some particulars related of them may be drawn up from later times, we are now to find that we have already come to Manetho’s Dyn. XIX, the bridge on which we have passed silently and unconsciously over the longest and most important of all Egyptian dynasties, as over a chasm, having been prepared beforehand in those sixteen abstract generations by which Diodorus was in advance of Manetho when we first arrived at his Sesoosis-Sesostris. These, with two more indicated by the names *Amosis* and *Aktisanes*, serve to parallel the eighth and last reign of Manetho’s Dyn. XV (XII of Ptolemy),—the (xxxvi

+ vi =) xlii reigns of Manetho's Dynasties XVI and XVII (XIV and XV of Ptolemy) having been already accounted for parenthetically,—and the xvi reigns (increased to xvii by the Hierosolymite or Ethiopian) of Dyn. XVIII. And it is to be remembered that those eighteen Ethiopians also who were mentioned to Herodotus (though in strictness they probably include the first two reigns of Dyn. XIX) have now been accounted for.

. “After the death of this king,” Diodorus continues, — as if he were going on to name Scemiophris, or to relate what followed after the end of Dyn. XV of Manetho, but we must understand him as if he had written “After the (49 [+ 4] + 16 + 5 + 1 [+ 36 + 6 + 2] + 1 + 16 =) 136 reigns and generations hitherto enumerated, corresponding to the (136 — 4 =) 132 kings of Manetho's Books I. and II.” — “there followed five generations of anarchy.” “Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου τελευτὴν, ἐπὶ γενεὰς πέντε γενομένης ἀναρχίας,” κ. τ. λ. These five generations are the first five reigns of Manetho's Dyn. XIX, to which no incredible outrage is done, even though it does contain historically the Σέθως ὁ καὶ Ῥαμεσσῆς of Manetho and the Sesostris-Rameses III. of Herodotus, seeing that it could not expect to fare better than Dyn. XVIII, which is represented only by one native tyrant and one well-behaved Ethiopian helped out by 15 abstract generations. The “anarchy” is elicited from Herodotus's expression concerning Proteus, that he was “a man of Memphis” who “*was elected king.*” The *five generations* of anarchy are perhaps intended (besides their direct purpose of bringing us on to the sixth and last reign of Manetho's Dyn. XIX) to convey an allusion to the “anarchical” time of the six Shepherds, insufficiently indicated above by an unnumbered crowd of faineants or by the single Ethiopian or Hierosolymite connected with them by Manetho. And if any small *shred* of historical truth is desired to render the fable more colourable, it may be looked for perhaps in the fact that there were at least two actual reigns, and not short reigns, at the commencement of Dyn. XIX (before Sethos-Rameses could return from Ethiopia), and lower down in the dynasty a third, which were all dis-

allowed as illegitimate. Thus then we have only one reign of Manetho's Dyn. XIX still to come; and concerning it Diodorus proceeds thus:

"They elected to be king a man of the people named *Cetes*, or as the Greeks call him *Proteus*, who was contemporary with the war of Troy." "Ἡρέθη τῶν ἀδόξων τις βασιλεὺς ὃν Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν ὀνομάζουσι Κέτην . . . παρὰ δὲ τοῖσι Ἑλλησι Πρωτεὺς, ὁ κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν γενόμενος πόλεμον." And Diodorus explains the story of *Proteus* assuming different forms by saying that he was skilled in magic and astrology, and after obtaining the crown he, like other Egyptian kings, wore from time to time a variety of head-dresses resembling the forms or heads of different animals. So in *Proteus* he rejoins *Herodotus*. And here again we may wonder at the apathy or liberality of his Theban informants. For in the time of *Homer* the reigning dynasty was certainly Theban, and *Homer* himself signifies this, mentioning the presents made by *Polybus* and his consort *Alcandra* to *Menelaus* and *Helen* at *Thebes*. But the *Memphites*, ignoring *Polybus* and *Thebes*, made for *Herodotus* a "man of *Memphis*," and a king "elected" in Greek fashion by the people, out of a very different but contemporary personage also named by *Homer*, viz. "the immortal *Proteus*," who might be like other *deities* no doubt for his nationality, but who was found by *Menelaus* more in the character of a seal (*Ketes*) or a *Triton* than a king, swimming about in the train of *Neptune* off the shores of *Egypt*. *Manetho* in this point at least, though himself of *Lower Egypt*, and others as it seems before him, had fairly improved upon *Herodotus* by substituting a *Theban* king whom he identified with the *Polybus* of *Homer* for the *Memphite Proteus*. If, as is probable, the date for *Troy* intended to be covered by the *Proteus* of *Diodorus* is not his own (B.C. 1184), but that of his informants and of *Manetho* (B.C. 1212), *Diodorus's* generation of *Proteus* may be taken to end together with *Manetho's* Dyn. XIX, the last reign of which includes *Manetho's* date for *Troy*. This should be according to the true chronology in B.C. 1206. But according to *Manetho's* apparent chronology the

last reign of Dyn. XIX ends about three years later, in B.C. 1203. Herodotus's date for Troy is a full generation earlier than that of Manetho, and *his* generation of Proteus ends at the latest (that is, when the death of his Mœris is put in B.C. 1321) in B.C. 1221. So that at the end of the generation of Proteus Diodorus has gained 18 years, and is by so much in advance of Herodotus. And, consequently, instead of having to fill up a void of eight generations *and* 19 years of a ninth, wanting to Herodotus between the *end* of his generation of Sethon (B.C. 1321 - 340 = 981 - 26 = 955) and his date for the accession of Psammitichus I. (B.C. 525 + 145 = 670), Diodorus will have to add exactly eight generations.

In fact, from the point where we now are, viz. from the end of the generation of Proteus, Diodorus and his informants no longer attend to the *number of Manetho's kings*, which down to this point they have paralleled leaving the *years* to take care of themselves, but they think only of paralleling Herodotus's *generations*, and filling up the void left in his reckoning, till they reach Dyn. XXVI, the actual reigns and history of which were known to the Greeks.

The wealth of Diodorus's successor to Proteus, stated at 400,000 talents of gold and silver, would of itself identify him with the Rampsinitus of Herodotus even without the name *Remphis*, which is only slightly corrupted by writing $\mu\phi$ for $\mu\psi$, the original name given to Herodotus being *Rampses-Nit* or *Rameses-si-Nit*. The generation of Remphis brings Diodorus down from B.C. 1203 to B.C. 1170.

After his death Diodorus inserts "*seven generations of kings who did absolutely nothing.*" As he is already 18 years in advance, this insertion of itself fills up within one generation the whole remaining void left by Herodotus. And being made before completing the parallel of Herodotus's eleven generations, it depresses the pyramid-builders who are still to follow, so as to make them come ($18 + 233 =$) 251 years lower even than the date at which they had been put by Herodotus. On the other hand, the Ethiopians of Dyn. XXV are hereby thrust down into something like their true place. "Τούτου δὲ (Ῥεμφέως) τελευτήσαντος, ἐπὶ γενεὰς ἑπτὰ διεδέξαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν βασιλεῖς ἀργοὶ παντελῶς."

The only one in whose favour some sort of exception is made so as to afford a pretext for naming him is "*Nilus*, who cut many useful canals, and from whom the river was afterwards named." The allusion here is to the monumental king *Siphthah*, the last of Manetho's Dyn. XIX, whom *he* identifies with the *Polybus* of Homer, and makes contemporary with Troy. And the name Si-Phthah is capable with the addition of *Re* of making *Phouo-re* or *Thouore*, which by a play upon the sound becomes with Manetho *Ph-iouro*, Nilus. But Diodorus, having retained the *Proteus* of Herodotus, and having given to him the chronological place belonging to Nilus, wished still to mark the Nilus of Manetho. And, as the next place after Proteus was preoccupied by Herodotus's Ramsinitus, he placed him, as it seems, at the head of the seven faineants, where, however, his generation begins 14 years too low to include Diodorus's own date for Troy. Nilus then with his six successors carry on Diodorus 233 years, from B.C. 1170 to B.C. 937, which is 41 years below the end of the Diospolite Dyn. XX and the commencement of the Tanite-Bubastite Dyn. XXI of the Old Chronicle.

According to Herodotus the accession of Cheops being put four full generations or 133 years below the death of Moeris, that is, at B.C. $(1321 - 133 =) 1188$ at the latest, the commencement of the building of the pyramids (which historically was not till about 90 years after the accession of the earliest Sesostriis) could not be carried back more than about $(B.C. 1188 - 13 = 1175 - 450 =) 725$ years before his time, which would be $(725 + 392 =) 1118$ years before the time of Diodorus. But according to Diodorus's own reckoning there would be only $(B.C. 937 - 13 = 924 - 58 =) 866$ years at the most from the commencement of the great pyramid of Cheops to his own time. And if, as seems to be the case, he departed from Herodotus in reckoning to Cheops and to Cephren not merely average generations but their actual reigns, this will bring the 20th year before the death of Cheops 17 years lower—to B.C. 920. Yet he has given two statements respecting the antiquity of the pyramids which are neither of them explainable without the

admission of some inconsistency. Some, he says, made them to have been built "not less than 1000 years ago." This may suit the reckoning of Herodotus, since we need not go back much further than to the completion of the pyramid of Asychis, 20 years and three full generations later than the commencement of the great pyramid of Cheops. And so there might be reckoned ($1118 - 120 =$) 998 years from the death of Asychis to the time of Diodorus, and "not less than 1000" from the building of the later pyramids. For it would be natural, when the pyramids had already been put down so much too low by Herodotus, that Diodorus's informants, if they did not give the highest possible date, from the first commencement made by Cheops (which was rather to be expected) would at any rate give a date somewhat higher than that of the death of the king who seemed to have built the last of them. But with Diodorus's own reckoning neither "not less than a thousand years," nor even "nearly a thousand" could be said, since there are *at most* (that is, from the 20th year before the death of Cheops) only 866 years to his time. But others, he adds, gave a very different account, viz. that the pyramids were built 3400 years before his time. This second statement must be meant either to suit the hieratic reckoning of the kings, according to which there were in all 5016 years from Menes to Diodorus's own time, or else to suit that of Manetho, which would make ($3555 + 11 + 276 =$) 3842 years. (Ptolemy's scheme, which would have made 5487 years, is here out of the question.) Upon the first supposition it is necessary to read 4400 instead of 3400; and then the sum may be accounted for by deducting from 5016 the ($190 + 205 + 214 =$) 609 years of the first three dynasties of kings (of course without Manetho's additions) down to the accession of Soris. Thus there would be a sum of 4407 years, not indeed exactly up to the commencement of the great pyramid by Cheops, but to the beginning of his dynasty, 49 years, as Herodotus might have reckoned, before he commenced his preparations. And, even if these 49 years were deducted, 4358 might with only a little exaggeration in speaking roundly be called "about" or "nearly 4400 years." But

if the scheme of Manetho were alluded to, and the present reading of *three* not *four* thousands is to be maintained as correct, it will be more difficult to give a satisfactory account of the statement. For there will be at most only 442 years which can be spared to cut off (from the head of a sum of 3842 years) for all those kings who preceded the pyramid-builders; whereas in Manetho's scheme there are no fewer than $(253 + 302 + 214 =)$ 769 years from the accession of Menes to that of Soris the head of his Dyn. XI (IV of Ptolemy). The only apparent resource would be to suppose, first, that Diodorus's informants cut off from Manetho's sum of 3555 years of kings his addition of 63 years to Menes and Athothis (as we have found them cutting off these same years from the 1491 of the first 49 or 53 kings); and so, Manetho's sum being reduced to 3492, this, with $(11 + 276 =)$ 287 years of continuation to Diodorus's own time, would make a total of 3779. And if we suppose them to have deducted from this sum not the $(190 - 302 + 214 =)$ 706 years still remaining to Manetho's first three dynasties of kings, *which they ought to have deducted, but the true chronological sum of years from Menes to the 30th year of Cheops*, these, which amount to $(190 + 103 + 29 + 30 =)$ 352, being deducted from 3779, leave a sum of 3427 years for the interval between the commencement of the great pyramid and the time of Diodorus; and this agrees with the statement to be explained.

After the wealthy Remphis and the seven faineants above-mentioned, "in the eighth generation," so Diodorus continues, "*Chemmis* the Memphite became king, and reigned 50 years. He employed in building his pyramid 360,000 men; and the whole was *scarcely* finished" (that is, was *not* in truth finished, when he died) "after 20 years." If we give to Chemmis, or rather Chembis or Chemvis (for it is the letter *m* which has intruded), his full actual reign of 50 years, which Diodorus, as will appear below, intends to be given, he will bring us down from B.C. 937 to B.C. 887.

"After Chembis his brother *Kephren* who built the second pyramid reigned 56 years. But some say that it was not the brother of Chembis but his son, named *Chabryas*, who built

the second pyramid." Whether he were called brother or son, the two names *Κεφρήν* and *Χαβρύης* are identical, and agree perfectly with the monumental name *Khaphra*, as do all the variations *Χέοψ*, *Χέμβις* or *Χέμμυς*, "*Ωϋφίς*, *Σάωφίς*, and *Σούφίς*, with the monumental name of his predecessor *Khoufou*. This actual reign of 56 years, reckoned like the preceding, brings us on from B.C. 887 to B.C. 831. And Diodorus, by reckoning these two actual reigns has gained (106—67=) 39 years upon Herodotus, irrespectively of those 18 by which he was in advance of him at the death of Proteus, and of the seven generations with 233 years since inserted.

After these two, "who, as some said, being odious tyrants were either never buried in their pyramids or were not allowed to rest there, Mycerinus, the son of Chemmis (who shared not the impiety of his predecessors), reigned, and built the third pyramid." Here he rightly follows Herodotus in preference to Manetho, who upon a hint furnished by Herodotus had founded his fable respecting Nitocris. "The other lesser pyramids [adjoining] were built for the wives of these three kings." So he writes, as if there were only three of these lesser pyramids, whereas there are three adjoining the pyramid of Cheops, and three more adjoining that of Mycerinus. Mycerinus brings him on from B.C. 831 to B.C. 797.

Asychis, the builder of the brick pyramid, who follows next in Herodotus, is omitted by Diodorus, not perhaps by mere oversight, nor by a caprice which it would be difficult to account for, but in compensation for having reckoned their actual reigns, instead of reckoning only with Herodotus average generations, to Cheops and Cephren. And even after omitting *Asychis* he has still both paralleled Herodotus's *four* generations of Cheops, Cephren, Mycerinus, and *Asychis*, and has gained upon Herodotus 6 years besides.

It may be said indeed that in another place Diodorus *has* named *Asychis* or *Sasychis*, which is the same thing, and that so probably he named or intended to name him here; and the name may have dropped out. And the admission of

this view would make no great difference, if only they who think proper to restore here the name of Asychis take care to reckon at the same time to Chembis and Kephren only average generations instead of their actual reigns. But the Sasychis or Sahoura mentioned elsewhere by Diodorus, in enumerating the Egyptian legislators (though the name is the same), is not really the same king as the Sahoura of Herodotus who built the brick pyramid. For Sasychis the legislator of Diodorus is named *before* Sesoosis, that is, before the Sesostris of Manetho's Dyn. XV (XII of Ptolemy). But the Asychis of Herodotus is named among kings who are all *later* than Sesostris. And in fact the name Sahoura is still legible among the earliest kings to our left in the Karnak Chamber: and the same king may be identified in the list of Eratosthenes as the predecessor of Snefrou, the next but one as suzerain before Mœris, and the next but two or three before Sesortasen I., being the head seemingly of Dyn. XVII of the Chronicle.

"Some say," Diodorus adds, after ending his account of Mycerinus and the third pyramid, "that these three pyramids were *not* built by the kings above-mentioned, but the first by *Armæus*, the second by *Amasis*" (the Egyptian name written Amosis or Amasis is *Aahmes*), "and the third by *Inaron*." The thought in this story was probably to substitute some other idea than that of the Shepherd Philition suggested by a parallel passage of Herodotus. And since Diodorus had already improved so far on Herodotus as to bring the building of the pyramids down to the time of Manetho's Dyn. XXII, there could be no great harm in making him go all lengths. So after giving the first pyramid either to Danaus (who built it hastily in his brother's absence, and before he fled to Argos) or to the king popularly reported among the Greeks to be entombed within the great Sphinx, called *Armais* by Pliny (who was in fact no other than the great Sphinx "*Harmachis*" herself), they ascribed the second to *Amasis* (who may have employed his Greeks in building it), and the third to *Inaron* (who built it no doubt by the labour of his Persian captives, and had only just finished it in time for Herodotus to find it complete). So

they laughed at Diodorus to his face; while he perhaps supposed the three names Armæus, Amasis, and Inaron to belong to three kings of unknown antiquity, and wrote down all that was told him, without omitting to add from Herodotus that some said the third pyramid was the tomb of Rhodopis, the contemporary of Amasis.

After the generation of Mycerinus, that is, in B.C. 797 at the latest, 24 years below the date (B.C. 821) where Herodotus's generation of Asychis would have ended, if he too had inserted seven generations of faineants between Ramsinitus and Cheops, Diodorus introduces not *Anysis*, but—as if he were about to *correct* Herodotus—the historical king who was really defeated by the Ethiopian Sabaco, namely *Bocchoris*. Since *Anysis* is not named, we may understand that the historical king indicated by that name is disjoined (and rightly disjoined) from Sabaco; and that he is covered in his proper place, like Asychis and Technatis and all other kings similarly unnamed in this series, by those abstract generations or reigns reckoned like generations which are enumerated. “Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς προειρημένους βασιλεῖς διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν Βόκχορις.” “After the above-mentioned kings Bocchoris succeeded to the throne, a man of mean personal appearance, *but of great wisdom*.” Elsewhere Diodorus is made to reckon him among the legislators. And again, in another place, his father *Tnepactus* or *Technatis* is represented as a warlike prince invading Syria. So little were they in danger of being themselves invaded from Ethiopia.

At this point, before continuing, we may notice that prodigious anachronism of Apion and Lysimachus by which they described the Exodus of the Hebrews as having taken place under *Bocchoris*, about the time of the first Olympiad, or later. Josephus mentions Ol. 7 *α'*, as the date for this story, as if it were a mere blunder, with very natural contempt; but it is worthy of attention both as illustrating the sensitiveness and the humour of the Egyptians, and also as being really connected with that scheme (if it can be called a scheme) of Herodotus and Diodorus which we are considering. The Exodus really took place (B.C. 1932 – 1654 =) 278 years after the death

of the original Sesostris, Sesortasen I., and about 94 years after the end of the dynasty of the Memphite pyramid-builders. But if the death of Sesostris were drawn down to B.C. (1321—33=) 1288, and that of Mycerinus (the last of the pyramid-builders mentioned by Diodorus) to B.C. 797, it is plain that the Exodus could not be placed earlier than in the next reign, even though Asychis were altogether omitted, and no interval allowed between the end of the line of the Memphite pyramid-builders (with their contemporary the Shepherd Philiton) and the Exodus. But Anysis or *Bocchoris*, or whoever is named as the king dispossessed by Sabaco, is the only one who intervenes between the last of the pyramid-builders and the Ethiopian conquest. It is clear therefore chronologically that the Exodus *must* have taken place under Bocchoris; and this necessity (thanks to Herodotus and to Diodorus for it) is doubly convenient. For thus another of the most ignominious reverses which ever befel Egypt may be misplaced by many centuries and put off upon the Saite Bocchoris, whose very name, poor man, is already ignominy itself, so that at the worst *he* can *lose* nothing. And on the other hand, since Egyptian disasters are hinted only to the initiated, but for the ignorant and for strangers are dissembled by being related in contraries, Bocchoris may even be brought out a little from the cloud which hangs about him; that is, if he obtain the credit of having *drowned* and *expelled* that multitude of filthy lepers, led by Moses Diabolides and Joseph Philodiabolus (*Si-en-Set* and *Pete-Set*), whose presence in Egypt had drawn down the plagues of a *great famine* and of a *great mortality*, and was intolerable to the gods. (*Lysimach. ap. Joseph. contr. Apion.*) But after all it was trenching upon dangerous ground to name Bocchoris. So at least thought Diodorus's informants; and, in order to prevent any bad consequences, they make him cut off Bocchoris from all suspicion of contact with Sabaco by a direct falsehood, continuing thus:—

“ *Many years, ages, or generations later Sabaco* reigned over Egypt (*πολλοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου Σαβάκων*), a king whose like was not to be found among men for piety and humanity. He could not find it in his heart even

to punish malefactors otherwise than by making them perform a fixed amount of labour towards works of public utility, such as mounding up the cities. (But Diodorus has brought Sabaco down much too low for the mounding of Bubastis, which really belongs to his generation in Herodotus.) However the God who abides in Thebes signified to him in a dream that he could not reign over Egypt happily, *nor long* (though the Ethiopian oracle had promised him according to Herodotus 50 years), unless he collected together and slaughtered all the priests. And as this dream occurred not once only, or twice, but often, and he was shocked at the bare thought of such impiety, he abdicated and returned to Ethiopia."

The reign of Bocchoris had been of course a full generation, and he had died, it may be supposed, of old age, surrounded by his children, having brought Diodorus down from B.C. 797 to B.C. 764, the true date of the conquest of Egypt by Sabaco, in B.C. 746, from whence commences the Ethiopian Dyn. XXV of the Old Chronicle, being only 18 years later.

If now we look down to the date of the Persian conquest of Cambyzes in B.C. 525, and reckon upwards with Diodorus from thence, he carries up the accession of Psammitichus I. to B.C. 678, which is 15 years above its true date and 8 years above the date of Herodotus. Then to the Dodecarchy, which Herodotus had left indefinite, he gives 15 years, with 2 years of anarchy preceding. So that the last year of his fourth and last Ethiopian should have ended, and the 17 of anarchy and Dodecarchy should have begun, in B.C. 695. If we reckon upwards from thence the 50 years given by Herodotus to Sabacon they will take us to B.C. 745 for the Ethiopian invasion and conquest, which is only one year below the true date. So there would be 19 years between B.C. 764 and B.C. 745 which might be occupied by those "many years" (*χρόνοι*) which intervene, with a purposed ambiguity, between Bocchoris and Sabaco. But if we reflect that Diodorus's informants reduced the whole time of their *four* Ethiopians (the first of whom, Aktisanes, reigned *till his death*) to only 36 years, and further asserted that the reigns were not successive, but with intervals, and

that they probably took advantage of Herodotus's story that the legitimate native king or kings (under whatever name) continued concurrently in the marshes of the Delta during all the 50 years, it may seem probable that if Diodorus had written down the fable made out for him with more minuteness of detail it would have appeared thus: — A space of 13 years between B.C. 695 and B.C. 708 would have made the personal reign of the fourth and last Ethiopian (since Manetho indicates for Tirhakah a continuance of 13 years after the completion of the 50 years of Herodotus). Then we should have had the 50 years during which native princes reigned, it might be with some dependence upon an Ethiopian suzerain, and with a short personal reign of the second Sabaco (the third Ethiopian of Diodorus) in the middle of them. These 50 years would have begun in B.C. 758, that is, 12 years above the true date of the Ethiopian conquest; and it would have been pretended that the personal reign of the first Sabaco, instead of commencing at that point, ended there by his abdication, having begun 6 years higher still, in B.C. 764, from the point to which we had been brought down by the generation of Bocchoris. It is true that in this way no years are left for those "many years" or generations which intervened between Bocchoris and Sabaco; and moreover Bocchoris is brought into contact with Sabaco, which those many generations were meant to forbid. But the generations implied may still intervene in the same way as the ($36 + 6 =$) 42 generations of Manetho's Dynasties XVI and XVII intervened above between Amenemhe IV. and Amenemhe III., that is, parenthetically and on paper. And as regards *years*, they have no claim to any, as all the years belonging to them are distributed to the generations enumerated. They are then just like the 70 kings of Ptolemy's Dyn. VII whose years had been given away by Manetho; and if any one wishes to know their number he has only to count the kings of Manetho's dynasties between Thouoris the last of Dyn. XIX and Sabaco, and see by how many they exceed the number of Diodorus's generations for the same interval. Manetho then having in his Dynasties XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, and XXIV ($12 + 7 + 9 + 4 + 1 =$) 33 kings, and

Diodorus having covered all the *years* of these kings with 12 generations, it is clear that the "many generations" intervening, but *without years* and only on paper, between Bocchoris and Sabaco are in number 21. Thus only can we make Diodorus's account consistent with itself, and explain the startling assertion that the four Ethiopians reigned in all less than 36 years, and those not successive but at intervals. Between Aktisanes the first Ethiopian and Sabaco there will have been "an interval" of some 8 centuries; Sabaco with only 6 years of personal rule in Egypt will have reigned "no long time;" (though here, no doubt, there is a direct contradiction of Herodotus, who places his abdication not *before* but *after* the 50 years). Then the existence of native rulers during 50 years is supported by the assertion of Herodotus; only the name of Anysis is dropped, and the heirs of Bocchoris are substituted. And 50 years make again a long "interval" before the fourth and last Ethiopian reign of Tirhakah. Or, if it were allowed that the third Ethiopian also, Sevechus or Sabaco II., had reigned in Egypt for some short time, his reign also would be divided from that of Sabaco I. by all the years which Sabaco I. survived after his withdrawal, and from that of Tirhakah by all the years of his own survival after he too had given up the experiment of governing Egypt directly and personally. And, lastly, with 13 years of Tirhakah, and 6 of Sabaco I., and 1 or 2 perhaps of Sabaco II., it might be supposed that the time during which the earlier Ethiopian Aktisanes had reigned was 15 years. So of the 8 generations wanted by Diodorus to fill the void left by Herodotus seven have been supplied by inserting seven generations of faineants above the pyramid-builders, and the eighth is added by reckoning the actual space of 50 years, instead of only an average generation, for the native contemporary of the two Sabacos, besides giving two fresh reigns of 6 and 13 years respectively to the Ethiopians, 17 years to anarchy and the Dodecarchy, and 8 years unknown to Herodotus to the Saïtes of Dyn. XXVI. These sums together make 94 years; and with the 6 which Diodorus gained above by reckoning the actual reigns of Cheops and Cephren, instead of three abstract generations, they make

100, being three full generations instead of Herodotus's two generations of Sabaco and Sethon.

The Dodecarchy according to Diodorus was the result of a compromise after a time of anarchy which his informants reduced to two years, the Dodecarchy itself lasting prosperously for fifteen. “*Ἀναρχίας δὲ γενομένης κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐπ’ ἔτη δύο, καὶ τῶν ὅχλων εἰς ταραχὰς καὶ φόβους ἐμφυλίους τρεπομένων, ἐποιήσαντο συνωμοσίαν οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων δώδεκα, καὶ ἐπ’ ἔτη ιε’*,” κ. τ. λ. The Labyrinth having been ascribed with Manetho to its true founder, and rightly said to be more ancient than Dædalus and the Cretan Minos, Diodorus is just cautious enough not to *name* it a second time, though he inserts from Herodotus what relates to it, saying that the twelve kings built themselves near to the Lake Mœris one common sepulchre a stade in length on every side; which is clearly nothing else than the Labyrinth over again. The 17 years take him on from B.C. 695 to B.C. 678, the point from which he makes the Saite Dynasty XXVI to commence.

Psammitichus I., he was told, was envied by his colleagues on account of the lucrative commerce which he carried on with the Phœnicians and the Greeks, his territory happening to border on the sea. This was the cause of their first banding together against him. As Diodorus does not give the lengths of the earlier reigns of Dyn. XXVI he may be supposed to agree with Herodotus; and so the 54 years of Psammitichus I. will take him from B.C. 678 to B.C. 624, and the $(16 + 6 =)$ 22 of Necho and Psammis will take him on to B.C. 602. Then “four generations after Psammitichus,” he says (in which reckoning both the first and the fourth are included), “Apries reigned 22 years,” which take him on to B.C. 580. Of Apries he relates that he spoiled Phœnicia, and gained a naval victory over the Cypriotes. He describes Amasis as being one of the most eminent among the Egyptians (*ἀνὴρ ἐμφανὴς Αἰγύπτιος*) when he revolted against Apries, and says that he reduced Cyprus, and had reigned in all 55 years when Cambyses in the 3rd year of the 63rd Olympiad, in which Parmenides of Camarina won the foot-race, invaded Egypt. So he puts the invasion quite cor-

rectly in Cambyses's fifth year, B.C. 525. But in the preceding reigns he has 15 years too many, viz. 11 too many for Amasis, 3 too many for Apries, and 1 too many either for Necho or Psammitichus I., while the true interval was 20, his excess of 15 is reduced to 12; and so the 50 years given by Herodotus to the Ethiopian, instead of beginning in B.C. 746, begin for him in B.C. 758.

As the 135 years reckoned by Diodorus to the Persians include three kings with 11 years between Nectanebo and the passage of Alexander, it follows that he would have made for Cambyses and his seven successors, or for such native contemporaries as disputed their sovereignty, like Inaros, Amyrtæus, and Pausiris, a dynasty with 124 years lying between the spring of B.C. 525 and the autumn of B.C. 402, and ending with the 3rd year of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Or, if we assume that he gave 124 years to the first viii Persians, those of Manetho's Dyn. XXVII, then, since the remaining 11 years of the 135 years of the Persians ended at the passage of Alexander in B.C. 334, they must have begun in B.C. 345; and Diodorus by implication gives that date for the end of the native monarchy (or, rather, his Egyptian informants give it for him; for he himself in a later book, lib. xvi., seems to put the reduction of Egypt by "*Artaxerxes-Ochus*" in B.C. 350). And so he leaves between the end of Manetho's Dyn. XXVII in B.C. (525-124 =) 402 and the commencement of Ptolemy's Dyn. XXXI in B.C. (334+11=) 345 the true interval of 57 years, without those unchronological additions of seven years and eight months which in Manetho's lists, if reckoned as they stand, thrust up the conquest of Cambyses into B.C. 533. "And from the passage of Alexander [in B.C. 334] to Olymp. 180 [γ , which began in July of B.C. 58] there are 276 years."

The object of his informants in lengthening as they did the reigns of Amasis and Apries, and so carrying up the accession of Psammitichus I. too high by 15 years, was probably to bring Psammitichus somewhat nearer to the Ethiopian who had attempted, according to Herodotus, to kill him in his childhood, his long reign of 54 years after the

end of the Dodecarchy making it difficult to suppose him even born in the last year of the second Sabaco, if that ended in B.C. 708 (to say nothing of B.C. 714), and if the accession of Psammitichus were in B.C. 663, at an interval of 45, or, according to Herodotus, in B.C. 670, at an interval of 38 years. To omit the first three names which stand at the head of Manetho's Dyn. XXVI was a matter of course with any one who was closely following Herodotus, as those names, even if they had really preceded Psammitichus I. in chronological succession, could have represented one line only out of twelve concurrent lines according to the story of the Dodecarchy; and, on closer examination, not even one; since Psammitichus himself was one of the Dodecarchs: and so the death of his father Necho, whose name is the last of Manetho's three, and immediately precedes that of his son, must be put back first by at least 17 years to bring him under the power of any Ethiopian, and then by 15 or 16 more, both that Psammitichus may have been old enough to act a part in the formation of the Dodecarchy, and that his father may have been slain in one of the last years of the later Sabaco.

To conclude: Diodorus has reckoned 53 + 29 + 1 (Moëris) + 6 + 1 (Sesoosis) + 1 (Sesoosis II.) + “*συχνοὶ*” [that is 36 + 6] + 2 (Amosis and Actisanes) + 1 (Marros) + 5 (of anarchy) + 1 (Proteus) + 1 (Remphis) + 7 faineants + 3 (pyramid-builders) + 1 (Bocchoris) + “*πολλοὶ χρόνοι*” [that is, 36 - 15 = 21 names otherwise unnoticed between the end of Manetho's Dyn. XIX and the beginning of his Dyn. XXV] + 3 (Ethiopians), making in all 178 kings, answering to (66 + 66 + 6 + 12 + 7 + 9 + 4 + 1 + 3 =) 174 kings in Manetho's lists down to the same point; that is, to the end of the Ethiopian Dyn. XXV. And if we continue the parallel down to the end of Manetho's Dyn. XXVII, and suppose that Diodorus would have agreed with him in reckoning 8 Persians to that dynasty, while in Dyn. XXVI he has only 5 Saïtes instead of Manetho's 9, the number of kings (equalised by this difference at the last) would be exactly the same, viz. 191, for both, the original excess in Diodorus's reckoning of 4 kings having consisted of 4 successors of Nitocris of

Manetho's Dyn. XIII (VI of Ptolemy) taken by some accident from the hieratic lists. In years too he would have made out either expressly or by implication exactly the same sum with Manetho, viz. 3555 to Nectanebo, ending in B.C. 345, had not his informants as it seems disallowed and cut off the 63 years added by Manetho to his first dynasty of kings, substituting its true sum of 190 for Manetho's sum of 253 years. Hence the total sum of years of kings accounted for by Diodorus instead of being 3555 is $(3555 - 63 =)$ 3492 to Nectanebo, or 3503 to the passage of Alexander. He has at the same time paralleled and filled up with supplementary generations or spaces of time Herodotus's reckoning from the generation contemporary with Troy, neglecting in this present series both Herodotus's statements and his own statements made elsewhere of many more kings before Proteus and Troy, and many more years, than are exhibited by the lists of Manetho. Yet, if any one had taxed him with this as with an inconsistency, he might have replied that in this series he did not *profess* to give all the kings or years in detail; and his informants might have prompted him to add, that having mentioned in one place a "multitude" of kings, and in another "many generations," without determining their number, it was just as open to any one to fill up these blanks with a greater number of kings to suit the hieratic lists, or even those of Ptolemy, as with the smaller number needed to complete his parallel with the lists of Manetho.

It is difficult to suppose that Diodorus was himself acquainted with the original work of Manetho, and yet abstained from making a more copious use of it, or quoting its author by name. But it is clear as regards his informants that besides their own hieratic lists, and both the lists and the full text of Manetho, to all of which they make manifest allusions (and probably the lists of Ptolemy may be added), they were perfectly well acquainted with all that Herodotus had written about Egypt, as indeed Manetho himself had been long before. And in some points *their* commentary upon Manetho's lists, especially as regards his last five dynasties, where the true dates are obscured by his unchro-

nological transpositions and interpolations, is by no means without historical value.

PASSAGES RESPECTING THE YEAR, AND THE SOTHIC
AND PHŒNIX CYCLES.

The earliest Greek notice of the Egyptian year is that given above by *Herodotus*, who mentions also their calendar, in which each of the 365 days had its own deity, and each of the XII months its own likewise. A little further on he adds that “the Twelve Gods” of the Greeks had been taken from the Egyptians; as if the source of this Greek number of *twelve*, which can scarcely be made out otherwise to be Egyptian, were to be traced to the gods of the XII months; though it is true that they do not answer to the account given of them by *Herodotus*, further than in this, that *Pan* (*Min*) is the *fifth*, and *Hercules* (*Khons*) the *ninth* of them. *Diodorus*, as has been seen above, is somewhat more exact respecting the year than *Herodotus*, as he mentions the difference of a quarter of a day between the civil and the natural, or at least the Canicular, year. And *Strabo*, who was in Egypt with *Ælius Gallus* about B.C. 20, carries us on yet a little further, and adds the mention of the Sothic Cycle, in which the overrunning quarter of a day was accumulated first in the quadriennium into one whole day, and at length in $365\frac{1}{4}$ such quadriennia into one whole year. His words are these: — “Λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἀστρονόμοι καὶ φιλόσοφοι μάλιστα οἱ ἐνθαῦτα ἱερεῖς· τούτων δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τὰς ἡμέρας μὴ κατὰ σελήνην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἥλιον, τοῖς τριακονθημέροις δώδεκα μῆσιν ἐπαγόντων πέντε ἡμέρας κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐπιτρέχοντος μορίου τινὸς τῆς ἡμέρας, περίοδόν τινα συντιθέασιν ἐξ ὅλων ἡμερῶν καὶ ὅλων ἐνιαυτῶν τοσοῦτων ὅσα μόρια τὰ ἐπιτρέχοντα συνελθόντα ποιεῖ ἡμέραν.” That is, “as some portion of a day overruns after the end of the civil year, and is still needed to complete the true year, they make a *certain period* consisting of whole days [viz. 1261] and whole years [viz. 4], according to the number of overrunning quarters which united make up one whole day, and the number again in which the days so formed accumulate into one whole year.” (Lib. xvii. p. 806, Cas. ap. Buns.

vol. iii. p. 55.) Bunsen also, following Lepsius, translates a passage from *Horapollo*, a writer of the 5th century (*Hierophant.* i. 8), as follows: — “In order to represent the current year the hierophants drew a representation of a quarter of an acre (a land measure of 150 feet). To name it they used the word *quarter* (τέταρτον); for they say that between one rising and another of the star Sothis there is a quarter of a day to be added, so that the *Year of God* [the Great Year, or Sothic Cycle, or the year accumulated in it out of the quarters of days?] consists of 365 [great?] days. For this reason also the Egyptians add [that is, carry to account] every four years a supplemental day, for four quarters make a whole day.” And he subjoins some words quoted by Lepsius (*Einl.* p. 53) from Strabo, asserting that the ἔτος (the year unit or quadrennial cycle) consisted of four ἐνιαυτοί (single years of 365 days): “τὸ δὲ ἔτος κατ’ Αἰγυπτίους τεττάρων ἐνιαυτῶν.” (*Strabo*, xvii. p. 816).

And in a passage of *Vettius Valens* (of the age of the Antonines) which Bunsen quotes from Lepsius, Ideler (vol. i. pp. 126, 171), and Bainbridge, the fixed epoch of the Egyptian *natural year* is connected with the heliacal rising of Sirius thus: “The Egyptians commenced *their year* (viz. the civil year in actual use) on the 1st of Thoth, [and] *their natural year* at the heliacal rising of the Dogstar.” But so “*their year*,” it is manifest, began together with “*their natural year*,” only (at intervals of 1461 civil or 1460 natural years) when the 1st of the movable Thoth coincided with the heliacal rising of Sirius.

It has been shown by modern calculations, *independently of any historical testimony*, that this coincidence at or about the latitude of Memphis, where Sirius for several thousands of years has risen heliacally on our July 20, occurred during quadriennia containing the years A.D. 139, B.C. 1322, B.C. 2782, and so on upwards. And there is direct historical testimony that these were in fact the Sothic epochs of the Egyptians.

For instance, *Censorinus*, after stating that the *great* or *canicular year* (annus magnus sive κυνικός) “begins when the heliacal rising of Sirius occurs on the 1st of the movable

Thoth," adds that in the year when he was writing, viz. E.N. 986 (A. D. 238), Thoth 1 was at June 25, and 99 years earlier, in the consulship of Antoninus Pius and Bruttius Præsens (A.D. 139), it was at July 20: "Nam, ut a nostris, ita ab Ægyptiis *quidam anni in litteras relati sunt* [that is, are used as *eras*], ut quos *Nabonazarii* nominant, quòd a primo ejus imperii anno consurgunt, quorum hic DCCCCLXXXVI est; item *Philippi*, qui ab excessu Alexandri Magni numerantur, et ad hunc usque perducti annos DLXII consummant. Sed horum initia (the commencements of these Egyptian *eras*) semper a primo die mensis ejus sumuntur cui apud Ægyptios nomen est Thoyth, quique hoc anno fuit ante diem vii. Kal. Jul. (i. e. June 25, A.D. 238), cum annis abhinc centum (that is, 99 full years earlier) Imperatore Antonino Pio et Bruttio Præsente Coss. (A.D. 139) idem dies fuerit ante diem xiii Kal. Aug. (July 20), *quo tempore solet canicula in Ægypto facere exortum*. Quare scire etiam licet *anni illius magni* qui, ut supradictum est, *Solaris et Canicularis et Dei Annus* vocatur *nunc agi vertentem annum centesimum*."

Pliny also (*Leps. Einl.*) quotes *Manilius* as saying that "in B.C. 97, when he wrote, it was [1]225 years since the beginning of the Cycle." But B.C. 97 + 1255 give the date B.C. 1322. The passage itself will be given below.

Two allusions to the cyclical epoch of B.C. 1322 under dates given by *Clement of Alexandria* for the Exodus are noticed elsewhere in this work. But there is another earlier and remarkable allusion to the same by *Josephus*, which deserves attention. He writes that the accession of Menes in Egypt was "above 1300 years before Solomon, long before Abraham." Now the accession of Menes, being really at B.C. 2224, preceded the birth of Abraham, set by Josephus's own reckoning at B.C. 2159, by only 65 years; and as for Solomon, to whom Josephus gives a reign of 80 years, and below whom he reckons 394 instead of 390 or 391 years of kings, if his accession were set at B.C. (1017 + 40 + 3 =) 1060, the accession of Menes would have preceded it by only (2224 - 1060 =) 1164 years. Or, if Josephus here corrected himself, and gave only 40 years to Solomon

and only 390 to the kings after him to the Captivity, even so the accession of Menes preceded that of Solomon by only $(2224 - 1017 =)$ 1207 years. But the grounds on which Josephus went in his calculation were these:—The Old Chronicle had distinctly named “443 years of the Cynic Cycle” after its Gods and Demigods and *before Menes*. What the true nature of this sum was has been explained elsewhere; but it was quite natural, and quite right, to understand that “the Cycle” was the true Sothic Cycle beginning and ending at true Sothic epochs. And since the first 443 years of the Cycle current under the Ptolemies, and still current when Josephus wrote, could not be thought of as preceding Menes, it seemed plain that the Cycle next preceding this must be the one intended. So Josephus, or the writer whom he followed, having reckoned up from B.C. 1322 to B.C. $(1322 + 1460 =)$ 2782 as to the head of the Cycle alluded to, deducted from that point 443 years. Thus he obtained B.C. 2339, which was really $(\text{B.C. } 2339 - 1017 = 1322)$ “above 1300 years before the accession of Solomon,” and $(\text{B.C. } 2339 - 2159 =)$ 180 years above the birth of Abraham. And such an interval *might* with propriety be called “long before Abraham,” which one of 65 years could not. Lastly, it is to be noticed that in this reckoning Josephus *does* correct his own peculiarity of reckoning elsewhere 80 years to Solomon, and justifies that correction which has been made for him above on the principle of compensation in Chapter I. For if the accession of Solomon had been put 40 or 43 years too high, that of Menes would have been not “more than 1300” but *less* (by about 20) than 1300 years before it.

M. Biot has quoted from a MS. probably of *Theon of Alexandria*, who wrote near the end of the 4th century, a passage referring to the 100th year of the era of Diocletian, and giving a rule how to find the date of the heliacal rising of Sirius for it or for any other year in the fixed or Alexandrian calendar of Egypt, but *through* the old movable calendar. The fixed calendar was introduced in B.C. 26 with the commencement of the 5th Egyptian year of Augustus, Thoth 1 being thenceforth attached in every leap year to August 30, but in common years to August 29.

Theon's rule is as follows: "For example," he writes, "in the year 100 of [the era of] *Diocletian* we take from [the era of] *Menophres* [*Setnecht* or *Amenephthes* of Manetho's Dynasty XIX, the predecessor of Rameses III.] to the end [the disuse of the era] of *Augustus* 1605 years, and thence 100, making in all 1705 years." [So there were 1461 vague years from July 20 B.C. 1322 to July 20 A.D. 139, and thence 145 to A.D. 284; and 100 more to the year proposed]. "Divide these 1705 years by 4, and you get 426 [for the number of the] quadriennia. Add to 426 the number 5, and you have 431. Deduct from 431 as many units as there were then [viz. in A.D. 384, when the era of Augustus was disused] quadriennia [since its adoption in B.C. 26], and these are 102. Then for the remaining 329 count off 329 days from Thoth 1, giving 30 to each month, and you will find the heliacal rising of Sirius to be on the 29th of Epiphi [the 11th month] in this present year of Diocletian. And the like do for any other year."

Two other passages which are also quoted, the one from *Porphyry*, and the other from the *Scholiast on Aratus*, are remarkable, because in the first of the two the commencement of the natural year with the heliacal rising of Sirius is spoken of as if it were still under the sign of *Cancer*, in the other as being under that of *Leo*. *Porphyry* (*De Antro Nymph.*, p. 246, ed. *Cantab.*) writes that "the Egyptians do not begin their [natural] year with Aquarius, but with *Cancer*; for with this sign of the Crab comes the star *Sothis*, which the Greeks call the Dogstar; and the heliacal rising of *Sothis* is their new year (*Νοῦμηνία*)."

But the *Scholiast on Aratus* (l. 152) speaks of the sign under which Sirius *actually* rose, viz. the sign of *Leo*: "The whole sign of the *Lion* is dedicated to the Sun; for then the Nile rises [the Nile however *begins* to rise at the solstice], and the Dogstar rises at the eleventh hour (that is, at dawn). At this period the [natural] year commences; and the Dogstar and its rising are considered as sacred to Isis." (*Bunsen, Egypt, &c.* vol. iii. pp. 53, 54.)

Besides the Sothic there was another great Cycle which was in a manner its supplement and correction. The exist-

ence of this was first obscurely hinted to the Greeks through Herodotus's fable of the Phœnix. "There is also," he writes (lib. ii. c. 73), another sacred bird called the *Phœnix*" (the *palm-bird*). "I cannot say that I ever myself saw it, except as painted; nor was it likely that I should, since it comes to them only at long intervals, intervals (as the Heliopolites say) of 500 years. And it comes, they say, precisely then when its father has died. For size and appearance, if it is really like what it is painted, its plumage is a mixture of red and gold, and in general form, and in size too, it most resembles an eagle. This Phœnix they say does as follows,—though I cannot believe them:—Taking wing from Arabia, it brings to the temple of the Sun [in Heliopolis] its father embalmed in myrrh, and entombs him there in the temple [that is, the new Cycle buries and succeeds the old in the hieratic reckoning kept by the priests at Heliopolis]. They say that it proceeds thus:—First, it moulds an egg of myrrh of just that size and weight which it can carry. Next, it makes trial whether it *can* lift and carry it; and when it has made sure that it will do, it hollows out the middle of the egg, puts its father in, and closes over the surface of the hollow with fresh myrrh. And after all this has been done, and the father has been thus encased, the weight of the egg remains exactly what it was before" [that is, $0 + 0 = 0$, hinting that the whole is a fable]. "And, having so embalmed and encased its father, the Phœnix flies off with him in the direction of Egypt, and carries him to the temple of the Sun. So, they say, this bird does."

The true sense of this fable is brought out by later writers. For instance, Lepsius quotes from *Synesius* (*Dion.* p. 49, ed. *Pet.* 1622.) these words; "τοῦ Φοίνικος, ᾧ τὰς περιόδους μετροῦσιν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι." and from *Nonnus*, who was a native of Panopolis (*Dionys.* xl. 394), the following:—

“Χιλιετὴς σοφὸς ὄρνις . . .

Φοῖνιξ τέρμα βίοιο φέρων αὐτόσπορον ἀρχὴν

Τίκτεται, ἰσοτύποιο χρόνου παλινάγρετος εἰκὼν.

Δύσας δ' ἐν πυρὶ γῆρας ἀμείβεται ἐκ πυρὸς ἥβην.”

Manilius, as quoted by *Pliny*, not only explained the

fabulous *bird* to mean a Cycle, but indicates the distinctive nature of this Cycle by adding that it “*brought the year round to the same point of the zodiac and of the natural seasons from which it had started.*” And this is what the *Sothic Cycle* did not. “*Vivere annis DIX*” [aliter DXI, XL, DXL, DLX, DCLX, but the true number should be either D or DII] “*cum hujus alitis vitâ magni conversionem anni [fieri] prodidit idem Manilius, iterumque significationes tempestatum et siderum easdem reverti: hoc autem circa meridiem incipere quo die signum Arietis sol intraverit; et fuisse ejus conversionis annum prodente se, P. Licinio Cn. Cornelio Coss., ducentessimum quintum decimum*” [aliter CCXXV, which is the true reading]. These Consuls belong to A. U. C. 657 of Varro, or B.C. 97; and B.C. 97 + 225 give B.C. 322; to which last date 1000 years more, which have fallen out, must be added, and then, after restoring “[M]CCXXV,” we shall obtain the date B.C. 1322. And it appears that though the nature of the Phœnix Cycle is rightly indicated in the first part of the quotation, there is a double error in the latter part, since the first point of the sign *Aries* suited neither for the epoch of the Phœnix nor for that of the Sothic Cycle (though the same sign it is true is mentioned also in connection with the ἀποκατάστασις of the Old Chronicle); and the figures, when restored, show that after beginning with the Phœnix Cycle Manilius passed unconsciously to the Sothic. The same confusion is to be found in other passages, in which the 1461 years of the Sothic Cycle are expressly assigned for the Phœnix, whether as a bird or as a period. (Comp. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* xxx. 3.)

What the true epoch of the Phœnix Cycle was is indicated, Lepsius thinks, by Horapollo, who says that the Phœnix among other things symbolises the *overflow* (πλήμμυραν), that is, the rise of the Nile, as it is an emblem of the Sun, the rise of the Nile being coincident with the summer solstice. And hence, if the Sothic and the Phœnix Cycles were taken to have originally commenced together in B.C. 3285, which *historically* they cannot have done, but which they might be shown to have done by retrospective calculation, this would increase the probability of these two Cycles being sometimes

confounded together. For the Egyptian priests *according to Porphyry* made the summer solstice (and *Vettius Valens* adds *Thoth* 1 in conjunction) to have been the original starting point for all their Cycles, and for the *natale mundi* itself.

But in truth, if only it be allowed *on testimony* that this Cycle was to bring round the calendar to the same point of the natural seasons, M. Biot's calculations of themselves suffice to show that its true number of vague Egyptian years must have been 1506; that its natural epochs or commencements (at which Pachons 1 was in conjunction with the summer solstice, and the present names of the Egyptian *tetramenia* agreed with the actual seasons) were quadriennia containing the years B.C. 275, B.C. 1780, B.C. 3285, and so on upwards; and further, that the natural subdivisions of this *great* Phœnix year, or Cycle of 1506 vague years, into its three *great* seasons would consist of three equal portions of 502 vague years each. And this calculation of itself shows that either the exact term of 502 or one of "about 500" years would naturally belong to the Phœnix; and that if other sums of 1004 or about 1000, and 1506 or 1505 or about 1500, were also mentioned, there would be in this no sort of inconsistency. If any one knew how the first 2922 years of human time were treated in the hieratic and other schemes as two Sothic Cycles, and given to the old world, he would not be surprised if even larger sums of 3012, 3000, or 6000 years, meaning two or four Phœnix Cycles, were to occur in connection with the idea of a cosmical or of a psychological ἀποκατάστασις. And, on the other hand, when it is observed that from the time of Dyn. XV of Manetho (XII of Ptolemy), or from a time still earlier, the Egyptians had not only festivals for the first day of each month, but also for the *halving* of each month, it becomes quite intelligible that we should find even so low a number as 251 or about 250 years named as a sufficient interval between two appearances of the Phœnix. It might be very natural, then, or rather a matter of course, to assert that a Phœnix had appeared at or about M. Biot's date of B.C. 275, "under that Ptolemy who reigned third of the Macedonians," that is, under Ptolemy Philadelphus ("sub Ptolemæo, qui ex

Macedonibus tertius regnavit"); and *Tacitus* may have been mistaken, as *Lepsius* suggests he was, in reckoning to the third from Soter, instead of reckoning to the third from Alexander. Another appearance, if set 251 years above B.C. 275, in B.C. 525, might be just included within the reign of Amasis, under whom Egypt was said to have enjoyed great material prosperity; while for Cambyses, even if the Phoenix *had* flown by chance to his first or second year, such an honour would have been improper. In B.C. ($526 + 251 =$) 776, the next epoch above, the Saïtes of Dyn. XXIV, of whom the unfortunate Bocchoris was the last, were not likely to attract a Phoenix. Nor was Egypt prospering in B.C. ($776 + 251 =$) 1027, when the Theban line was near its end, and exercised perhaps only a divided sovereignty. But in B.C. ($1027 + 251 =$) 1278, two Phoenix seasons above the epoch of M. Biot's calculation in B.C. 275 and one below B.C. 1780 (some one year of a quadriennium containing which was probably the first actual epoch of this Cycle), the reign of Rameses III., the Sesostris, chronologically at least, of Herodotus, was quite appropriate for the appearance of the Phoenix. The epoch too of the Sothic Cycle had only just preceded the accession of the same king. And above the time of Sesostris no earlier appearance of the Phoenix is mentioned by *Tacitus* (*Annal.* vi. 28.) nor by others.

Owing to causes, some at least of which are still plain, there was always some difficulty or uncertainty in fixing the precise year or day on which the season-festivals of the Phoenix Cycle were to be kept. *Ælian* (in a passage quoted by *Lepsius*, *Nat. Anim.* vi. 58.) describes how "the Egyptians themselves and even the priests are all ignorant or disagreed about the time, *till the bird comes* and settles the question; and as soon as *the priests announce the fact* they all keep the festival."

There seems also to have been some connection between the Phoenix, bird and Cycle, which brought back the seasons, and an ἀποκατάστασις or return of the soul after death. The palm in Coptic is φένι, and the sprout of the palm in hieroglyphics is the symbol of the year. It is called βαί, whence the Greek word βαῖς. Horapollon says that βαῖ

signifies also the *soul*; and this assertion is confirmed by the hieroglyphical inscriptions, in which it seems to have the sound of “*bey*.” It is commonly represented as a *bird* (we are here abridging from Lepsius) with a human head, often too with human arms, in the attitude of prayer. It seems that it was used as a figure for the soul purified through its period of wandering, and brought to its ἀποκατάστασις. Horapollon says that it “signifies a soul which passes a long time on earth,” and again, “a soul which after a long time returns home from a strange land.” “Καλεῖται παρ’ Αἰγυπτίοις ὁ ἱέραξ βαϊήθ, τούτεστι ψυχὴ καὶ καρδία.” And again: “Ἀποκατάστασιν δὲ πολυχρόνιον βουλόμενοι σημῆναι, φοίνικα τὸ ὄρνεον ζωγραφοῦσι.” And elsewhere: “Ψυχὴν δὲ ἐνταῦθα πολὺν χρόνον διατρίβουσιν βουλόμενοι γράφει φοίνικα τὸ ὄρνεον ζωγραφοῦσιν.” And lastly, “Καὶ τὸν χρόνῳ δὲ ἀπὸ ξένης ἐπιδημοῦντα δηλοῦντες πάλιν φοίνικα τὸ ὄρνεον ζωγραφοῦσι.” (*Horap. Hierogl.* i. 7, ii. 57, i. 34, and i. 35.) Lepsius mentions further that in the sculptures at Medinet Habou (of Rameses III.) the Phoenix, instead of having, as it commonly has, a bird’s body with perhaps a human head and arms extended in prayer, is represented with a bird’s head only, and all the rest of it as a man, with the arms in the same attitude of prayer in which they are usually attached to the bird. It has a *star* before it. This is the king himself in the form of the Phoenix. (The Roman “*Divus*” too was in later times expressed by the star.) Often before the bird there is the word “*rechit*” or “*rechi*,” which is rendered “the pure [spirits],” from a root signifying to *wash*. It designates then the human souls purified at the end of their wanderings. In the tombs of Beni-Hassan, and in others of the time of the pyramids, the Phoenix occurs also without the human arms extended in prayer, and *simply as a bird*, with the same word “*rechi*.” But in these cases it is very like the bird called *Kibitz*, with its tuft on the back of the head. We have it *once* also as the emblem of a period of time, viz. on the sarcophagus of the queen *Anchnes*, found at Thebes and now in the British Museum, where Osiris is styled “king of the periods of the pure spirits,” that is, the periods of the Phoenix.

In the Egyptian lists of Syncellus, copied, seemingly, from those of Anianus and Panodorus, and so of the 5th century, it is noted of *Aseth*, the last of the six Shepherds of Manetho's Dyn. XVII as given by Josephus, that "he added to the year the 5 *epagomenæ*, and made it to consist thenceforth of 365 days, whereas before it had had only 360." (The original Greek may be found in Chapter VII.) It is true that a further notice follows, that "in his time the deified calf was named Apis," which is an unmeaning corruption and transposition of a notice attached by Manetho to *Bochus*, the second king of his second Dynasty of Tanites. But this is easily accounted for, as Anianus had cut off and disallowed all Manetho's early dynasties as anterior to the Dispersion, but still wished to reproduce his admission that the deification of beasts had commenced only under the kings. So he ascribed it, however unsuitably, to the Shepherds, that it might be somewhat earlier than the Exodus. But the other notice respecting the year must also have had some Egyptian source; and it is remarkable that it is found attached to a reign which, as may be collected from Manetho's lists, covered the space between the years 1797 and 1748 B.C. What makes this to be so remarkable is the fact that it was in a quadriennium containing the year B.C. 1780, and so precisely under this king *Aseth*, that Pachons 1 coincided with the summer solstice, and the names of the tetramenia following were in agreement with the actual seasons. The phases of the moon too then began in conjunction with the Egyptian months. And from certain indications, entirely independent of any tradition or testimony, both M. Biot himself and others have conjectured that at some time or other, and most likely at or near this date of B.C. 1780, a change was made in the year and the calendar, so as to bring it to its present form; and especially that the 5 *epagomenæ* were then either first introduced or transposed, so as to come before Thoth instead of Pachons. It is to be observed moreover that Syncellus's notice attached to *Aseth* is certainly older than a variation from it which is connected by one of the Scholiasts on the *Timæus* of Plato with *Saites*, and which is quoted by some as "a valuable fragment pre-

served from the original Manetho," whereas, in truth, it is from the Manetho of *Eusebius*; and the cause of its being transferred from Aseth to Saïtes is this, that Eusebius had suppressed two out of the six Shepherds, Aseth being one of the two, and had besides cut down the years of the dynasty from 260 to 103, in order to pass it off as Dyn. XVII of the Old Chronicle which had four kings (Memphites, however, and not Shepherds) and 103 years. Only in one point the notice of the Scholiast is *a little less worthless* than it would have been had he copied from the original Manetho instead of copying indirectly from Ptolemy, that *Saïtes has his true name*; whereas, according to the original Manetho, the first king whom the Shepherds—who afterwards built Jerusalem—set up over themselves (to reign in Memphis), was named not from the god of the Sethroitic or Saitic Nome, but from the first king of the Hebrews, *Salatis* or *Saul*, the name being slightly varied, as *Osarsiph* is varied from *Joseph*. But that the Scholiast is really citing from Eusebius is manifest, for he names all the four kings, and only the four, of Eusebius, and adds Eusebius's sum for the four reigns, viz., "103 years." It is observable besides that he makes the change spoken of to have consisted in "adding half a day to the *month*, so as to bring it up [from 29½] to 30 days, and 6 [read 5] days to the year, so as to make it consist of 365 days." "Ὁ Σαῦτης προσέθηκε τῷ μηνὶ ὥρας ιβ', ὡς εἶναι ἡμερῶν λ', καὶ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἡμέρας ε' [read ε'], καὶ γέγονεν ἡμερῶν τξε'." Some, finding the addition of the *epagomenæ* ascribed in one text to Aseth the *last* and in another to Saïtes the *first* of the six Shepherds, have inferred that it was probably made under some one king or other of the same dynasty. And the inference, until further evidence be found, is allowable. It is also to be remembered that as facts were likely to be misplaced whenever there was a reason, so, whenever facts are found to have been misplaced, a reason is to be looked for. Two or three scattered circumstances in this case, if put together, may perhaps afford a hint, though a slight and uncertain one. Claudius Ptolemy's astronomical observations are attached to one taken on the 69th day of N.E. 887 or Sept. 26 in A.D. 139, the year of the Sothic epoch; and two Arab writers have mentioned obser-

vations "of the Egyptian Hermes older by 1985 years than those of Ptolemy;" as old, that is, as B.C. (1985 — 138 =) 1847. There should then have been living about B.C. 1847, which is *under the same dynasty with Aseth* but *earlier* than his reign, some man very remarkable for science and wisdom, so that he might even be called a Thoth or Hermes. Again, the introduction of a scientific system of land-surveying is somewhere ascribed to Sesostris, meaning Sesortasen III., who was king in Upper Egypt *at this very same date*. The name "*Hermes*" will carry us still further. For in a notice occurring elsewhere (in which care was taken to mention neither the time, nor the name of the king), it is said that certain years of *prodigiously abundant harvests* were once introduced by the appearance of a *double-headed* and again of a *four-headed crane*, the crane being the hieroglyph of *Thoth* or *Hermes*, as if it had been said "by the appearance of a very great and wonderful *interpreter*." (The second or four-headed crane is merely a reduplication, to distract attention, like the multiplication of floods and conflagrations.) *We* know now *when* those unexampled harvests were announced, and *by whom*; that it was under the reign of the Shepherd king Apophis; at the date B.C. 1878; and that the same "*Hermes*" ruled Egypt directly or by his counsels for 80 years, till B.C. 1798; so that the reign of Sesortasen III. also, and the date to which the observations "of *Hermes*" were assigned by the two Arab writers, are both included. It is open then to surmise that *some* alteration of the calendar, and the transposition perhaps, if not the *original* addition, of the epagomenæ was either made during his lifetime, under Apophis or Janias, or rather, perhaps, under *Aseth*, after his death, in accordance with recommendations and calculations which he had left.

In connection with this subject it may be remarked that though an *apparent* coincidence of the heliacal rising of Sirius and the solstice would extend only for 500 or 600 years on either side of the epoch of their true coincidence (which was according to M. Biot in a quadriennium including the year B.C. 3285), it by no means follows that therefore the idea of this coincidence, as still existing, must have ceased at an interval of 500 or 600 years below B.C.

3285 throughout all Egypt. If Sirius rose at *Memphis* in B.C. 3285, that is, 186 years before the Flood, exactly at the solstice, then 502 vague years later, viz. in B.C. 2783 or 317 years after the Flood, when there would be already in *reality* an interval of between 3 and 4 days, this discrepancy (owing to the uncertainties of actual observation) would scarcely be noticed by the first settlers of Lower Egypt; while higher up the country, at *Thebes* for instance, and at *Syene*, where Sirius rises 5 and 6 days earlier, the *true* coincidence of his rising with the solstice would not as yet have been even quite attained. So we may go down from B.C. 2783 a second Phœnix season of 502 vague years, and arrive at B.C. 2281, before the *apparent* discrepancy even at the *latitude of Memphis* would be very considerable. But after a third Phœnix season, viz. about B.C. $(2281 - 502 =) 1780$, the date which fixes so much the attention of M. Biot, the real discrepancy at Memphis had grown to something over 10 days, and the fixed *apparent* discrepancy would not be less than 5 days; while at Thebes also the true discrepancy would have grown to about 5 days, and so it would be beginning to be noticed as considerable; and it would be known to be increasing. At this precise time the three Egyptian seasons of the present calendar, and the twelve months beginning from the Water-Season and from the 1st of Pachons, either found themselves in agreement or were brought into agreement with the actual seasons, beginning from the solstice, with which Pachons 1 then coincided. The phases of the moon also began then together with the months from the same date. And at this time it is that M. Biot finds grounds for thinking that the five *epagomenæ* must have been either added or transposed so as to come after the end of Mesori before Thoth 1. In the latter case they would be suppressed at the place where they had stood previously, viz. at the end of Pharmouthi before Pachons 1, Pachons having been before perhaps the first month of the year. One chief reason for such a suppression and transposition of five days from before Pachons 1 may have been to make that day and the commencement of the Water-Season to coincide in B.C. 1780 with the summer solstice and with the commencement of the rise of the Nile, instead of being 5 days later.

Some light has been thrown on this question by the monuments; and more perhaps may still be obtained by the study of known or the discovery of fresh inscriptions. Not only is the notation of the year of 365 days with the five *epagomenæ* to be seen marked on a wooden chest of the time of Amunoph I. of Dyn. XVIII now in the Museum of Turin, but Lepsius has turned attention to an inscription at Beni-Hassan, in the tomb of a nobleman named Chnoum-hotep, in which the deceased, who was made governor in the city of Menat-Choufou in the 19th year of Amenemhe II. (B.C. 1914–1913), and who is represented receiving some Asiatics (*Aamou*) in the 6th year of Sesortasen II. (B.C. 1897–1896), relates of himself how he “had paid honour to the name of his father, had been liberal to the sanctuaries, had worshipped his images in the temples, had given them their sacrifices and pure libations, had distributed corn to the priests, — and, lastly, how he had offered oblations on all the festivals of the dead, viz. on those of the New Year (Thoth 1 of the civil or vague year), of the *Rise i. e.* of the commencement of the Sun-year (viz. of the fixed or canicular year); of the Great Year (of the quadrennial cycle?); of the Little Year (the lunar year of 354 days?); of the Year’s End; of the Great Panegyry (viz. after every 30 years, or month of years, four of which months, or 120 years, would make as it were one *season* of the *Sothic* Cycle); of the Great Heat (viz. of the month Mechir); of the Little Heat (of the month Phamenoth); of the *Five Epagomenæ* of the year; that of the *Sheteta*; the twelve Month Festivals; the twelve Half-month Festivals; and, lastly, all the Commencement Festivals of the Plain and of the Hill.” (*Brugsch, Histoire d’Egypte*, p. 59.) So the five *epagomenæ* seem to have been already in use at least as early as B.C. 1914, though Chnoum-hotep himself may have died, if it so happened, as late or later than B.C. 1780; and if they were “added” or inserted after the end of Messori at or near this latter date, in the time of Aseth, this “addition” must be understood to have been simultaneous with the suppression of them in another place, and so to have been only a transposition. Still earlier, in the reign of *Papa Maire* (B.C. 1994 to 1974), it is mentioned in

an inscription of his 18th year, in the valley of Hamamat, according to some that he celebrated a "Great Panegyry" (that is, the Thirty-year Festival), but according to M. Brugsch, that he "celebrated *for the first time* the Panegyry of a period the length of which is unknown."

The Demotic or Coptic names of the Egyptian months seem, according to Lepsius, by their signification, and by the deities with which they are connected, to be of *Theban* origin. So probably *they* were introduced under Dyn. XVIII, later than the time of Aseth. Their names for the convenience of the reader are here subjoined :

<i>Green-Season.</i>	<i>Harvest-Season.</i>	<i>Water-Season.</i>
I. Thoth.	I. Tobi.	I. Pachons.
II. Phaophi.	II. Mechir.	II. Paôni.
III. Hathor.	III. Phamenoth.	III. Epiphi.
IV. Choiak.	IV. Pharmouthi.	IV. Messori.

The idea of the ἀποκατάστασις with its period of two spaces like Sothic Cycles, increased to three, and reckoned as xxv Cycles of nominal years, has been explained in Chapter I.; and if it has been rightly accounted for it is plain that the number of xxv Cycles was not obtained by any erroneous calculation of the precession of the equinoxes and the solstices. If indeed the Egyptians had taken the move of the equinoctial point in 100 years to be something less than the 360th part of the sphere, that is just a day, they might so have made the period of a cosmical ἀποκατάστασις to consist of $(100 \times 365\frac{1}{4} =) 36,525$ of their vague years, instead of 25,885 mean tropical years or 25,884 mean sidereal years, which according to M. Biot would be the true number. But that the Egyptians did so is a mere imagination; and it would be nothing more even were it true that the same idea had suggested itself before to Hipparchus, or to any other Greek writer; or even if in consequence some had adopted such a calculation of the precession as their own, supposing it to be the true.

A period of 25,885 years, as has been said, would result from the difference between the sidereal and the mean natural, solar, or tropical year; since the former consists of $365^d \ 6^h \ 9^m \ 9^s$ and the latter of only $365^d \ 5^h \ 48^m \ 50^s \ 24''$;

and the excess of the former, (viz. $20^m 18^s 36''$ (the angle of precession being $50'' \cdot 10$), is such, that 25,884 of its years equal 25,885 of the latter. But the Egyptians had for their fixed or natural year not the mean tropical, but the canicular (equal to the uncorrected Julian), which being in length *between the sidereal and the tropical*, exceeding the latter by $11^m 9^s 36''$ and being itself exceeded by the former by only $9^m 9^s$, the period of that ἀποκατάστασις which should bring the rising of Sirius round *as if* through all the signs of the zodiac to the point from which it had first started—let us say to the summer solstice—instead of being only 25,885, would be (according to Mr. Greswell) about 48,000 years; that is, if 30 degrees in space or 31 days in time are allowed for every 4000 years. This, then, rather than any other sum would have suited the Egyptians for an ἀποκατάστασις *really and strictly zodiacal*, which that of the Old Chronicle was *not*, even though it may have been presented for the sake of making it more intelligible to the Greeks, as a period bringing all things round to the first point of the *Ram*. And the sum of 48,863 years named by Diogenes Laertius looks much more like a calculation based on the removal of Sirius from the solstice, than the sum of 36,525 looks like a calculation based on the difference between the sidereal and the tropical year. The 48,863 years too are all *full*, and, if any one please, *real*, though of course of cosmical not of human time. Still, as neither this whole sum (which is compound, and *as a whole* unyclical), nor that month of xxx Sothic cycles which makes the bulk of it (and to which the true and unyclical reckoning of human time is merely appended), begin from or end with any Phoenix epoch, nor are resolvable into Phoenix cycles, or seasons, nor exhibit the sum really required for a Phoenix ἀποκατάστασις, and as, besides, the origin of the month of Sothic cycles in the abovementioned scheme preserved by Diogenes Laertius has been otherwise and sufficiently accounted for, it is plain that the *similarity* or approximation of the whole compound sum of 48,863 years to such a sum as *might have been* calculated by the Egyptians for a zodiacal ἀποκατάστασις is merely accidental.

CHAP. VI.

JULIUS AFRICANUS.

THE lists of Manetho, the compilation as we suppose of Ptolemy of Mendes, have been transcribed from the chronological work of Julius Africanus both by the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius, who wrote in the fourth century, and by George Syncellus, who wrote at the beginning of the ninth; but by the former of the two with such variations, that Syncellus imagined he must have had before him some other edition of Manetho than that used by Africanus; whereas in truth he had not even that, but made up a Manetho of his own partly copied from the lists of Africanus, which he used as materials, and partly altered by himself so as to suit his own system. Syncellus, who happily had less of theory, besides faithfully transcribing the lists both of Africanus and of Eusebius, as if they were "the two most remarkable of the differing editions of Manetho," has given also a part of the "Theban" list of Eratosthenes, which he found in Apollodorus, and a fourth "Egyptian" series, suited to his own chronology, and derived from the Chronography of two Egyptian monks of the fifth century, Anianus and Pano-dorus. It will be useful to give some account of the general chronology of each of these Christian writers, and to compare with it their Egyptian lists; that so we may be the better able both to assure ourselves of their fidelity in transcribing what did not suit their own systems, or what they had no motive for altering; and also to understand the sources of any such peculiarities and variations as their own systems may have required or suggested.

To begin with Julius Africanus: he was born, as his surname implies, in Africa. When Emmaus in Palestine was rebuilt, at his instance, as Nicopolis, under Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Heliogabalus), who reigned from A.D. 218 to A.D. 222, Africanus, we are told, was sent back thither; and he seems to have become bishop of the same city. He founded at Cæsarea the library which was afterwards enlarged by Eusebius; and

he compiled a chronological work in five books, which, commencing (according to Photius) from the Creation, and, no doubt, according to the Antiochian reckoning from September 1, made 5500 years to Christ, that is, to August 31 following the Nativity, which his 5500th year was supposed to include, and 5531 years to the Crucifixion, that is, to August 31 following it, giving one year only, or one year and 7 months at most, for the public ministry of Christ. And from thence to the end of Olymp. 249 δ' , or to the commencement of Olymp. 250, after the 3rd year of Heliogabalus, he reckoned 192 [191] years. So in all he accounted for a sum of "5723 [5722] years" ending Aug. 31, A.D. 221; and therefore putting the Crucifixion in A.D. (221 — 192 =) 29 [30], the Nativity in B.C. 3, and the creation at Sept. 1, B.C. 5502 of anticipated Julian reckoning in terms of the vulgar era. Thus he ended his work very nearly at the same date with Hippolytus, Bishop of Porto, who about the same time in the West composed a Chronicle also commencing from the Creation, and exhibiting, probably, from the time of the Exodus the dates of the Hebrew Passovers and of the Christian Easters down to the first year of Alexander Severus, as he reckons it, viz. A.D. 222, whence his own Paschal Cycle begins.

Africanus quotes Tatian, a writer of the second century, as having extracted from Apion a quotation from Ptolemy of Mendes respecting the synchronism of Moses and the Exodus with Inachus; and under the designation of "some accurate Christian writers" he seems elsewhere to allude to the same Tatian and to Clement of Alexandria, of whom he says that "he was known by his writings in the reign of Commodus" (that is, about A.D. 180), and who had thrown together, though in a loose way, a considerable body of materials for connecting sacred and profane chronology. Of these materials Africanus seems to have made use. He lets us know incidentally of himself that he had been in Egypt to see Heracles, and had bought there at least one "sacred" or hieratic book (for this is all that the expression "sacred book" need mean) written by an author named Souphis, and so the namesake of the builder of the great pyramid. And this Souphis Africanus understood — perhaps he was ex-

pressly told so by the vendor, who extolled the book as something of great value,—was no other than the king himself. During this same visit to Egypt, it may be, he acquired, or saw and made extracts from, a copy of the Manetho of Ptolemy of Mendes, in the body of which work he found more or less of the original Manetho, besides Ptolemy's own arrangement and alterations, and in the Introduction an account of the Old Chronicle.

With regard to the general sum of sacred and true chronology, as he regarded it, and its relation to the sums exhibited by the Egyptians and by the writers of other heathen nations, Africanus in his First Book had the following passage:—

“*Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ κομπωδέστερον χρόνων περιττὰς περιόδους καὶ μυριάδας ἐτῶν . . . ἐξέθεντο . . . ὥς τινες τῶν ταῦτα ἀκριβοῦν δοξάντων συστέλλοντες σεληνιαίους εἶπον ἐνιαυτοὺς· [οὐ] οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἀπονευενκότες συμπίπτουσι ταῖς ἢ καὶ θ' χιλιάσιν ἐτῶν ὥς Αἰγυπτίων οἱ παρὰ Πλάτωνα ἱερεῖς εἰς Σόλωνα καταριθμοῦντες οὐκ ἀληθεύουσιν. Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα· Τὰ μὲν γὰρ Φοινίκων τρισμύρια ἔτη, ἣ τὴν τῶν Χαλδαίων λῆρον τὸν τῶν μὴ' μυριάδων τί δεῖ λέγειν; ἐκ τούτων γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γεγονότες, ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ ἀρξάμενοι, ἀτυφώτερόν τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως, μετὰ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διὰ τοῦ Μωυσέως πνεύματος ἐκ τε τῶν λοιπῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν ἱστοριῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐτῶν εφ' (πεντακισχιλίων πεντακοσίων) εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ Σωτηρίου Λόγου τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς μοναρχίας τῶν Καισάρων κηρυττομένην παραδεδώκασιν.”*

“The Egyptians,” that is, “to make the greater show, in their vain boasting exhibited fanciful cycles and myriads of years; . . . which certain writers, who have got the credit of being the most exact in such matters, have reduced, calling these multitudes of years month-years. Nevertheless, these equally go off into fable, and exhibit sums similar to those 8000 and 9000 years which the Egyptian priests in Plato are said to have reckoned to Solon. And, if they did so reckon them, they certainly lied.” And a little further on: “For, as for the 30,000 years of the Phœnicians, or the wild fable of the Chaldæans, who make 48,000, they need not detain us. For the Jews, who were originally derived from these same Chaldæans through their ancestor Abraham,

have less pompously and in a matter-of-fact way, with the spirit of truth speaking through Moses, and from their other historical books, delivered to us a sum of 5500 years to the manifestation of the [Divine] Word for our salvation which was proclaimed under the reign of the Cæsars."

Before showing in detail how Africanus made out his sum of 5500 years to the Nativity, it is necessary to notice one inconsistency in his reckonings, and to state how it is proposed to deal with it. For sometimes he gives 27 years to Joshua, sometimes only 25, like Josephus; while his sums require us to reckon only 428 years instead of 430 between the Call of Abraham and the Exodus whenever 27 years are given to Joshua, and, on the other hand, make it necessary when 430 years are reckoned from the Call to the Exodus to give to Joshua only 25. (In the summary of his scheme appended in some MSS. to the Chronicle of S. Jerom 25 years only are expressly given to Joshua.) So his inconsistent reckoning 27 years to Joshua may be rectified from himself by compensation, in the same way as similar peculiarities of Josephus have been rectified in Chapter I. of this volume. The reader therefore must bear in mind that we shall henceforth write as if Africanus made uniformly only 428 years (two too few) between the Call and the Exodus, and 67 (two too many) between the Exodus and the death of Joshua. Other writers — Syncellus even says that there is a consensus for it — have repeated and perpetuated this error of giving 27 years to Joshua (which Africanus perhaps took from Clement of Alexandria) without any such inconsistency, and implied correction, as that with which Africanus has accompanied it. This inconsistency being removed, the composition of the 5500 years is as follows: —

From the Creation to the *end* of the year of the Flood are reckoned 2262 years, the same sum as is made by the Septuagint version of the Book of Genesis and by Clement of Alexandria (but not by Hippolytus), exceeding by six units the 2256 of Josephus's Greek reckoning, which in its decades and units agrees with the 1656 of the present Hebrew text. Then Africanus makes 940 years to the birth of Abraham, not having (any more than Josephus or than the present Hebrew text) the second Cainan, nor following the

peculiarities of Josephus in inserting 12 years between the Flood and the birth of Arphaxad, or in adding 41 years to the 79 of Nahor before the birth of Terah. Then he adds $(545 - 2 =) 543$ to the death of Moses, $+(25 + 2 =) 27$ of Joshua, $+ 30$ of the Elders who outlived Joshua—exceeding by 20 the 10 of Josephus. These [20] are a peculiarity of his own; and their source may perhaps be traced to the word “*generation*” in the sacred narrative, “So Joshua died, and all the Elders who outlived Joshua, and *all that generation* ;” which words Africanus misunderstood, and made out of them a complete generation of 30 years, commencing from after the death of Joshua. After this he gives rightly 390 years of Judges to the end of the 40 years of the Philistines *during which* Samson judged Israel (“in the days of the Philistines”) 20 years. But after these 390 he erroneously adds [20] *separate* years for Samson’s judgeship, as if they were *after* not “in the days of the Philistines.” Then [40] more “of democracy ;” and again “[40] of peace ;” making 100 years purely his own, and devoid of any foundation in the Scriptures. So at this point, with the 20 added to the Elders after Joshua, he seems to exceed in all by 120 years. But his excess is reduced shortly afterwards by a deficiency of 22 on the years of Samuel to [98]. For he reckons only 90 years in all for Eli and Samuel, including the first 20 years of Saul’s reign, before Samuel withdrew from him altogether. But thus, if the first 40 of these 90 years are allowed for Eli, and then 20 more are taken for the time of Samuel’s minority after the death of Eli (while the Ark abode at Kiriath Jearim “a long time, even 20 years,” to the completion of the 450 years of *Judges* reckoned by the Apostle “until Samuel the *Prophet*”), while the last 20 of the 90 belong to Saul conjointly with Samuel, there remain in the middle space only 10 other years for all the time during which Samuel, after attaining his majority, and holding the assembly at Mizpeh, judged Israel alone. Yet in this time from the age of 30, as may be presumed, he had come to be old and grey-headed ; and had had his sons acting for some time as deputy-judges in his stead, and giving offence to the people, so that they demanded a king. But the 450

years reckoned by St. Paul to the Judges from after Joshua and the Elders to Samuel being completed by adding to the 390 years the 40 of Eli and the 20 of Samuel's minority, the last 20 of these, and 20 more transferred by Josephus by a peculiarity of his own to Solomon (making 40 in all), being restored to this their true place, Josephus through this rectification adds indirectly 20 years to 12 others which he assigns expressly to Samuel *alone*; so that the whole time during which Samuel judges alone, from the assembly at Mizpeh to the demand for a king, is brought up to 32 years. So then, 22 out of the 32 years of Samuel's judging alone having been omitted by Africanus, this omission, on the principle of compensation, reduces his foregoing excess from 120 to 98. From the end of the 20th and last year of Saul governing conjointly with Samuel, that is, from the time when he began to reign alone, and "the Lord ceased to be inquired after all the days of Saul," to the commencement of the Captivity, he probably reckoned rightly, in the first instance at least, $100 + 258 + 132$ years to the end of the 10th of Zedekiah, making 490 years of neglect to be followed by 70 of penal *desolation* answering to the number of Sabatical years which had been neglected. For no one having *this* idea of the 70 years in his mind would think naturally, or, in the first instance, of making them to begin earlier than with the 11th year of Zedekiah, in which the Temple was burned. On this view, as long as he had the right reckoning for the kings above, but made the 70 years of the Captivity to end at the Persian accession of Cyrus, Sept. 1, B.C. 560, instead of ending with the 4th year of Darius Hystaspes, Aug. 31, B.C. 518, Africanus would interpolate in one place and by a single blunder between Nebuchadnezzar or Neri-glissar and Cyrus no fewer than 42 years. Syncellus, however, tells us that in the scheme of Africanus, in its final and published form, the Captivity was made to begin not with the 11th, but with the 1st of Zedekiah. The 490 years of neglect preceding were in that case made out by the help of 10 unhistorical years added somewhere to the earlier kings. Africanus perhaps adopted from S. Theophilus his variant of 39 instead of 29 years for Amaziah; and made $100 + 268 + 122 = 490$ years to the *accession* of Zedekiah, whose 1st

year was thus depressed to the same place which would otherwise have belonged to his 11th. And his first ten years being so depressed into the space of the Captivity, there needed of course a further addition of only 32 instead of 42 unhistorical years to make out its 70 years, so as to end at the Persian accession of Cyrus. So to Sept. 1 in B.C. 630, (which corrected would be B.C. $630 - 42 = 588$), whether it were called the beginning of the 11th or of the 1st of Zedekiah, Africanus made a sum of $(3184 + 503 + 97 + 490 + 90 + 490 =) 4872$ years; and to Sept. 1 in B.C. 560, which is the true date for the Persian accession of Cyrus only in terms of the fixed Antiochian year, he made $(4872 + 70 =) 4942$ years. And whether the Captivity were made to commence from the 11th or from the 1st of Zedekiah, and whether his unhistorical years were inserted all below, or 10 of them above and 32 below, its commencement, in both cases alike their sum between the death of Solomon and the accession of Cyrus in B.C. 560 was 42 years. These [42] added to his former excess of [98] make a total of [140] years peculiar to himself; after which he continues rightly enough (from Aug. 31, B.C. 560) with 230 years $(21 + 209)$ of the Persians, and 300 of the Macedonians, to the reduction of Egypt and the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra after the battle of Actium, that is, to Aug. 31, B.C. 30. At this point he has $(4872 + 70 + 230 + 300 =) 5472$ years; and 28 years more of Augustus being added will complete his 5500 years, which will end Aug. 31 in B.C. 2, according to the vulgar era. And *in* the last of these 5500 years, being the 5500th of the world according to Africanus, Christ was born; which should be on Dec. 25 in B.C. 3. And, reckoning from the termination of the year of his birth, that is, from Aug. 31, B.C. 2 (8 months after the supposed Nativity) 15 years of Augustus to Aug. 31 in A.D. 14, and again 15 years of Tiberius to Aug. 31 in A.D. 29, Africanus, as has been said above, supposes Christ to have commenced his public ministry some short time after the completion of his own 30th year, in the 15th year of Tiberius, and to have been crucified some 3 or 4 months after the completion of his 31st year in the 16th year of Tiberius. So Africanus put the Crucifixion in A.D. 30, not in but just after the Consulship of the two Gemini,

and in his own year of the world 5531 which ended Aug. 31 of that same Julian year A.D. 30. Thence, lastly, he counts "192 years" to the end of Olymp. 249 δ' and the end of the 3rd year of Heliogabalus, Aug. 31, A.D. 221, making in all to the same point "5723 years." But here he either means years current, or he goes one year into Olymp. 250, to A.D. 222, or he reckons as if he had put the Crucifixion in A.D. 29, and antedated the accession of Tiberius from Sept. 1, A.D. 13, or there is an error in the figures, and instead of 192 and 5723 they should be 191 and 5722.

In this scheme no account is taken of any interval between the end of the year of the Flood (on the day when Noah went forth from the Ark and the command was renewed to increase and multiply) and the birth of Arphaxad, which cannot be put less than 9 months later, though for mere purposes of reckoning 6 months are enough to allow, since the years reckoned from the birth of Arphaxad to that of Abraham are fixed in Abraham, and at other points below, to begin about the time of Easter. And the Scripture puts the birth of Arphaxad "in the second year after the Flood," which "second year," reckoned from the commencement of Africanus's year of the Flood, his A.M. 2262, would coincide with his A.M. 2263; and Arphaxad, being born in this year, would not be born till 9 months of it at least had passed. So the births of all the following Patriarchs, the birth of Abraham, the Call, the Exodus, the accessions of the later Judges, and those of the Kings down to the commencement of the Captivity, being all reckoned in years from the births of Arphaxad and of Abraham, and the commencements of the years so reckoned being from Abraham downwards fixed not to the autumnal but to the vernal season, it follows that the events to which Africanus reckons after the Flood must all, down to the commencement of the Captivity, be understood to have occurred some six months more or less after the completion of that sum of years which in each case is specified. On the other hand, *after* the commencement of the Captivity, in reckoning the years of the Babylonians, Persians, and Macedonians, he takes no notice of the difference between their Nabonassarian or vague Egyptian years of only 365 days each and Hebrew or Julian years of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days.

Thus his omission of some months, while reckoning downwards to the Captivity in Hebrew years, and his addition of some months in reckoning upwards to the same point of the Captivity, by identifying Nabonassarian with Hebrew or Julian years, nearly balance one another; and what we have to do in rendering his years of the world into Julian years B.C. is to put all the events which he reckons to after the Flood, down to B.C. 519 (when two Nabonassarian years began within the limits of one and the same Julian year), later by one year than that answering to the year A.M. which he names. Thus the birth of Abraham is put by Africanus *at* (which really means *after*) the completion of his A.M. ($2262 + 940 =$) 3202, which seems identical with Aug. 31 in B.C. ($2 + 2298 =$) 2300. We must put it then for him in the spring of B.C. 2299. To the Exodus he makes ($2262 + 940 + 503 =$) 3705 years complete. This should be at Aug. 31 in B.C. ($2 + 1795 =$) 1797. We must put it then for him in the following spring of B.C. 1796. The 1st of Zedekiah, as he seems to reckon, begins Sept. 1 after his A.M. 4872, which should be in B.C. ($2 + 628 =$) 630. We must make it begin then for Africanus not in the autumn of B.C. 630, but in the spring of B.C. 629; or, if we suppress his interpolation of 42 years, not in the autumn of B.C. 588, but in the spring of B.C. 587, and the burning of the Temple will be 4 months later in the same year. And the 70 years will begin from the spring of B.C. 587, not from the autumn preceding. And the [Persian] accession of Cyrus, which is according to him at or after Aug. 31, at the end of his A.M. 4942, as if at Sept. 1 in B.C. ($2 + 558 =$) 560, will be put by us at Jan. 11 in B.C. 559. But when we come down 42 Nabonassarian years later, to the 4th of Darius Hystaspes, which Africanus makes to coincide with his A.M. 4984 and to end Aug. 31 in B.C. 518, we no longer have to move on to the spring of the next Julian year for his true date. For in the Julian year B.C. 519 both the 229th and the 230th years of the era of Nabonassar began, the one of them on Jan. 1 and the other on Dec. 31, and consequently the 70 years reckoned from the spring of B.C. 587 ended not in the spring of B.C. 517, but late in the winter of B.C. 518. And thenceforth, as we

proceed downwards, the Nabonassarian and Egyptian years end in the same Julian year B.C. which is indicated by the reckoning of Africanus; and every 4th year earlier by one day; so as at length in B.C. 34 to coincide exactly with the year of Africanus, beginning Sept. 1 and ending Aug. 31. And not many years after that the vague Nabonassarian year was fixed and made to coincide for ever with the Julian, beginning from the same time, viz., from Sept. 1.

But in reckoning upwards from Aug. 31 in B.C. 2, the end of A.M. 5500 of Africanus, we go up according to him to Sept. 1, B.C. 330, for the commencement of the first year of the Macedonians, but in truth only to Nov. 14 of that Julian year; thence 188 years to the commencement of the 5th year of Darius Hystaspes, according to him to Sept. B.C. 518, but really only to Dec. 31, the 4th having begun according to him with Sept. 1 in B.C. 519, and the 3rd with Sept. 1 in B.C. 520, while in truth the 4th began only on Dec. 31 in B.C. 519, and the 3rd only on Jan. 1 in the same year. And from the end of the 4th of Darius we go up according to him 42 years to the [first or Persian] accession of Cyrus, to Sept. 1 in B.C. 560, but in truth only to Jan. 11 in B.C. 559; and thence 70 years according to him to Sept. 1 in B.C. 630 (or, if his excess of $10 + 32 = 42$ years wherever placed be suppressed, 28 only to Sept. 1 in B.C. 588), but in truth only to Jan. 28 in B.C. 629 (or, with the correction, to Jan. 18 in B.C. 587). And according to him we should reckon up from Sept. 1 in B.C. 630 or B.C. 588 ($+490 + 90 + 490 + 97 =$) 1167 years to the Exodus to Sept. 1 in B.C. 1797 or B.C. 1755. But he is to be understood to put it in Nisan of B.C. 1796 or 1754. And so on, up to the Call of Abraham, and to the birth of Arphaxad, in Nisan B.C. 2229, and in Nisan (or rather 3 months later) B.C. 3249. Then 6 (or rather 9) months to Sept. 1 in B.C. 3240. And, lastly, 2262 more to Sept. 1 in B.C. 5502 his epoch of the creation in terms of the vulgar era.

The total sum of Africanus from the creation to the Nativity and to the vulgar era, or rather to Aug. 31 in A.D. 1, when his year including the vulgar era ends, being 5502

years, exceeds the total sum of the sacred Scriptures and of Josephus as harmonised above (being 5362) by 140 years, that is, by 134 years, besides the 6 units before the Flood. And for the time from the birth of Abraham to Christ (reckoning to Aug. 31, A.D. 1), which alone has any historical importance, the total of Africanus, being 2300 years, exceeds the total of Josephus and of the Scriptures, which is 2160, by $(20 + 78 + 42 =)$ 140 years, arising out of four peculiar and uncompensated additions of 20 years to the Elders after Joshua, of 78 between the Philistines and Eli, of 10 probably to Amaziah, and of 32 between the accession of Zedekiah and that of Cyrus. Also, there is a further occasional excess of one year in his reckonings (making a 141st) in consequence of his reckoning Nabonassarian and Egyptian as identical with Hebrew years. This makes his dates above Sept. 1 in B.C. 34, when the vague Nabonassarian and Egyptian year coincided with his own fixed year, liable to be too high by one year for his own reckoning, and those above Jan. 1 in B.C. 519, when the vague year nearly coincided with the Julian, liable to be too high by one year for ours. And if he had attempted to parallel the years of the Egyptian kings synchronistically with his own sacred series, he would have placed his Egyptian dates above B.C. $(34 + 1460$ and $519 + 1460 =)$ 1494 and B.C. 1979 *two* years too high for his own and for our reckoning respectively; and above B.C. $(1494 + 1460$ and $1979 + 1460 =)$ 2954 and B.C. 3439 *three* years too high, and so on. So above Jan. 20 in B.C. 597, where he has 32 surplus years, his dates in terms of the Julian B.C. are $(1 + 32 =)$ 33 years too high, and above the reign of Amaziah 43 years too high, up to the first year of Samuel's minority, the 52nd preceding his 490 of Kings. At that point he may be said to add 78 years more, so that his dates above it become too high by $(43 + 78 =)$ 121 years. And, lastly, the dates above the 10th year preceding the first servitude, before which he interpolates 20 years, are set $(121 + 20 =)$ 141 years too high: and so they remain up to the birth of Arphaxad, where, some months being neglected, the commencements of the years of the Flood and of the Creation are set in Julian reckoning only 140 years too high.

This scheme of Africanus may now be applied to that Egyptian reckoning of true human time which is contained pure in the sum of years mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, and which underlies all the other four Egyptian schemes which have been discussed above. The Egyptian reckoning, it will be remembered, needed only the reduction of its vague years to Julian or Canicular to coincide exactly (barring a few months cut off at the head of all) with the sacred chronology of Josephus rectified from himself and harmonised with the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures. If then we make the fixed point Thoth 1 = Jan. 2, B.C. 525, the epoch of the Egyptian accession of Cambyzes, to coincide with Sept. 1 B.C. 526, reckoned by Africanus as the same epoch (that is, as the commencement of the 5th Persian year of Cambyzes), and go back from this epoch, it follows that unless he supposed some great omissions in the Egyptian lists,—the accession of Apries, “to whom the Jews fled” after the burning of the temple, of Necho, who “took Jerusalem and carried away Jehoahaz,” of Tirhakah, who came out to fight Sennacherib in the 14th year of Hezekiah, of So (probably Sevechus), with whom Hoshea was in correspondence in the 2nd year of Hezekiah, will all appear 32 or 33 years — and that of Shishak, who took Jerusalem in the 5th year of Rehoboam, 42 or 43 years — below the dates required by Africanus. But the Exodus, being placed by him in B.C. 1797, will appear to have taken place in the first year of Aseth, the last of those same Shepherd kings under whom, according to Africanus, “Joseph is proved to have governed Egypt.” The descent of Jacob into Egypt being set at Sept. 1, B.C. 2010, would seem by the Egyptian lists to have been in the 25th year not of the Shepherds but of the Memphite Dyn. XVII of the Old Chronicle, under *Snefrou*; and the Call of Abraham being set at Sept. 1, B.C. 2225, his descent into Egypt would seem to have been only just after the accession of Menes.

But the Egyptian lists transcribed by Africanus were not a single chronological series, like that of the dynasties of the Old Chronicle, agreeing perfectly with the harmonised chronology of the Scriptures and Josephus, and putting Menes

at B.C. 2224 or 2225, really 65 years above, but according to Africanus 77 years below, the birth of Abraham): nor were they exactly those of the original Manetho, who added 1674 fresh years of kings to the 1881 of the Chronicle, and so might seem to carry Menes up 798 years above the Flood; but they were those (with some accidental variations too in the text) of Ptolemy of Mendes, who superadded 1919 years of antiquity even to the 3558 years of Manetho, and so might seem to put the accession of Menes 455 years above the Creation according to the joint scale of the Scriptures and Josephus, or $(455 - 140 =)$ 315 years above it according to the scale of Africanus. It will be advisable, therefore, before examining how he deals with particular synchronisms, to ascertain first how Africanus regarded that vast number of years which he transcribed, and in what relation he let them stand generally to his own chronology.

Now there is a passage of Eusebius in which he seems to give it as his own opinion that, the bulk of the vast periods of Manetho and the Old Chronicle being understood to consist of *months* reckoned and named as *years*, it may fairly be supposed that, when reduced to true years, they ought to cover the duration of the antediluvian world, and the space from the Flood to the Dispersion. Then the dynasties of Egyptian kings, which must of course be posterior to the Flood, may have commenced with Mizraim or Menes (supposed to be one and the same person), "who was *born* not so long after the Flood," though he may not have settled in Egypt till the time of the Dispersion. And if there are still too many kings for any time that can be allowed between Mizraim and Nectanebo, it is carefully to be borne in mind that there may well have been — indeed it is confessed that in old times there actually were — kings co-regnant with one another, and dynasties contemporary in different parts of Egypt, each confined within its own Nome or district.

It is clear that any writer taking this view of the matter would be under no necessity of disallowing any portion of Ptolemy's lists, but he might naturally give them entire, even though he had no clue to enable him to reduce them into chronological order, and to show which kings had been

co-regnant and for what part of their reigns, and which dynasties had been contemporaneous with one another, and for how long.

But *Eusebius* in his own chronology has done nothing of the kind. On the contrary he has cut off and disallowed in the Egyptian lists all that seemed to him to be before his own date for the birth of Abraham. And seeing that the series of the Old Chronicle, which he found together with Ptolemy's Manetho in Africanus, needed comparatively but little alteration to suit his purpose, he arbitrarily altered it, and then filled up its framework, as altered, with names and reigns from Ptolemy's Manetho. Making the accession of Menes and the head of Dyn. XVI to coincide with his date for the birth of Abraham, he exhibits from this point downwards a series of his own, following neither the Chronicle nor Ptolemy, but compiling unscrupulously from both. And we learn further from Syncellus that he distinctly rejected as unsatisfactory, and as incapable of producing any agreement with the truth, the idea of dealing with the myriads of years as with months. For Panodorus blamed Eusebius for this, and undertook himself to harmonise the vast Egyptian periods with sacred and true chronology by the help of this same principle of reduction.

It may therefore be inferred with confidence that this passage also (the sense of which has been given above) was transcribed like the names of Ptolemy's lists from Africanus, whose opinion, and not Eusebius's, it embodies. And it gives a clue to the right understanding of Africanus's method and principle in transcribing faithfully the lists of Ptolemy, though they seemed to carry back the Egyptian monarchy beyond the creation of man. It is Africanus then who writes (in the old Armenian version of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius) as follows :—

“Opportunum commodumque est etiam res Ægyptiacas hic subnectere ex Manethone, in quo præsertim historia ista niti videtur.

“Primus Ægyptiorum Deus Vulcanus fuit, qui etiam ignis repertor apud eos celebratur. Ex eo Sol: postea Agathodæmon: deinde Saturnus: tum Osiris: exin Osiridis

frater Typhon: ad extremum Horus, Osiridis et Isidis filius. Hi primi inter Ægyptios rerum potiti sunt.

“Deinceps continuatâ successione delapsa est regia potestas usque ad Bytin, per annos tredecim mille ac nongentos. *Lunarem tamen annum intelligo, videlicet trigintadiebus constantem: quem enim nunc mensem dicimus Ægyptii olim anni nomine indigitabant.*

“Post Deos regnavêre Heroes annis MCCLV [MCCXXX]. Rursusque alii Reges dominati sunt annis MDCCCXVII. Tum alii XXX Reges Memphitæ annis MDCCXC. Deinde alii Thinitæ x Reges annis CCCL. Secuta est Manium Heroumque dominatio annis MMMMMDCCCXIII.

“Summa temporum in undecim millia consurgit annorum, qui tamen *lunares nempe menstrui* sunt.

“Sed reverà dominatio quam narrant Ægyptii Deorum, Heroum, et Manium tenuisse putatur *lunares annos* omnino viginti quatuor mille et nongentos, ex quibus fiunt solares anni MMCCVI [MMLXXV].

“Atque hæc quidem si cum Hebræorum chronologiâ conferre volueris, *in eandem planè conspirare sententiam videbis.* Namque Ægyptus ab Hebræis Mezraimus appellatur. Mezraimus autem [non?] multis post diluvium annis exitit. Quippe ex Chamo Noachi filio post diluvium ortus est Ægyptus sive Mizraimus, qui primus ad Ægypti incolatum profectus est *quâ tempestate gentes huc illuc spargi cæperant*” [i. e. cccxcix saltem annis post diluvium secundum Africanum]. “Erat autem summa temporis ab Adamo ad diluvium secundum Hebræos annorum MMCCXLII” [i. e. secundum Eusebium, MMCLXII verò secundum Africanum].

“Cæterum, quum Ægyptii prærogativâ antiquitatis quamdam seriem *ante diluvium* tenere se jactent *Deorum, Heroum, et Manium* annis plus viginti mille regnantium, *planè æquum est* ut hi anni *in menses tot* convertantur *quot ab Hebræis memorantur anni*; nempe, *ut qui menses continentur in memoratis apud Hebræos annis ii totidem intelligantur Ægyptiorum lunares anni, pro eâ temporum summâ quæ a primo condito homine ad Mezraimum usque colligitur.* Etenim Mezraimus generis Ægyptiaci auctor fuit, ab eoque prima Ægyptiorum dynastia credenda est.”

According to this opinion, as the month-years of Manetho did not give when divided by 12 the requisite sum of 2262 full years to the Flood, still less the 400, 500, or 600 years on to the Dispersion, the *lunations* or month-years of the Egyptians might be *made into* as many months, that is, might fairly have as many *more* months *added*, as would enable them to make up the same sum as was obtainable by multiplying the years reckoned by the Hebrews into months. So, if Africanus reckoned ($2262 + 399 =$) 2661 years to the *birth* of Peleg, he would make or allow for the Egyptians $2661 \times 12 = 31,932$ month-years; or, if 2661 + 209 to the *death* of Peleg, he would allow $2870 \times 12 = 34,440$, converting, tacitly that is and by implication, in the latter case only 52 years fewer than were converted by the earliest Egyptian scheme, and just reversing the process of Ptolemy. For Ptolemy reduced from the Chronicle a sum greater than Manetho's, but less than that of the hieratic source of the Chronicle, and filled up what was wanting to two Cycles, so that it came to the same thing as if he had reduced the 34,064 months of the older hieratic scheme.

Thus Africanus, without attempting to fix exactly the first year of Menes-Mizraim in Egypt, or that of the first Dispersion, near to which he says it was, would be able to allow for the xxxi dynasties of Ptolemy's kings a space of not more than ($5502 - 2661 =$) 2841 years *at the most* (no distinction being made between Hebrew years and Egyptian) to our era, or 2509 to B.C. 332, nor less than ($5502 - 2870 =$) 2632 *at the least* to our era, or 2300 to B.C. 332. But the dynasties of the Manetho of Ptolemy exhibited a series of 5487 years ending in B.C. 332, or of 5819 to our era, exceeding by ($5819 - 2841 =$) 2978 at the least, or by ($5819 - 2632 =$) 3187 at the most, the space he had to allow them. In fact there were in Ptolemy's lists about double the number of years which he could place in single succession; and even with the scheme of the original Manetho the sum is ($3555 - 2509 =$) 1046 over what Africanus could allow at the most. In allusion to this discrepancy then, with which he had need to deal, he proceeds as follows:—

“Quod si temporum copia adhuc exuberet, *reputandum*

sedulo est plures fortasse Ægyptiorum reges unâ eâdemque ætate extitisse: namque *et Thinitas* [*i. e.* Tanitas] *et Memphis* eodem tempore regnavisse *aiunt*, *et Saitas et Æthiopes*, similiterque alios. [Sic forsan legendum transponendo.] Videntur præterea alii quoque alibi imperium tenuisse, atque hæ dynastiæ suo quæque in nomo semet continuisse; ita ut haud singuli reges successivam potestatem acceperint, sed alius alio loco eâdem ætate regnaverit. Atque hinc contigit ut tantus cumulus annorum confieret."

The construction in the Latin translation is confused, but the sense seems to be clearly this, that *both* some kings may have been co-regnant with others as colleagues, or as suzerains and subordinates, of which latter kind perhaps instances are meant to be given, and also ("præterea," "quoque,") some of the dynasties may have been at once independent and contemporary, being confined each to its own distinct territory. And this was not only indirectly suggested by the very difference of the local designations, but it was expressly acknowledged by Manetho himself, Chæremon, Artapanus, and others. And one expression of Africanus "*aiunt*" ("*they say*") is remarkable; as if, when he was in Egypt, he had made inquiries on the subject, and had been told by the Egyptians themselves that the early Memphites had been contemporary with the Tanites, and the first three nominal kings of Manetho's Saite Dyn. XXVI with the Ethiopians of his Dyn. XXV.

And, starting from the assertion that at the time of the insurrection against the Shepherds, or very shortly before, "there were many kings reigning in different parts of Egypt," and taking only the chief localities named by the original Manetho in connection with early dynasties, as Tanis, Memphis, Elephantine or *Abt*, Thebes, and Xoïs or *Kes*, and the shortest space of time reckoned by any scheme as intervening between Menes and Dyn. XVIII, viz., the $(190 + 103 + 184 =)$ 477 years of the Old Chronicle, Africanus would be able, with these alone, and *without reckoning* any line or lines of the Sethroitic *Shepherds*, to account easily for $(477 \times 5 =)$ 2385 years, and for about 125 kings, indeed for many more than 125 kings, if he wished. And

2385 years added to the ($1881 + 14 = 1895 - 477 =$) 1418 years (with about 86 more kings) below the head of Dyn. XVIII, would make a sum of 3803 years, which exceeds that of the true Manetho (viz. 3555 years), but is still short by 1684 years of the 5487 of Ptolemy. And these 1684 years might be accounted for by reckoning two or three more lines, viz. of the *Shepherds* mentioned by the original Manetho, and of the *Heracleopolites* and "other Shepherds" added by Ptolemy, and by noticing that one and the same general designation, as "Memphite" in Ptolemy's Dynasties III, IV, and VI, and "Diospolite" in others of his dynasties, was given to distinct lines of kings, besides allowing something for co-regnancies. But Africanus, having above the head of Dyn. XVIII (the true date for which is in B.C. 1748) not 477 years only like the Old Egyptian Chronicle, but ($5502 - 2661 = 2841 - 1797 =$) 1044 assignable to kings, needed only to suppose the co-existence during all this space of *four* local dynasties instead of *six* or *eight*, at least, which according to Ptolemy must have co-existed during some part of it, to obtain 4176 years, which with ($1894 - 477 =$) 1417 below the head of Dyn. XVIII added would become 5593. And these are more years than he found reckoned by Ptolemy to his xxxi dynasties. So that Africanus might well think that the explanation suggested was abundantly sufficient for its purpose, even though all the local dynasties had not commenced together at the same date with the monarchy of Menes-Mizraim.

Such being the view taken by Africanus of Ptolemy's xxxi dynasties of kings, it is manifest that he had no reason in transcribing the earlier dynasties either to alter or curtail them, or to be careful about synchronisms. Only, in giving the sums of the first two, and of the first four dynasties, he alludes to his view stated above, and reminds the reader of it by adding the words "*after the Flood*" (Ὁμοῦ α' καὶ β' δυναστείας, μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν, ἔτη φνέ'· and Ὁμοῦ τῶν δ' δυναστειῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἔτη ,αμς'), which it is clearly a mistake to ascribe to Syncellus, who distinctly objects that even the 3555 years of kings collected out of the original Manetho (whereas Ptolemy added 1919 more) ran

back so as to cover not only all the 534 years which he made between the Flood and the Dispersion, but also 656 of the years "*before the Flood*." And on this account he summarily disallows and cuts off 1190 of the 3555 years of the original Manetho, professing to allow the remaining 2365. But, if Ptolemy's dynasties had been spoken of, Syncellus, or the author whom he was following, would have had to cut off ($1190 + 1919 =$) 3109 years. Nor are the words "after the Flood" any more likely to have been added by Eusebius in mentioning the first dynasties of Ptolemy and Africanus, or, as he would call them, of Manetho. For Eusebius, equally with Syncellus, disallows and cuts off, without apology or explanation, all that seemed to rise not merely above the Flood or the Dispersion, but above his own date for the birth of Abraham. The words in question therefore were no doubt copied by Eusebius from Africanus, and either from Africanus himself or from Eusebius by Syncellus; and they are to be taken in connection with what has preceded, as throwing light on Africanus's view of the Egyptian lists both of Ptolemy and of Manetho himself.

For one especially, and that the earliest of the Hebrew synchronisms noticed by Africanus, there is need of the foregoing considerations. He had learned, as it seems, from Josephus and from others that the Patriarch Joseph came into Egypt and was raised to power under the Shepherd kings named in Dyn. XVII of the original Manetho, which is Dyn. XV of Ptolemy. Syncellus indeed says that there was a *consensus* that he came in the 17th year of *Apophis*. Nor is there any reason to doubt, after this assertion, that the note "*κατὰ τούτους Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς [βασιλεῖς?] Ἰωσήφ δεικνύται*" now joined with this dynasty, as cut down and transposed by Eusebius, was copied by him like other similar notices from Africanus. Now if Africanus had used the work of the original Manetho, or only those extracts from it which he might know from Josephus, the name of Apophis standing *fourth* of the six Shepherds, and the true date of the Exodus being 94 years below the head of Dyn. XVIII, the synchronism marked for Joseph would have agreed perfectly with the lists. Still, for Africanus (who imagined the Exo-

dus to have taken place at the very commencement of Dyn. XVIII) there would have been even so a difficulty, which would have made it inconvenient to name Apophis. But with the Manetho of Ptolemy which, with one or two accidental variations, is that of Africanus the synchronism of Joseph and the Shepherds of (Ptolemy's) Dyn. XV is at first sight utterly inexplicable, and that equally whether Apophis were named or not, and whether (being named) he were placed fourth of the six kings, as he was by the original Manetho, or last, as he is by Ptolemy and Africanus. For between the end of Dyn. XV, "under the kings of which Joseph is shown to have ruled Egypt," and the first king of Dyn. XVIII, Amosis, "under whom as we have proved," Africanus remarks, "Moses went forth from Egypt," there intervene in Ptolemy's and Africanus's list two whole dynasties with $(32 + 43 =) 75$ reigns and $(518 + 151 =) 669$ years. Nevertheless Africanus no doubt marked the synchronism of Joseph with Dyn. XV without hesitation, because his view, as explained above, left it open to suppose that the kings of the two intervening Dynasties, XVI and XVII, were two or three distinct lines of "other Shepherds," and of "Shepherds and Diospolites," contemporary with the more important line of Dyn. XV, those of Dyn. XVI being also understood to have commenced first, though, as inferiors, who continued under Dyn. XV, they might be mentioned after it. Nor is it to be thought that Africanus transposed Apophis so as to stand last of the six kings of Dyn. XV instead of fourth, as he stood in the original Manetho of Josephus, to suit some view of his own. For it plainly did *not* suit, that the king under whom Joseph was promoted should stand next in chronological order before Amosis under whom the Exodus was supposed, though erroneously, to have taken place; while, if the kings of Dyn. XVI and XVII intervened, the place of Apophis in Dyn. XV could matter nothing. But the placing of Apophis last of the six, though a variation from the original Manetho, was found by Africanus in the lists of Ptolemy, and was copied as found.

Africanus's combined sacred and Greek chronology in the form in which he seems to have left it may be stated thus :

Taking the accession of Cyrus in Olymp. 55 *a'*, really in the spring of B.C. 559 but for him at Sept. 1 B.C. 560, to be a fixed and known point, agreed upon in a manner by all, and coincident with the end of the 70 years of the Captivity, he goes up from this point in his sacred scale 70 years to the commencement of the 1st, or, as he may be thought to have reckoned originally, of the 11th year of Zedekiah, and thence 390 to the death of Solomon, or 490 to the separation of Samuel and Saul, and again 90 of Eli and Samuel, and 490 of Judges and of time appended to that of the Judges, and 30 of the Elders who outlived Joshua, and $(25 + 2 =)$ 27 of Joshua, and 40 of Moses. So he makes in all 1237 years between the accession of Cyrus or the end of the Captivity and the Exodus (2 years of the 1237, however, being merely transferred to Joshua below the Exodus from those 430 years which ought to have stood next above it, and which are reduced to 428). And thus the Exodus is put by him at Sept. 1, B.C. 1797. And for his Greek chronology he goes up from the accession of Cyrus 217 years to the head of his own year containing at its end the first Olympic contest, viz. to Sept. 1, in B.C. 777; and thence 1020 years to the Attic Flood of Ogyges, who founded Eleusis, in the time of Phoroneus. And so Ogyges, being $(217 + 1020 =)$ 1237 years above the accession of Cyrus, at Sept. 1 B.C. 1797, synchronises exactly with the Exodus; or rather, as we shall see below, the Exodus was made to synchronise with Ogyges. Again, from the head of his year containing the first Olympiad he made up to the foundation of Sicyon 1336 years, putting this at the head of the 28th year of the Patriarch Jacob, 316 years above the Exodus, that is in B.C. 2113 (so that the time allowed between Jacob's 130th year and the Exodus is shown to be only 213 instead of 215 years). And since he expressly says that the Exodus and the Flood of Ogyges were under *Phoroneus*, it is clear that he could not put the foundation of Argos by Inachus *more* than $50 + 59 = 109$ full years above Sept. 1 in B.C. 1797, that is, it could not be placed higher than Sept. 1 in B.C. 1906; while, on the other hand, as he makes 189 from Ogyges and the Exodus to Cecrops, and thence "*not quite*

400" to Troy, while the whole sum of years between Inachus and Troy, according to the older and longer reckoning which he followed, was 698, it is clear that the foundation of Argos by Inachus could not be placed *less* than 698 years above Sept. 1, in B.C. ($1797 - 189 = 1608 - 400 =$) 1208, the lowest admissible date for Troy. And, if so placed, it was at Sept. 1, in B.C. 1906, 207 years after the foundation of Sicyon; and the Flood of Ogyges and the Exodus were in the *last* year of Phoroneus. In fact Africanus, seeking for some support for this his own synchronism of the Exodus and *Phoroneus* (for Ptolemy had made it synchronise with Inachus), observes that some writers, and he names Polemo for one, put it under *Apis*, as if this opinion were identical, or all but identical, with his own, he having put it only one year above the accession of Apis.

The foundation of Sicyon 207 years before that of Argos would seem, if Syncellus is to be trusted, to have been the highest point distinctly fixed by Africanus in his profane chronology. For Syncellus blames him for having put the commencement of the *Assyrian* empire only 199 years above the foundation of Argos, making Argos to have been founded "in the 200th year of the Assyrians, in the time of Arius their fifth king," Belus being reckoned as the first. So Africanus, even while reckoning not as was usual from Ninus but from Belus, would have put the commencement of the Assyrian monarchy as low as B.C. 2105, above 100 years lower than other authors, who reckoned 975 years from the Median capture of Babylon, and again 526 years of *Afryrian empire*, properly so called, down to the revolt of Media, whether after B.C. 821, or later. But if from B.C. 821 we go up $526 + 975$ years, we obtain the date B.C. 2322, or if from B.C. 747 or 711 we obtain B.C. 2248 or 2205. And the observations of eclipses during 1903 years, sent to Aristotle by Callisthenes from Babylon, imply as high a commencement as B.C. ($331 + 1903 =$) 2234, 10 years above the date of the accession of Menes in Egypt; so that Berosus and Manetho might with truth be said to have begun their histories of the Babylonian and Egyptian monarchies nearly from the same year. If Africanus really gave the date imputed to

him by Syncellus, he must have put the first year of the Assyrians, according to his own reckoning, in the 36th of the Patriarch Jacob. But if Scaliger is right in supposing that Eusebius took his Assyrian names not directly from Ctesias, but from Africanus, then since he suppresses above Teutamus 4 kings, with 162 years, being just his difference from Africanus between the Exodus and Solomon, and yet puts the accession of Ninus at B.C. 2058, this would look as if Africanus had put it at B.C. $(2058 + 162 =) 2220$, only 4 years below the true date of the accession of Menes.

Downwards also in like manner Africanus reckoned his combined Greek and sacred history from the same fixed point of the accession of Cyrus, set at Sept. 1, B.C. 560, as has been stated above.

Whether he originally made from the death of Solomon to the desolation of Samaria 268 years (the number now required by his date, A.M. 4750), and began the 70 of the Captivity with the *first* of Zedekiah, or made at first 258 only to the desolation of Samaria, and began the 70 years with the *eleventh* of Zedekiah, as we have some reason for supposing, is chronologically immaterial. For in both cases alike he reckoned one and the same sum of 390 years from the death of Solomon to the Captivity, and the same sum of 70 years more after the 390 to the accession of Cyrus at B.C. 560. And it is all one whether there were 10 unhistorical years interpolated in the 390 above to be followed by 38 historical and only 32 unhistorical in the 70 below, or the 390 were all true and historical above while the 70 contain only 28 historical and 42 unhistorical years below.

From the commencement of Dyn. XVIII there is no longer in Egypt (to speak generally) any question of concurrent dynasties. So from that point all Egyptian lists, whether those of the original Manetho, of Ptolemy, or of Africanus, either exhibit or ought to exhibit one consecutive chronological series. And, after first ascertaining what precisely that series is in the lists of Africanus, we may proceed to compare it with his combined reckoning of sacred and Greek chronology explained above, and see how far the two series may accord with one another in their synchronisms.

Taking as a known and fixed basis, common to his sacred his Greek and his Egyptian reckonings, the commencement of Cambyse's fifth Persian year, marked as the year of his Egyptian accession in the heading of Dyn. XXVII of Ptolemy and Africanus, and fixed for Africanus to Sept. 1, B.C. 526, if we reckon upwards from this point according to *the true chronological scale of the Old Egyptian Chronicle*, we find $(177 + 44 + 44 + 19 + 48 + 121 + 228 + 194 + 348 =)$ 1223 years to the head of Dyn. XVIII, which so is placed in B.C. 1748, or for Africanus at Sept. 1, B.C. 1749. By the lists of *the original Manetho* we should find not 1223 but 1212, being fewer years by 11, and we should have to set the head of Dyn. XVIII at Sept. 1, B.C. 1738. By those of Ptolemy of Mendes, who added 15 years to Manetho's 333 in Dyn. XVIII, and 13 more to Manetho's 150 in Dyn. XXVI, we should have 1240, being 28 years more than Manetho's sum, and 17 more than that of the true reckoning of the Chronicle. But the sum obtained by reckoning up the years in *Africanus's copy of Ptolemy's lists* differs from all these three. It is neither 1223, nor 1212, nor 1240; but it is $(1240 - 13 =)$ 1227, its peculiarity being caused by this accident, that the particular MS. used by Africanus, while it gave generally the text of Ptolemy, had in places admitted variants derived from the original Manetho; and within the space now under discussion, while it *had* Ptolemy's addition of 15 years in Dyn. XVIII (see above pp. 445, 447), it had *not* in Dyn. XXVI his addition of 13 years. By this accident the sum exhibited by the Egyptian lists of Africanus, being 1227 years, falls short of that of Ptolemy by 13, but exceeds that of Manetho by 15 years, and it exceeds also the truth by 4 years. And according to this sum the head of Dyn. XVIII is fixed for Africanus to Sept. 1, B.C. 1753, which *would have been* in his sacred reckoning *just the date of the Exodus*, were it not for his blunder about the years of the Captivity and of the Kings, which first caused him to interpolate 42 years, and were it not also for his transposition of 2 years really belonging to the time before the Exodus to stand in connection with Joshua after it. These two causes, the one of them plainly a mere blunder, the other

as plainly a contrivance and an after-thought, thrust up the Exodus 44 years above the point where *without these two causes* he would have set it, viz. to B.C. 1797 instead of B.C. 1753. And yet we now find attached to the name of Amosis the head of Dyn. XVIII, standing as it does for him at Sept. 1, B.C. 1753, this remarkable notice: "in whose time Moses went forth from Egypt, *as we have shown*, though our present reckoning requires that he should be now still young." So Africanus has not merely retained this synchronism, from Ptolemy, though too low by 44 years for his own sacred and Greek chronology (and this is an instance of his honesty), but he has added words which make the synchronism his own, just as if the Exodus were really placed by him at the same point with the accession of Amosis.

Now, if we consider that the synchronism of Amosis and the Exodus was already in a manner in possession of the ground before Africanus wrote, having been asserted both by Manetho and by Ptolemy (by the latter it is true with the addition of Inachus), and accepted from them and repeated by many writers both Egyptian, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and by Christians as well as Jews and heathens, it will certainly seem in the highest degree improbable that Africanus should have either exhibited this synchronism by mere chance, or should have missed so exhibiting it only through two accidents, the one a mere blunder, and the other a minute adjustment of only two years; and this the more since, even if the synchronism itself had been historically true, the *years* found by Africanus in his Egyptian lists between the accessions of Cambyzes and Amosis were *too many by four*. But in point of fact the synchronism asserted was a falsehood involving a chronological error to the extent of 94 years.

Apart from his blunder about the accession of Cyrus and the Captivity, and his transposition (for whatever reason) of two years from above to below the Exodus, the original and essential peculiarity in the sacred scheme of Africanus consists only in his making 98 years too many by his conjectural insertions after the death of Joshua and before the government of Samuel. His excessive additions at these two points excite the wonder of Eusebius, who not seeing any imagin-

able cause or motive to bias Africanus's judgment taxes him with having fallen into "a gross or stupid error" (*crasso errore*), in making them. The additions *are* wonderful, no doubt, and they are made on very slight grounds. Still there is nothing about them like a mere mistake or blunder, like that made in reckoning the 70 years of the Captivity; nor can they be accounted for by stupidity. They are made at or near points where the Scriptures certainly left two breaks in the reckoning, and might be suspected to have left more than two, to be filled up by tradition or by inference. And the very fact that at points where *some* insertions were needed Africanus made such *excessive* insertions suggests of itself the suspicion that in making them he was influenced by some reckonings or synchronisms which had already a prescription in their favour, and with which he wished his own sacred reckoning to agree, or at least not to differ very widely.

Exactly the explanation wanted is supplied if we suppose him to have been influenced by that synchronism of Amosis and the Exodus, which was generally admitted when he wrote, and which he found marked in Ptolemy's Egyptian lists. For the assumption of this false synchronism, which puts the Exodus 94 years too high according to the true Egyptian chronology, but 98 too high according to Africanus's copy of Ptolemy's lists (for in them the accession of Amosis is too high by 4 years), would require, as a matter of course, the reckoning of 98 years too many between the Exodus and the end of the Captivity in the sacred scheme if the synchronism were to be exhibited. And 98 years is precisely the (uncompensated) excess arising from Africanus's insertions at the two points above-mentioned after Joshua and before Samuel.

All that is necessary is to suppose that in point of order *this* was Africanus's *first* and chief preparatory operation towards constructing his combined scheme of sacred and profane chronology below the Flood, viz. to make out two parallel lengths of the Egyptian and sacred reckoning from the head of Dyn. XVIII and the Exodus to the beginning of the Captivity or to its end, and the accession of Cyrus, and to the

Egyptian accession of Cambyses 34 years later. In the Scriptures there were two manifest breaks, and some uncertainties besides; while in those Egyptian lists which he had copied he found a consecutive series from the head of Dyn. XVIII downwards, and at the very head of this series the synchronism of the Exodus ready marked, as if on purpose for him, and established in a manner by the consent of all. It was therefore very natural that he too should accept this synchronism, and try so to fill up the void or doubtful intervals in making out his sacred reckoning as to agree with his Egyptian parallel and commentary, rather than make out first his sacred reckoning, bridging over the two void spaces, and settling other doubts besides, by unassisted estimates and decisions of his own, which after all would be sure to differ more or less from the requirements of the received synchronism. Thus the source of his undue additions, to the amount of 98 years, is fully and satisfactorily explained, and the synchronism of the Exodus with Amosis, though false in itself, and too high by this same amount of 98 years in his Egyptian lists, is made out by his sacred reckoning; or at least it *was* made out when he was at a certain stage in the process of constructing his chronology.

Next, let it be supposed, that as he continued his work downwards, in dealing with the synchronism of Cyrus and the end of the Captivity, he fell into a gross blunder ("crasso errore" Eusebius might in this case have said with truth), yet one by no means peculiar to himself, and interpolated 42 unhistorical years, 24 of them being produced by his making the Captivity to end at Cyrus's first Persian accession in B.C. 559 (for him 560) instead of his last or Median accession in B.C. 535 (for him 536), while the other 18 were produced by his supposing the 70 years which ended at Cyrus's accession to have begun either with the 11th of Zedekiah, or with the 1st of Zedekiah depressed into the place of the 11th, in B.C. 587 (for him 588), as Syncellus says was the case; whereas, in truth, the Captivity, ending at the accession of Cyrus, began with the 4th of Jehoiakim in B.C. 605 (for him 606). The interpolation of 42 years by this blunder respecting the Captivity being made *after* the

previous establishment of his parallel reckoning of 1227 years sacred and Egyptian between the head of Dyn. XVIII and the Exodus above and the Egyptian conquest of Cambyeses below, necessarily thrust up the Exodus by 42 years, from B.C. 1752 (for him 1753) to B.C. 1794 (for him 1795). So that agreement which had before been obtained was completely destroyed, and it became now as desirable to increase the Egyptian sum of years by 42 in order to suit the sacred reckoning, as it had been at an earlier stage desirable to increase the sacred reckoning by 98 to suit the Egyptian. But Africanus, having no such distinct indications to help him in adding to the Egyptian lists as he seemed to himself to have in constructing his sacred reckoning, was too honest to insert years arbitrarily *merely* because he wanted them, or to suppress the synchronism of Amosis and the Exodus, which was not of his own creation, merely because his attempt to exhibit it which had seemed at first successful had now become a failure. And, besides, he may probably have noticed in more than one place in his Egyptian lists such signs of chronological dislocations, and perhaps suppressions, as may have shaken his confidence in their accuracy, and may have determined him to leave Ptolemy's and his own joint assertion of the synchronism of Amosis and the Exodus as it stood, and even the words "as we have shown," though it stood 42 years—and even 44—below the date to which the Exodus after the completion of his work was distinctly assigned.

For, lastly, after the Exodus has been carried up to B.C. 1794 (for him 1795), Africanus, who in fixing it before at B.C. 1753 had thought probably that this date was far too low for the Greek synchronism of Inachus also connected with Amosis and Moses by Ptolemy, found that he had now brought the Exodus undesignedly into very close proximity with another popular Greek epoch, not quite so high as that of Inachus, but still one which would put Moses above almost all other Greek antiquity. This was the Attic epoch of the Flood of Ogyges (the founder of Eleusis, and contemporary of Phoroneus), which was placed by many Greek writers at an interval of 1020 years above the first Olym-

piad, that is, above July in B.C. 776, or for Africanus above Sept. 1 in B.C. 777. From this well-marked epoch his date for the Exodus differed now by only two years. And, for the convenience of obtaining this synchronism, he thought it allowable to adopt a reckoning which he found in Clement of Alexandria, viz. that which gave 27 instead of 25 years to Joshua. He seems, however, to have been aware that this reckoning was in itself erroneous; and therefore he would not suffer the change to cause any addition to his whole sum, but neutralised it and reduced it to a mere chronological dislocation by suppressing two out of the 430 years preceding the Exodus, as if in compensation for the two which he wished to add after it; or, as if these were the very same two years which disappeared from above, and were transferred to Joshua, only that they might be reckoned below. And thus the whole of Africanus's peculiarities, so far as they are known, or so far as they are of any importance, have been accounted for.

It has been suggested indeed by Syncellus and by Scaliger that the reason which determined the amount of excess in his sacred chronology to $(98 + 42 =)$ 140 years was this, that he wished to agree with others in making out a sum of 5500 years to the Nativity, though by discarding the second Cainan he would naturally have fallen short by 130 years. But the blunder to which 42 years of his excess are owing is common to him with some others who admitted the second Cainan; and neither the remaining 98 nor the whole sum of 140 answer to the sum said to be "*lost* by omitting him." And when one considers how other early writers, as Josephus, and Eusebius too, agree with him and with the Hebrew and Samaritan texts in omitting, or rather in not admitting, the 130 years of the second Cainan, it seems scarcely reasonable to speak of any sum of 5500 years, made out by their help, as if it had already a prescription in its favour. Africanus's own words that "the Hebrews by their inspired books and histories have taught us to make out a sum of 5500 years from the Creation to the Nativity" do not necessarily mean more than that he himself had collected from them this sum.

It is certainly true that Hippolytus, who wrote at the

very same time with Africanus, and made 110 years more before Abraham, having the 130 years of the second Cainan, but with only 2242 instead of 2262 to the Flood, nevertheless made exactly the same sum of 5500 years as Africanus made to the Nativity, ending, like the 5500 of Africanus, in B.C. 2 of the vulgar era. And it may be worth while to compare their sacred reckonings.

It was not likely nor indeed conceivable that any two authors should have concurred in making precisely the same insertions as have been made by Africanus about the times of Joshua and Samuel, unless indeed they had been working together, and had commenced with the same Egyptian lists before them, and with the same attention to Ptolemy's synchronism of Amosis and the Exodus which we have supposed for Africanus. Nor was it likely that any other author would coincide with him in reckoning 27 instead of 25 years to Joshua and yet compensating for this addition by cutting down to 428 those 430 years between the Call and the Exodus, which, according to Eusebius, were "agreed upon by all," unless indeed he had the same need of two years below the Exodus to serve some particular end. Accordingly in these two peculiarities Africanus is entirely alone. Hippolytus reckons distinctly and undiminished the 430 years from the Call to the Exodus, and gives only his proper 25 years to Joshua. At the same time, as the leading idea of his chronology was, seemingly, that of exhibiting the Hebrew Passovers consecutively from their first commencement down to their transition into the Christian Easter, and down to A.D. 222, when his own Paschal Cycle commenced, it was natural for him to *mark* the Passover of Joshua, *two* years after the 40 years of Moses. And hereby he has given incidentally a hint accounting for the origin of those two years, which some reckoned erroneously to Joshua in addition to his 25. After the death of Joshua, instead of inserting like Africanus a whole *generation* of 30 years, he, by a contrary and no less manifest error, passes at once, without allowing *any* years to the Elders who outlived Joshua, to the first servitude, and to the 390 years of the Judges. Thus his previous excess of 110 years over Afri-

canus is reduced to 80; and after the 390 years instead of exceeding by 80 he falls short of Africanus by 20, having none of those 100 years of his at this point which in the next century were to astonish Eusebius. But when we pass on to the times of Eli and Samuel, for which Africanus has too few years by 22, Hippolytus, as may be collected from his other sums and from his sum total, had the right number of years *all but two*; and so already at the accession of Saul, and at his separation after 20 years from Samuel, he had exactly the same sum of $(2242 + 940 + 130 + 505 + 65 + 390 + 110 =)$ 4382 years with the $(2262 + 940 + 503 + 65 + 2 + 30 + 490 + 90 =)$ 4382 of Africanus. And thenceforth downwards they have both the same general reckonings of 490 years of Kings to the Captivity, 70 years of the Captivity (the same error and interpolation of 42 years in reckoning them being common to both), 230 of Persians, and 328 of Macedonians and Romans.

The only discrepancies then for the times below Abraham between Hippolytus's scheme and the true reckoning being these, that he has 10 years too few after the death of Joshua, 2 too few for Samuel, and 42 too many between Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus, his dates, like those of Africanus, for the synchronisms of Pharaoh Hophra, Necho, Tirhakah, and Shishak, would be all 32 or 42 years too high to suit the true Egyptian reckoning if his scheme were applied to that of the Old Chronicle, so as to coincide at the point of the accession of Cyrus, 34 years above the Egyptian accession of Cambyses. And higher up, above the death of Joshua, his dates would be still 30 years too high; and the Exodus, instead of coinciding with the first year of Amenoph II., would appear at the 10th year of Manetho's queen Amesses. And the birth of Moses would have been 16 years before the rise of the king who knew not Joseph, that is, of Amosis. That fable, however, which had confused the Exodus with the expulsion of the Shepherds, and which he cannot be suspected of having had at all in his mind, would derive no countenance from the reckoning of Hippolytus. And if only his manifest blunder about the time of the Captivity were corrected, his date for the Exodus, instead of appearing to be 94 years above the 1st

year of Amenoph II., at the accession of Amosis, would appear (on the scale of the Old Chronicle) within the reign of Amenoph II., the king under whom it really took place, only too low by 12 years, at his 13th year instead of his 1st. Or, if any one perceived that *some* years must clearly be wanted for the Elders after the death of Joshua, and accepted Josephus's number of ten, the date of Hippolytus for the Exodus, after this double correction, would appear at the 3rd year of Amenoph II., and would differ by only two years from the true, a difference caused by his giving to Samuel as governing alone 30 only instead of 32 years.

If now we return to Africanus, and to his fixed point of the 5th year of Cambyses, or of the first of Cyrus 34 years earlier, and go upwards from it step by step on his sacred and Egyptian lists, we shall find in the lowest sacred synchronisms marked by him in the latter just the same inconsistency as in that of the Exodus attached above to the name of Amosis. On the supposition that either all the 70 years of the Captivity, or (as Syncellus says) 60 of them, intervened between Sept. 1 B.C. 560 and Sept. 1 in the autumn preceding the burning of the Temple, this event is carried up in Africanus's sacred reckoning from B.C. 588 either to B.C. 630, or at the lowest to B.C. 620, while in his Egyptian lists the accession of Apries with the note that "to him the Jews fled *after* the burning of the Temple" is found only $(44 + 19 =)$ 63 years above the 5th year of Cambyses, that is, 29 above the 1st year of Cyrus, at Sept. 1, B.C. 589; far below Africanus's date for the burning of the Temple. It is plain then that this and other sacred synchronisms cannot without waste of words be so much as mentioned in connection with Africanus's present sacred reckoning; but they must be considered in connection only with the earlier stage of his processes when he first made out two concurrent lengths of Egyptian and sacred reckoning between the Exodus and the Captivity. The wonder is how having once reckoned rightly on his Egyptian lists 63 years only between the 5th of Cambyses—or 28 between the 1st of Cyrus—and the head of the year containing the burning of the Temple, he could afterwards fall into so great a blunder as he did, or

how even after having fallen into it he could escape being forced by the very synchronisms retained in his Egyptian list into perceiving and correcting it. But, without pursuing this question, if we drop all thought of his present sacred reckoning, the interval of 63 years exhibited by his Egyptian lists between the 5th year of Cambyses and the accession of Apries agrees perfectly with the synchronism marked, and with the Scriptures from which it is taken. For so there are 28 years between the accession of Cyrus and the commencement of the 2nd of Apries (answering to the 11th of Zedekiah.) And the Jews will appear to have fled to Apries in his 2nd year.

Then from the 2nd year of Apries there are in Africanus's Egyptian list ($1 + 6 + 6 =$) 13 years seemingly up to Sept. 1, B.C. 601, to the accession of Necho, to whose name there is a note that "he took Jerusalem, and carried away Jehoahaz into Egypt." But the Scriptures require a longer interval than 13 years. They require ($10 + 11 =$) 21 years between the commencement of the 11th of Zedekiah and the accession of Jehoiakim and the death of Josiah. And the death of Josiah again must have been later by some short time at least than the accession of Necho. And here perhaps we may begin to perceive what it was that made Africanus mistrust his Egyptian lists. He probably noticed from the first that they had 8 years, or 8 years and 2 months, below the death of Amosis which could not possibly be chronological, since, if they were, they would either thrust up the 5th year of Cambyses and with it the 1st of Cyrus, which for him was a fixed point, or thrust down the Egyptian *accession* of Alexander the Great to B.C. ($332 - 8 =$) 324, the fixed technical date for his *death*. He, therefore, no doubt, on coming to the accession of Necho, and finding it 8 or 9 years too low for the synchronism belonging to it, drew the inference that there were chronological dislocations and compensations in the Egyptian lists, and that probably as many years as could not be reckoned where they stood below had been suppressed here, where they were chronologically required. So he might think that probably Necho's actual reign had ($6 + 8$ or $9 =$) 14 or 15 years, and that it

commenced not *later* than B.C. ($601 + 8 =$) 609. In this he was quite right. Yet he did not on this account venture either to insert or uniformly to reckon the 8 years. This is clear, because if he had he would have placed the accession of Amosis not at B.C. ($1749 - 11 = 1738 + 15 =$) 1753 but at B.C. ($1753 + 8 =$) 1761; and then he would have needed to make out not only 98 years but 106 too many in his sacred reckoning in order that the Exodus might synchronise with it. And if he had done this, his subsequent introduction of an excess of 42 years into his sacred reckoning would have thrust up his date for the Exodus from B.C. 1761 to 1803, where, instead of needing an addition of 2 years more to coincide with the Attic date for Ogyges' 1020 years before the first Olympiad, it would have been already 6 years too high for that synchronism. So he let the synchronism of Necho stand, though seemingly at too low a date, considering that the correction was sufficiently hinted by the fact that if any one reckoned up all the years seemingly placed below it from the Egyptian accession of Alexander, it would then rise to a date which would not necessarily cause difficulty. And the like method he may be supposed to have repeated in considering other synchronisms above so long as he found it to answer any purpose; though as there might be unchronological additions above as well as suppressions it was unsafe to attempt to correct the lists.

Reckoning upwards on Africanus's Egyptian list from the commencement of the 2nd year of Apries, as put at Sept. 1, in B.C. 588 (or by indirect indication in B.C. 596), we find ($1 + 6 + 6 + 54 + 8 + 6 + 7 =$) 88 years before arriving at the head of Dyn. XXVI, which so stands either about Sept. 1, in B.C. 676 (or at the earliest in B.C. 684). And as Tirhakah, the last of the three Ethiopians of Dyn. XXV, has 18 years, his accession stands at Sept. 1 in B.C. 694 (or at the earliest at Sept. 1 in B.C. 702). Even the highest of these dates is much too low for the true reckoning of the synchronism with Sennacherib in the 14th year of Hezekiah. On the other hand the accessions of Sevechus and of Sabaco, with 14 and 8 years, being at Sept. 1 in B.C. 708 and B.C. 716, or in B.C. 716 and B.C. 724 respectively, even the

higher of these dates would barely have admitted of the synchronism of Hoshea's 6th year rightly dated with the first year of the elder Sabaco, whose name might answer equally with that of Sevechus to the Sua or So of the Scriptures. So it is not wonderful if Africanus makes no allusion to either of these synchronisms.

Continuing upwards from the head of Dyn. XXV, as if that were fixed to Sept. 1, in B.C. 716, we have 6 years of Dyn. XXIV, and 49 years of the last three reigns of Dyn. XXIII, making together 55 years, up to the death of Petubast, set at Aug. 31, B.C. $(716 + 55 =)$ 771. This date then, being a little lower than that of the first Olympiad, B.C. 776 (or for Africanus Sept. 1, B.C. 777), agrees perfectly with the note by which either Ptolemy or the original Manetho has connected the first Olympiad with the reign of Petubast. But Africanus at this point would be forced to perceive that he could not safely insert and add those 8 years which he had found to be wanting to the reign of Necho, and which seemed to be represented by the unchronological eight standing below, since, if he had added them to Necho, and reckoned them uniformly afterwards, he would have carried up the death of Petubast to Aug. 31, in B.C. $(771 + 8 =)$ 779, and would have destroyed Ptolemy's *apparent* consistency in assigning the first Olympiad to his reign. Africanus's private note or memorandum of "990 years" which stands in his Egyptian lists between Dynasties XXIII and XXIV may suggest the idea that he had been counting the years from the death of Petubast to his own time according to these lists; for so (no notice being taken of their 8 unchronological years below Cyrus and Cambyses) he found in the lists $(B.C. 771 + 219 =)$ 990 years to Aug. 31, in A.D. 220, *one* year only before the final date of his work.

Continuing upwards again from the death of Petubast, set in B.C. 771, and reckoning his 40 years to the head of Dyn. XXIII, and the 120 of Dyn. XXII, we obtain Sept. 1, in B.C. 931 for the accession of Shishonk I., who is rightly identified by Syncellus, as he is also by the monuments, with Shishak the contemporary of Solomon and

Rehoboam. But as he appears in Africanus's Egyptian lists 47 years too low (39, even if 8 years had been added, and by Africanus's own latest chronology 89 years too low) for these synchronisms, it is no wonder that there he has no entry respecting them.

Between Sept. 1 B.C. ($931 + 130 + 135 + 7 =$) 1203 and Sept. 1 B.C. 1196, we find in Africanus's lists the reign of *Thouoris* or *Polybus* and the synchronism of Troy, which he certainly gives as he found it, as it is older not only than Ptolemy but even than the original Manetho, with whose *ostensible* reckoning it does not agree. The date alluded to, which had been expressly given by Dicæarchus before Manetho wrote, is B.C. 1212; and this, if Africanus had used a correct copy of Ptolemy's lists with 163 years to Dyn. XXVI (instead of using one with only the 150 years of Manetho) would have been exhibited; and the reign of *Thouoris* would then have seemed to stand for Africanus between Sept. 1 B.C. 1216 and Sept. 1 B.C. 1208. But with that particular text of the lists which he used neither Dicæarchus's date for Troy (which was also no doubt indirectly indicated by Manetho, and covered by the *Thouoris* of Ptolemy), nor his own date, which seems to have been B.C. 1208, can be connected with the reign of *Thouoris*; unless indeed we were again to allow the 8 unchronological years below Dyn. XXVI to become useful and to tell as indicating a dislocation. So the actual accession of *Thouoris* might be understood to have been as high as Sept. 1, B.C. ($1203 + 8 =$) 1211.

At the head of Dyn. XIX, with which Manetho in his narrative connected the flight of Danaus, and which stands for Africanus at Sept. 1, in B.C. ($1196 + 209 =$) 1405, there is no mention of this synchronism. So it may be taken for granted that it was not marked there by Ptolemy, though by changes made in the years of the first two reigns he seems to allude to it.

Continuing upwards again from B.C. 1405, we find for Dyn. XVIII in Syncellus's transcript from Africanus a sum of only 263 or 262 years. But it has been shown above (at pp. 445 and 455) that the figures for the reign of Amosis, and both the name and the figures for that of Rameses II., had

fallen out; and it is clear that Africanus (even if he neglected, as Syncellus says he did, to specify the years of Amosis), cannot have *intended* to attach that synchronism of the Exodus which he made his own to a reign *without years*. His sacred chronology too, as has been seen, antecedently to his later changes in reckoning 42 years too many below Nebuchadnezzar and transposing 2 others from above to below the Exodus, supposes for his Egyptian lists the number of 1193 years between the accession of Cyrus (34 years above the 5th year of Cambyses) and that of Amosis; and this number of itself enables us to restore 348 as his sum for Dyn. XVIII.

Appearing, as it now does, at B.C. 1753, that is, 44 years below his own date for the Exodus, and not in the reign of Phoroneus, nor even of Apis, but at the 9th year (for him) of Argus, or if any one please, 8 years higher, Africanus's synchronism of Amosis and the Exodus is simply an honest inconsistency. And the words "*as we have shown*," by which he appropriates it, though they may have meant something else originally, can now mean only this, that, whatever be the true date for the accession of Amosis, — whether 44 years are wanting somewhere in the Egyptian lists, or there is some error in Africanus's own sacred chronology which he is unable to rectify, — the Exodus is to be connected with this reign, as he has demonstrated elsewhere by citing testimonies from divers authors, as Manetho, Apion, Polemo, Josephus, Tatian, Clemens (for Clemens also had given this opinion), and lastly Ptolemy. Part of this "demonstration" is still extant in quotations made from Africanus by other writers. Some, he says, followed Ptolemy in making the Exodus, Moses, and Amosis to synchronise with *Inachus*, while he himself put it (and Amosis, he implies, *ought* to be with it) under *Phoroneus*, for which he found countenance in the opinion of some Greek authors also, as of Polemo, who put it under Apis. But all or almost all, expressly or by implication, concurred in putting it at the head of Dyn. XVIII, at the accession of Amosis. Polemo's words, which he quotes, were these: "Ἐπὶ Ἀπίδος τοῦ Φορωνέως μοῖρα τοῦ Αἰγυπτιακοῦ στρατοῦ ἐξέπεσεν Αἰγύπ-

του, οὐ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καλουμένη Συρίᾳ οὐ πόρρω Ἀραβίας ὤκησαν, αὐτοὶ δηλονότι οἱ μετὰ Μωσέως.” Here the word *στρατοῦ* shows an allusion to Herodotus. “And Apion,” he continues, “in his book *against the Jews*, and in the fourth book of his *Histories*, writes that it was when Amosis was reigning in Egypt and Inachus at Argos that the Jews revolted (κατὰ Ἰναχον Ἀργεὺς βασιλέα, Ἀμόσιος Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεύοντος, ἀποστῆναι Ἰουδαίους). Herodotus too has mentioned this same defection, and has named Amosis” (where he must be trusting to a confused recollection and thinking of the later Amosis) “in his Second Book, and indirectly the Jews themselves (Μέμνηται δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος τῆς ἀποστάσεως ταύτης, καὶ Ἀμόσεως, ἐν τῇ β’, τρόπῳ δέ τι καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων αὐτῶν). And lastly,” he subjoins, “Ptolemy of Mendes, who brings down the Egyptian history consecutively from the beginning, concurs with all these writers, so that for the most part their differences as to the exact time are slight and insignificant. (Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Μενδήσιος, τὰ Αἰγυπτίων ἀνέκαθεν ἱστορῶν ἅπασιν τούτοις συντρέχει, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἐπίσημος ἐπὶ πλεον ἢ τῶν χρόνων παραλλαγή.)” Here it is to be noticed that Africanus speaks of Ptolemy as of an author with whom he was himself familiar, and sums up and concludes with him.

This point then being “demonstrated” by something like a consensus of testimony that the Exodus was in the time of Amosis, it follows next to inquire by what calculation Ptolemy and such as followed him could make Moses in his 81st year, and Amosis at his accession, or either of the two if disjoined the one from the other, to synchronise with Inachus; while others varied from them, as Polemo, and as Africanus himself. And yet those *testimonies* by which Africanus *proved* the synchronism of Moses and the Exodus with Amosis were almost equally strong for the addition of Inachus; and the chief attraction for Jewish and Christian writers lay in the antiquity of Inachus; so that they seldom failed in their quotations or allusions to name him, and with emphasis. Thus Tertullian, for instance (*Apolog.* c. 19), writes, “Si quem audistis iterum Moysem, Argivo *Inacho* pariter ætate est; CCC pœne annis nam et VII minus Danaum et ipsum apud vos vetustissimum prævenit.” And Africanus’s

regret at having entirely failed at first even to approach to Inachus may have made him the readier afterwards to admit and retain changes which brought his Exodus into contact if not with Inachus yet at least with his successor Phoroneus, and obtained for him an Attic synchronism secondary in antiquity and celebrity only to the Argive synchronism of Inachus; so that from the Greek point of view he was at last nearer to Ptolemy than before.

The interval of seventeen mythological generations, or sixteen with 18 years of a seventeenth, between the foundation of Argos and Troy might be calculated in three ways. According to the older and unartificial method by simply adding up the reigns, as given, there were obtained 397 years from the accession of Inachus to the flight of Danaus, and 301 thence to Troy, making in all 698 years. By reducing seventeen generations to the average length of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years each, there were obtainable $566\frac{2}{3}$ years, or with only 18 years to the seventeenth generation, $551\frac{1}{3}$. And, lastly, by reducing seventeen generations to as many average reigns of $24\frac{1}{2}$ years each there were obtainable $416\frac{1}{2}$, or, if the seventeenth reign had only 18 years, 410 years. And if any one reckoned upwards from Dicæarchus's, Manetho's, and Ptolemy's date for Troy, viz. B.C. 1212, the first method would put the accession of Inachus in B.C. 1910, the second in B.C. 1778 or 1763, and the third in B.C. 1628 or 1622. With Castor's date for Troy, viz. 1208 (which might be ascribed to Manetho by any one who perceived that the accession of his Thouoris stood no higher than B.C. 1210, even though the 8 unchronological years below Dyn. XXVI were added), the first method would give B.C. 1906; the second B.C. 1774 or 1759; and the third B.C. 1624 or 1618. With B.C. 1204 for Troy (this being apparently the commencement of the last year of Thouoris in Manetho's and in Africanus's lists when the 8 unchronological years are reckoned, as B.C. 1208 was in the genuine text of Ptolemy), the three methods would give, the first B.C. 1902, the second B.C. 1770 or 1755, and the third B.C. 1620 or 1616. And, lastly, with Eratosthenes's date, B.C. 1183, for Troy, the first method would give B.C. 1881, the second B.C. 1749 or

1734 (of which two reckonings the former seems to have been the one alluded to in the passage of Tertullian quoted above), and the third method would give B.C. 1599 or 1595.

It has already been suggested elsewhere (at pp. 462, 463) as probable that Ptolemy, who followed Manetho in ostensibly confounding the Shepherds and the Hebrews, but who knew what was the truth, had an eye to two of the above three methods, viz. to the second and the third, at once. For Manetho's *apparent* date for the head of Dyn. XVIII being properly at B.C. 1737 (when the 8 years manifestly unchronological below Dyn. XXVI were *not* reckoned) and so 11 years *below* the true, while Ptolemy had below the head of Dyn. XVIII 28 chronological years, or years not manifestly unchronological, more than Manetho, this excess raised his apparent date for the accession of Amosis to B.C. $(1737 + 28 =)$ 1765, which is 17 years *above* the true. And sixteen Argive generations, if reckoned at $33\frac{1}{3}$ years each, with 18 years of a seventeenth, would go back from B.C. 1212, Ptolemy's date for Troy, $(533\frac{1}{3} + 18 =)$ $551\frac{1}{3}$ years to B.C. 1763 or 1764, so as to place the foundation of Argos only one or two years below his *apparent* date for the accession of Amosis, which he himself knew perfectly well to be 17 years *higher* than the true. And again, if one thought of the Hebrews as distinct from the Shepherds, and of the true date of the Exodus, then, though only 17 generations reduced to reigns of $24\frac{1}{2}$ years each, such as the Old Chronicle and Eratosthenes had used, would not go back from B.C. 1212 to B.C. 1654 the true date of the Exodus, Tatian, at the very time when he is quoting Ptolemy for the synchronism of the Exodus, Amosis, and Inachus, assigns as the number of Argive generations between Troy and Inachus *not seventeen only*, but *twenty*. And he enumerates *nineteen* names as follows:—“1. Inachus; 2. Phoroneus; 3. Apis; 4. Argeus; 5. Criasus; 6. Phorbas; 7. Triopas; 8. Crotopus; 9. Sthenelus; 10. Danaus; 11. Lynceus; 12. Abas; 13. Prætus; 14. Acrisius; 15. Perseus; 16. *Eurystheus*; 17. Atreus; 18. *Thyestes*; 19. Agamemnon, in whose 18th year Troy was taken.” And Clement of Alexandria, who

follows him, speaks of "*twenty or twenty-one generations, and 400 or more years*" between Inachus and Troy, which clearly shows what *sort* of generations were intended. Tatian himself, after enumerating the generations, had continued thus: "*So, if Moses was contemporary with Inachus, he was before Troy by four hundred years.*" Hence it is probable that Ptolemy also allowed more than seventeen, and even more than nineteen generations; that is, that he allowed twenty or even twenty-one; in fact, that he allowed for the Argive kings as many *reigns* or generations as there were in the *Egyptian lists* between Amosis and Thouoris or Troy. And these might be made more or fewer according as any one reckoned the generations in a stricter sense, like the Old Chronicle, according to which there would be $(14 + 5 =) 19$, with Amosis and Thouoris both included, or in a laxer sense, so as to add some more actual reigns, as is done by the lists of Manetho and Ptolemy, according to which there would be $(16 + 6 =) 22$, $(15 + 6 =) 21$, or $(15 + 5 =) 20$, according as the queen Amesses, and the last name, that of Thouoris himself, were reckoned or not. And *nineteen* generations or reigns of $24\frac{1}{2}$ years each, or rather perhaps eighteen full reigns with 18 years of the nineteenth, making a sum of 459 years, these reckoned back from B.C. 1208 (*Ptolemy's last year of Thouoris* and Castor's date for Troy), would seem to have begun in B.C. 1667, which is precisely the date given by Clemens of Alexandria *on some Egyptian authority* for the Exodus, and only 13 years above its true date, the source of which inaccuracy has been explained above (at p. 464).

But Clemens has also another passage in which, while the some method of calculation is followed, as if the Argive *generations* were to be reduced to some nineteen average *reigns* of $24\frac{1}{2}$ years each, the true date of the Exodus is indicated exactly. For he says that "some put Inachus and Moses, that is, the Exodus (and no doubt also, as they pretended, Amosis too), 1842 years before the death of Commodus, who died on the last day of the Julian year in A.D. 192. But if we reckon back from this date, as Clemens or Africanus would reckon, 1842 years take us for date of the

Exodus to B.C. 1651, which is *precisely the true date*, if only it be understood that it is calculated, with the allowance of the 8 unchronological years below Dyn. XXVI, *by Manetho's lists*, in which there is so an unchronological depression of exactly three years affecting all the dates of Dyn. XVIII from the accession of Amosis to the death of Amunoph III. But from after the death of Amenoph III. on the contrary all the dates to the end of the dynasty, instead of being *depressed* by 3, are *drawn up* by $(15-3=)$ 12 years. So the accession of Amosis according to Manetho's *apparent* chronology (the 8 years being allowed to tell, as afore-said) is at B.C. 1745 instead of 1748. And the first year of Amenoph II. containing the Exodus, 94 years later, instead of being at B.C. 1654, its true date, is apparently at B.C. 1651, three years lower. And B.C. 1651, precisely, is the date named by Clemens as connected by "*some*" with the synchronism of Moses and Inachus. The author of the calculation probably made only 18 generations, using Manetho's lists, which when their 8 unchronological years are included have 20 years less than Ptolemy's below the head of Dyn. XVIII, but reckoning up 447 years from B.C. 1204 as his date for Troy. It is true that Clemens goes on to say that "others to the death of Commodus make 1821," that is, others put the same synchronism 21 years *later*, which would be at B.C. 1630. But this second date is entirely erroneous; and perhaps it was only a blundering variation from the first. It may have originated with some one who followed the author first alluded to in his number of 18 generations or reigns with 447 years for the interval between the Exodus and Troy, but with a date for Troy 21 years lower than B.C. 1204; some one, that is, who preferred Eratosthenes's date of B.C. 1183. And B.C. 1183 being 21 years below B.C. 1204, this, if the interval between the Exodus and Troy were retained the same, would of course draw down the date for the Exodus also by 21 years from B.C. 1651 to B.C. 1630.

Clemens however affords some reason for thinking that the reckoning just discussed was in truth a variation not from that which placed the Exodus in B.C. 1651, but from

that other which placed it "345 years before the Sothic epoch," that is, in B.C. 1667. For after having given this last date for the Exodus, Moses, and Inachus, he subjoins the following computations: "From the *στρατηγία* of Moses and from Inachus to the Flood of Deucalion and to Phaëthon (*ἐπὶ Κροτώπου*) there are 133 years," (being the estimate of the author whom he is following, seemingly Thrasyllus, for 4 generations); "thence to the conflagration on Mount Ida, the invention of iron, and the Idæi Dactyli 73 years, according to Thrasyllus; thence to the rape of Ganymede 65; thence to the expedition of Perseus, when Glaucus instituted the Isthmian Games for Melicerta, 15; thence to the founding of Troy 34; thence to the Argonauts 64; thence to Theseus and the Minotaur 32; thence to the Seven against Thebes 10; thence to the institution of the Olympic contest for Pelops by Hercules 3; thence to the Athenian expedition of the Amazons 9; thence to the apotheosis of Hercules 11; thence to the abduction of Helen 4; [thence to the fall of Troy 10]; thence to the foundation of Lavinium by Æneas 10; thence to the accession of Ascanius 8; thence to the return of the Heraclidæ 61; and to the Olympiad of Iphitus 338." Thus, supposing himself to have started from B.C. ($1322 + 345 =$) 1667, and intending to reckon to Eratosthenes's date for Troy, and thence to the first Olympiad, he has made out 463 years to Troy, indicating the date B.C. ($1667 - 463 =$) 1204; but below Troy he has made out only 417, which reach not to the first Olympiad in B.C. 776, but only to B.C. ($1204 - 417 =$) 787. Either then some of the figures are wrong, or this reckoning did not really begin as he supposed it to begin from the date of B.C. 1667 for the Exodus, but rather from B.C. 1656. But then, continuing, he gives the following as a variation for the time after Troy: "But Eratosthenes gives the times thus: From the fall of Troy to the return of the Heraclidæ 80 years; thence to the settlement of Ionia 60; thence to the Guardianship of Lycurgus 159; thence *to the year before* Olymp. 1 *α'* 108" [making to this point 407 years]; "thence to the crossing of the Hellespont by Xerxes 297; thence to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war 48; thence

to its end and the defeat of the Athenians 27; thence to the battle of Leuctra 34; thence to the death of Philip 35; and lastly to that of Alexander 12." But, with this reckoning, if one goes back from the first Olympiad, the 407 years take us up — for Apollodorus indeed from B.C. 777 (the year before the first Olympiad) to 1184, but for Eratosthenes who is named — from B.C. 776 to 1183 his known date for Troy; and thence the 463 years go back to B.C. $(1183 + 463 =)$ 1646 for the Exodus and Inachus: or with 21 years added, that is, with a higher date for Troy than that of Eratosthenes by 21 years, viz. B.C. 1204 instead of B.C. 1183, the date for the Exodus will be B.C. 1667, which is 345 years before the Sothic epoch. So then Clemens perhaps should have written that some made from Moses and Inachus to the death of Commodus 1842 years, viz. from B.C. 1651; others 1858 years, viz. from 1667; but others, who followed Eratosthenes's date for Troy made fewer than these last by 21, that is, they made 1837 years, from B.C. 1646.

These three dates mentioned by Clemens are not the only signs which have been preserved to show that in spite of all that Manetho and others after him had done to obscure the subject, the true synchronism of the Exodus was still known, and might still be learned by inquiries in Egypt. Josephus himself has given from Chæremon, a writer of the time of Augustus, a variation of Manetho's story of the expulsion of the lepers, which Chæremon probably assigned to the true date of the Exodus. The story itself was this: "During a great famine the goddess Isis appeared in dreams to the king *Amenophis*, and showed anger against him because her temple had been destroyed *in the war*, [so that this was perceived to be the cause of the famine]. And Phri-tiphantes, the sacred scribe, instructed him that, if he would purge the land of all the unclean, his sleep should no more be broken by such frightful apparitions. Amenophis there-upon collected together as many as 250,000 people who were diseased, and cast them out of the country. [The leaders of these people] *Moses* and *Joseph* had been scribes, and Joseph a sacred-scribe. Their names were originally Egyptian, that of Moses being *Tisithen* (*Si-en-Seti*) and that of

Joseph *Peteseth* (*Pet-Set*). These two having gone to Pelusium" (an anticipation of the desertion of the frontier army of Psammitichus I. being here borrowed from Herodotus, and substituted for the Hierosolymites of Manetho), "found there 380,000 men whom Amenophis had left [unrelieved] refusing to let them return into Egypt. The scribes then came to an understanding with these men, and they joined forces to war upon Egypt. Amenophis was not strong enough to withstand them, but fled into Ethiopia, leaving his wife, then with child, behind him. She lay hid in certain caverns, and brought forth a son, who when grown up joined his father with an army, and the two together, as in the relation of Manetho, triumphantly overthrew and expelled the lepers and their confederates." But that the Amenophis of Chæremon was Amenoph II. (the true king of the Exodus), rather than any much later king of Dyn. XIX as Manetho had insinuated, is rendered probable by an account of the birth of Moses which, according to Josephus, was copied by this same Chæremon from a somewhat earlier writer, Artapanus. For Artapanus placed the birth of Moses under the reign of "Palmanothès," (that is, under Amosis the head of Dyn. XVIII), "who after he had expelled the Shepherds, having no son, gave his daughter *Merris* in marriage to Chenephres, or Chembron, who reigned in the Upper Country." And Merris, again, "having no son of her own, took up and adopted Moses." (See above, p. 175.) But, if Moses was born under Palmanothès or Amosis the head of the dynasty, it follows that Amenoph II. must have been the king who (80 years afterwards) expelled the lepers. And here it may be remarked in passing how these perverse and malicious fables, even in those details which seem most false and most confused, still give hints of the truth. For what can be more fabulous than to blend Joseph and Moses into one person? and to put Moses first, confounding, in point of time and order, the descent of Jacob into Egypt with the Exodus of his descendants? And yet it is strictly true that Joseph *in spirit* survived, and led his brethren out of Egypt; for his bones went up with them, as he had by faith enjoined. And the formation of the

Hebrew people may with truth be ascribed to him and to Moses jointly. And yet at the Exodus itself it was more exact in joining the two names to say "Moses and Joseph," (since Moses was the actual bodily leader and lawgiver) than to say "Joseph and Moses." Again, to give another instance where the true time of the Egyptian synchronism for the Exodus is indicated, — S. Epiphanius of Cyprus, who wrote three centuries after Josephus, and had the chronological works both of Africanus and of Eusebius to mislead him, nevertheless neither joins the Exodus with the accession of Amosis like Africanus, nor puts it down with Eusebius by double the true interval lower, but he represents Moses as being born either under Amosis or under his son Amenoph I., some years after the commencement of Dyn. XVIII, since he writes that he was taken up from the river "by *Thermouthis* the daughter of the king *Amenoph*." In Epiphanius's statement there is no further error than this, that the princess "the daughter of Pharaoh," whatever were her true name, was the *sister* not the daughter of Amenoph I., who however here (as perhaps also under the name Palmanothes in the story of Chæremon) may stand for his father Amosis the head of the dynasty. And if Moses was said to be born under Amosis, or at the latest under Amenoph (which would suit better for the *last* of the three dates given by Clemens for the Exodus), it is clear, as in the case of the account copied from Artapanus, that the Exodus, to be placed 80 years lower, must be assigned to the reign of Amenoph II. to which it really belonged.

That calculation of Polemo, putting the Exodus under Apis, to which Africanus refers as agreeing or all but agreeing with his own, will not on examination give him so much countenance as he seems willing to imagine. For if we reckon up 698 years according to the commoner method from B.C. 1212 (Dicæarchus's, Manetho's, and Ptolemy's date for Troy), we shall place the accession of Inachus in B.C. 1910. And then, if we deduct the first three Argive reigns of $(50 + 60 + 35 =)$ 145 years, we find the reign of Apis to end in B.C. 1765. But by the scheme of Ptolemy of Mendes which had $(15 + 13 =)$ 28 years (or 20 years at

the least) more than the apparent chronological reckoning of Manetho between Amosis and Nectanebo, the commencement of Dyn. XVIII was in B.C. 1765 ; so that if Amosis, in agreement with the assertion of Manetho, reckoned his years from after the expulsion of the Shepherds, they must have been expelled (unfortunately for Africanus) in the *last* year of Apis. The synchronism was probably calculated by some one who used the lists of Ptolemy in their original and complete text, and neither those of Manetho, by whose *apparent* reckoning the accession of Amosis would be 28, or at the least 20, years below the death of Apis, nor those of Africanus, which by varying in Dyn. XXVI from Ptolemy and containing a reading taken from the original Manetho put the apparent accession of Amosis at B.C. 1752, or at the highest at B.C. 1760, 13 years, or at the least 5 years, below the death of Apis. And thus there is a difference between Polemo's date for the Exodus at the *end* of the 35th and last year of Apis and that of Africanus (reckoned from a lower date for Troy by 8 years) after the 59th of Phoroneus of $(35 + 8 =) 43$ years.

St. Theophilus the sixth Bishop of Antioch after the Apostles (A.D. 170 to 183 ?), who was the contemporary of Tatian, older than Clemens of Alexandria and Tertullian, and still more so than Africanus and Hippolytus, in lib. iii. of his *Refutation of Heathenism* inscribed to Autolycus, has made out a scheme of sacred and mixed chronology which it will be worth while to compare with that of Africanus, especially as he has borrowed from Josephus those extracts from Manetho which occasioned later writers sometimes to connect the Exodus with Amosis and Inachus, and at others either with the time of Sethos-Rameses-Ægyptus and his brother Danaus, or with a time somewhat later. And in borrowing Theophilus exhibits remarkable variations from Josephus, before considering which one ought to have some knowledge of his general system.

With 2242 years only to the Flood, 936 thence to the birth of Abraham (Nahor having 75 instead of 79), *none* for the Elders after Joshua, 8 only instead of 80 for Ehud, and 20 instead of 40 for the whole reign of Saul, he has defi-

ciencies amounting to $(20 + 4 + 10 + 72 + 20 =)$ 126 years. Against these are to be set excesses of 215 years added to the 215 of the Hebrews in Egypt (for he gives them 430), of 2 added to Joshua, who has 27, of 1 reckoned to Shamgar, and strangely misplaced, so as to come between Samson and Eli, of 15 added to three kings, viz. 4 to Abijah, 10 to Amaziah, and 1 to Ahaz, who have 7, 39, and 17 years respectively, and lastly of 3 imperfect years of kings erroneously reckoned as complete and chronological. So he has in all $(99 + 175 + 134. 6^m. 10^d. =)$ 408 years, 6 months and 10 days of kings from the death of Solomon to the Captivity, which he begins *after* the 11th year of Zedekiah. And the sum of his excesses, being $(215 + 2 + 1 + 15 + 3 =)$ 236, is greater than that of his deficiencies by $(236 - 126 =)$ 110 years. Some other apparent deficiencies and excesses compensate one another, and lying all together show rather inaccuracy in describing and assigning years which are rightly reckoned than any chronological error. For the 20 years which he gives to Samson, and the 40 next following "of peace" are exactly the sums wanted (only in the contrary order) for the Judgeship of Eli and for the abode of the Ark at Kiriath-Jearim during Samuel's minority. And the 20 which afterwards he gives to Eli are just the years wanting to be added to the adjoining 12 of Samuel. So in this part, between the end of the 40 years of the Philistines and the accession of Saul (if only we transpose the year given to Shamgar between Samson and Eli as plainly misplaced) he has just the right number of years, which can scarcely be said of any other scheme. One year which seems wanting to Jair is restored indirectly by himself when he gives the sum of 498 years as intervening between the deaths of Moses and David. For this sum must be made out thus:— $27 + 0^* + 8 + 40 + 18 + 8^* + 110 + (22 + 1 \text{ of Jair}) + 111 + 20 \text{ of Samson} + 40 \text{ of peace} + 1 \text{ of Shamgar} + 20 \text{ of Eli} + 12 \text{ of Samuel} + 20 \text{ of Saul} + 40 \text{ of David} = 498$. After the 40 years of Solomon and 408 of other kings his descendants the 70 years of the Captivity are made by him to end not in the *first* but in the *second* Persian year of Cyrus, which he seems to put in Olymp. 55 β' , which should be B.C.

559–558; but his reckonings in years require it to be put in B.C. 565, which is 6 years too high. Thence he continues with 29 years as the [remaining] reign of Cyrus to his death which he makes to coincide with the accession of Tarquinius Superbus, putting it in Olymp. 62 [β'] B.C. 530, 220 years after the foundation of Rome in Olymp. 7 [β'], as if Rome had been founded in B.C. 750. But his other reckonings in years absolutely require us to put the death of Cyrus in B.C. (565 – 29 =) 536. To be consistent with himself he should have made the death of Cyrus in B.C. 530, Olymp. 62 β' , to be at the end of the 6th year of Tarquinius Superbus, giving only 19 more years to Tarquinius below, and making his whole sum at the death of Marcus, in A.D. 180, to have fewer years by 6 than his present sum of 5698. He makes in all to the beginning of the Captivity ($2242 + 936 + 75 + 215 + 430 + 67 + 0 + 379 + 32 + 100 + 408.6^m.10^d. =$) 4884 years, 6 months and 10 days; to the end of the Captivity 4954 years; and to the death of Cyrus 4983. From the death of Cyrus in B.C. 536 the 25 years of Tarquinius Superbus take him on to B.C. 511; and 453 years of Consuls, Tribunes, and Ædiles, ending in B.C. 58, are followed by the Emperors, each of whose reigns he gives with its years, months, and days, from the chronicle of Chryseros the freedman of Marcus Aurelius. For the emperors he makes in all 237 years and 5 days, from the accession of Julius Cæsar to the death of Marcus Aurelius who died in March A.D. 180. His error of thrusting up the commencement of the empire from B.C. 47 to B.C. 58, is caused by giving 10 years too many to Claudius and 2 too many to Galba, while on the other hand he loses one year between Julius Cæsar and Augustus, which reduces his excess from 12 to 11. His whole sum then to the death of Marcus in A.D. 180, is 5698 years, in which he does not pretend to any great accuracy, admitting that he “may perhaps be out by 80, 100, or even 200 years, but not,” he says, “by thousands or myriads, like the heathen; whereas Plato speaks of myriads of years from the Flood as it seems to Dædalus, and Apollonius of Egypt has named a sum of 153,075 years.”

Such being the outline of his chronology, one may observe

in it several points of agreement with Africanus and also with Hippolytus. With Hippolytus he agreed in the 2242 years to the Flood; with Africanus in not admitting the second Cainan; with Clemens and Hippolytus in giving not inconsistently, like Africanus, but consistently 27 years to Joshua; with Hippolytus again in giving no separate years to the Elders after Joshua; with both Africanus and Hippolytus in reckoning the 70 years of the Captivity to the beginning of the Persian reign of Cyrus; while in his sum of 408 years for the kings below Solomon (which with him all precede the Captivity) he has an excess amounting to 17 or 18 years. In one or two points Africanus may have followed S. Theophilus, as in giving 1 year to Shamgar. His "*forty* years of anarchy" too, and the "*forty* of *peace*" following them, may have been both made out of the "*forty* years of peace" of S. Theophilus. And later the author of the Paschal Chronicle has in the same place 40 years of "*peace or anarchy*," for omitting which he blames Eusebius. And if, as Syncellus says, Africanus made 268 years of kings instead of 258 between the death of Solomon and the capture of Samaria, his excess of 10 years in this sum may perhaps be explained by one of Theophilus's peculiarities within the same space, that namely by which he gives 10 years too many to Amaziah. Such peculiarities which more or less disfigure all the older schemes, and which look now like strange blunders or arbitrary variations, are easily accounted for when one reflects that in those early times, when books were comparatively rare, and all in MS., each copy had its own errors and omissions; and writers in general were acquainted only with very few copies, perhaps only with a single copy of the works which they used. Nor had they any such general collation of the MSS. even of those works of which copies were most multiplied as would enable them to distinguish and correct the peculiarities of that copy from which their own notes had been taken. Thus, for instance, the error of giving Saul only 20 years in all instead of 40 originated probably through some faulty MS. of Josephus, which divided the reign into 2 years and 18, whereas the true reading is 22. But to return to Theophilus: —

His whole sum at B.C. 2, amounting to 5517 years, exceeds that of Africanus by 17. And, if his chronology were to be applied to the Egyptian lists according to the scale of the Old Chronicle, the Exodus would appear at B.C. $(58 + 453 + 25 + 29 + 70 + 408 + 100 + 32 + 379 + 67 =)$ 1621, which is 33 years below its true date. For his omissions below are $(10 + 72 + 20 =)$ 101, while his additions are only $(2 + 1 + 18 + 41 + 6 =)$ 68, the last 6 of the latter being caused by the undue elevation of the accession of Cyrus. And 68 being deducted from 101, there remain 33 years. But above the Exodus, in consequence of his interpolation of 215 years, only 33 of which are compensated by the undue depression of the Exodus itself, the call of Abraham stands at B.C. $2084 + (215 - 33 =) 182 = 2266$, which is 42 years above the Egyptian reckoning for the accession of Menes. This, therefore, alone, if any refutation were needed, would be a sufficient refutation of that opinion which would make the Hebrews to have sojourned in Egypt the whole space of 430 years.

With such a system of chronology there would be nothing wonderful if in extolling the antiquity of Moses he had made use of Josephus's extracts from Manetho, without troubling himself to search after the exact history underlying them. But it is curious that he neither repeats Josephus's reckoning of "above 392 years" from Amosis and the Exodus to some time below the reign of Sethos-Rameses-Ægyptus, whose brother Armais is identified with Danaus, nor does he enumerate the reigns of Dyn. XVIII as he found them in Josephus. But either he himself, or some other unknown author whom he follows, has made such omissions as to reduce the interval between Amosis and the flight of Danaus after the 10th year of Ægyptus to just 313 years, so as to suit, with only 13 years over, the reckoning of nine generations at the rate of three to a century, as if from Inachus, which the $(333 + 8 =)$ 341 years of Manetho did not suit. Theophilus then writes thus:

“Ὁ δὲ Μωσῆς ὁδηγήσας [ᾠδήγησε] τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκβεβλημένους ἀπὸ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπὸ βασιλέως Φαραὼ οὗ τοῦνομα Ἀμωσις· ὃς, φασίν, μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λαοῦ ἐβασίλευσε ἔτη κέ· καὶ μῆνας δ', ὡς ὑφίηρηται Μανεθῶς·

“Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Χεβρὼν ἔτη ιγ’.

“Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀμενῶφισ ἔτη κ’, μῆνας ζ’.

“Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀμεσσῆ ἔτη κα’, μῆνα α’.

“Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην Μήφρης ἔτη ιβ’, μῆνας θ’.

“Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Μηφραμμούθωσις ἔτη κ’, μῆνας ι’.

“Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Τούθμωσις ἔτη θ’, μῆνας η’.

“Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀμενῶφισ ἔτη λ’, μῆνας ι’.

“Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ὀρος ἔτη λέ’, μῆνας ε’.

“Τοῦ δὲ Θυγατῆρ ἔτη ι’, μῆνας γ’.

“Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην Κεγχερῆς, ἔτη ιβ’, μῆνας γ’.

“Τοῦ δὲ Ἀρμαῖς ἔτη λ’ [Δ’] μῆνα α’.

“Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ῥαμεσσῆς Μιαμμού ἔτη ξς’, καὶ μῆνας β’.

“Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ῥαμεσσῆς ἐνιαυτὸν [ἓνα καὶ] μῆνας ἕξ’.

“Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀμενῶφισ ἔτη ιθ’, μῆνας ς’.

“Τοῦ δὲ Σέθως, ὃς καὶ Ῥαμεσσῆς, ἔτη ι’. ὃν φασιν ἐσχηκέναι πολλὴν δύναμιν ἱππικῆς, καὶ παράταξιν ναυτικῆς.

“Κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους χρόνους οἱ μὲν Ἑβραῖοι παροικήσαντες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ καταδουλωθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέως ὡς προεῖρηται Τεθμώσεως, ὠκοδόμησαν αὐτῷ πόλεις ὀχυράς, τήν τε Πιθὼ καὶ Ῥαμεσσῆ καὶ Ὄν . . . ὥστε καὶ τῶνδε πόλεων τῶν τότε ὀνομασθῶν κατ’ Αἰγυπτίους δεικνυνται προγενέστεροι οἱ Ἑβραῖοι ὄντες οἱ καὶ προπάτορες ἡμῶν . . . Αἴγυπτος καὶ ἡ χώρα ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Σέθω· τὸδε γὰρ Σέθως, φασίν, Αἴγυπτος καλεῖται· τῷδε καὶ ἦν ἀδελφὸς ᾧ ὄνομα Ἀρμαῖς· οὗτος Δαναὸς κέκληται, ὁ εἰς Ἄργος ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου παραγενόμενος, οὗ μέμνηνται οἱ λοιποὶ συγγραφεῖς ὡς πάντῃ ἀρχαίου τυγχάνοντος.

“Μανεθῶς δὲ ὁ κατ’ Αἰγυπτίους πολλὰ φλυαρήσας, ἔτι μὲν καὶ βλάβσφημα εἰπὼν εἰς Μωσέα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ Ἑβραῖους ὡς δῆθεν διὰ λέπραν ἐκβληθέντας ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ποιμένας μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰπὼν καὶ πολεμίους Αἰγυπτίων οὐχ’ εὗρεν τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῶν χρόνων εἰπεῖν. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ποιμένας ἄκων εἶπεν, ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας. Ἦσαν γὰρ ὄντως ποιμένες οἱ προπάτορες ἡμῶν, οἱ παροικήσαντες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἀλλ’ οὐ λεπροί.

“Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πεπλανῆσθαι τὸν Μανεθῶ περὶ τῶν χρόνων ἐκ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰρημένων δηλόν ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ ἐκβαλόντος αὐτοὺς, Φαραὼ τούνομα· οὐκέτι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐβασίλευσε· καταδιώξας γὰρ Ἑβραῖους μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος κατεποντίσθη εἰς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν. Ἔτι

μὴν καὶ οὗς ἔφη ποιμένας πεπολημῆκεναι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ψεύδεται· πρὸ ἐτῶν γὰρ τυγ' ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ὄκησαν ἐκ τότε τὴν χώραν," κ. τ. λ.

So Theophilus also made nearly the same reflections as Josephus; and like Josephus he is far from perceiving how Manetho has purposely blended a number of real but distinct events, persons, and epochs; but he supposes the "Shepherds" of Manetho to be all from first to last equally and only the Hebrews; and that they went forth from Egypt, according to Manetho, 313 years before the time when Sethos expelled them as lepers, that is, in B.C. 1183 or 1184 + 18 + ($7 \times 33\frac{1}{3} =$) $233\frac{1}{3} = 1434 + 313 = 1747$ or 1748; and that having once settled in Judæa, they never more returned (so contradicting Manetho) to Egypt. His expressions on two or three points are remarkable:—First, at the outset, he names *Amosis*, and very rightly, as having been named by implication by Manetho himself, who stated his reign of 25 years at the head of Dyn. XVIII; but afterwards he passes to Manetho's mythical name for him, *Tethmosis*, as if it were all one, writing "by the king Tethmosis, *as aforesaid*;" and at the same time he adds, as if that too were implied above, such a gloss upon Manetho's first account as is really a correction, though he blundered himself in making it. For in order to connect and harmonise with the truth Manetho's two accounts, he writes as if Tethmosis (he should have kept here to his first name Amosis) instead of *expelling* had only reduced the Shepherds to bondage; which was the exact truth so far as the Hebrews were concerned. Then he inserts from the book of Exodus the circumstance of their building for *him* (and here his Manethonian name Tethmosis may suit as well or better than Amosis) strong cities, *Pitho*, *Ramesses*, and *On*; and he bases an unlucky argument on the antiquity of these cities so named, and on the fact of the name of Egypt itself being derived from the king said to have expelled them in favour of the greater antiquity of the Hebrews. He seems to think that "*Pharao*" was the proper name of the king in whose time they really went out; and he argues confidently against Manetho that he *could not* have reigned on afterwards, as he was drowned together with his army in

the Red Sea. In dealing with Manetho's second story of the lepers he is amusingly indignant at this imputation, and somewhat inconsistent with himself in copying from Josephus the objection that they could not be expelled by Sethos-Rameses, as they had gone out above 300 years before, and had never returned. This was fair enough for Josephus to urge against Manetho. But Theophilus had explained away the former expulsion, and had let them remain and build cities not only for a Thothmes but also for a Rameses; accepting as it seems that portion of the myth which made the flight of Danaus to Greece and that of Moses to Judæa to be contemporary, but denying Manetho's story of a previous expulsion and a return of those who had once before been expelled as invaders from the country of Jerusalem. And on this view of the matter he had no longer any thing to say against the story of their being expelled by Sethos-Rameses merely on the ground that they had gone out much earlier. One thing also which he says incidentally of Manetho is noticeable, viz. that, "*according to the Egyptians, his work was full of fables (ὁ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους πολλὰ φλυαρήσας).*"

There is marked in Africanus's Egyptian lists one other synchronism the mention of which has been purposely postponed to the discussion of Amosis and the Exodus, and of the Argive generations between Inachus and Troy. Against the name of Amenoph II., the sixth king of Dyn. XVIII, there is an entry that "in his time was the Flood of Deucalion (*ἐφ' οὗ ὁ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμός*)."

This should be at an interval of *four* of the 17 longer generations from Inachus according to Thrasyllus, or in the *seventh* of the 19 or 20 short generations also mentioned by Tatian and Clemens, under Triopas. But Africanus, as has been seen above, reckoned the Argive generations at their full mythological length. It appears, then, that the synchronism of Deucalion, as it stands in his Egyptian lists, seemingly at September 1, B.C. 1659, if put at the first year of Amenoph II., is (B.C. 1906 — 1659 =) 247 years below his date for Inachus, whereas the first four Argive generations make at most but 215 years to the end of the 70 years of

Argus, while to the end of the sixth generation there are 304 years. So that he could not put it under Triopas. But if 44 years were added to his Egyptian lists somewhere below, so as to make the accession of Amosis coincide, as he implies it ought to do, with his date for the Exodus at B.C. 1797, the synchronism for Deucalion would then suit. For there would be (B.C. 1906—1797=) 109 years above, and 94 more below the Exodus and Amosis, making in all 203 years from Inachus to the accession of Amenoph II., so that the Flood of Deucalion, if put in his first year, would be 11 or 12 years before the end of the fourth Argive generation. Africanus, however, was not likely to introduce a purely Greek synchronism into his Egyptian lists, especially when they did not exhibit that coincidence of the accession of Amosis with his own date for the Exodus which he would have desired. And Syncellus asserts that Africanus in fact placed the Flood of Deucalion in the 70th year of Ehud, that is, at or after September 1, in B.C. (1797—232=) 1565, which is 341 years below his date for the foundation of Argos, far too low for the *fourth* Argive generation, even as reckoned by himself without reduction, but not low enough by 8 years for the commencement of the *seventh* generation, that of Triopas, under which the Flood of Deucalion had been put by Tatian. If Africanus had followed Ptolemy in making *Inachus* to synchronise with Amosis and the Exodus, only at his own date of B.C. 1797, the 70th year of Ehud, being at B.C. 1565, or 232 years later, would have connected the Flood of Deucalion with the 18th year of the fifth Argive generation, that of Crotopus.

As it stands attached to the reign of Amenoph II. the synchronism of the Flood of Deucalion suits well enough the method of Ptolemy, who, we know, joined the accession of Inachus with that of Amosis at B.C. 1765, and gave to the Argive generations only $33\frac{1}{3}$ years each. So that to the end of the fourth generation he would make like Thrasyllus only 133 years. And, if he had any reason for putting the synchronism somewhat earlier, so long as the sum of years from the accession of Amosis was over 100, it would still be attached to the *fourth* Argive generation. But from the

accession of Amosis to the end of the reign of Amenoph II. there are by the lists $(94 + 26 =)$ 120 years, so that Ptolemy might very well put the Flood of Deucalion in that reign. Ptolemy moreover may have made a mixed reckoning, beginning from his own *apparent* date for the head of Dyn. XVIII in B.C. 1765, but ending for such as knew the true chronology with the true date of the death of Amenoph II. or B.C. 1628, and so making an interval of 137 years. After this method the Flood of Deucalion might be understood to synchronise in B.C. $(1765 - 133 =)$ 1632 with the commencement of the 24th year of Amenoph II. There is no doubt then that this synchronism in Africanus's lists is really from Ptolemy; and its omission above between pages 444 and 445 in printing the Greek text is merely an oversight. (In the English translation at p. 96, in Chapter I. it is given.)

It may be supposed that in marking this Greek synchronism at the reign of a king under whom in truth the flower of the Egyptian army was overwhelmed in the Red Sea, Ptolemy made a secret allusion to this event, an event which had indeed the same significancy and the same author with the universal Deluge represented in Greek mythology by the Flood of Deucalion. We have already had an instance, in quoting from Diodorus Siculus, of the Flood of Deucalion being identified by his Egyptian informants with that greatest of all floods which preceded the origin of the existing race of mankind "above 10,000 years" before the time of Diodorus or of Alexander. And certainly the overthrow of the Red Sea was a renewal of the same type much more vivid and awful than any other of those partial deluges, of which the Egyptians told Solon there had been many, (they had one in fact every year), as if dissembling the full emphasis of that one which they never named. And unless Ptolemy had had some secret allusion, he either would not have named the Flood of Deucalion at all, or he would have named it at its natural place, according to the apparent chronology of his own lists; and so its date of B.C. $1765 - 133 = 1632$, would have been $133 - 94 = 39$ years below the accession of Amenoph II., and $39 - 26 = 13$ after his death. It would not even have attached to the reign of his successor

Thothmes IV. who has only 9 years; but it would have belonged to the 4th year of Amenoph III. the Memnon of the Greeks, whom Manetho has also blended with Amenoph II., as he has blended the Arabian-Cushites or Hierosolymites with the Hebrews and with the earlier Shepherds.

As Africanus does not give it, it is probable that the synchronism of Danaus was omitted by Ptolemy. And it has been seen above that there were reasons for this omission, if he knew that Manetho's real allusion was to the history of Seti I. or his son Rameses II., whose true date also suited the longer reckoning of the Argive generations. But on the other hand the first years of Rameses II. were plainly too near to Ptolemy's date for Inachus, even though it were set consistently and solely at B.C. 1765. For so the interval would consist of only eight average generations instead of nine, and of about 266 instead of 300 years. And it would have reduced his other esoteric reckoning, by which Inachus was brought down perhaps to B.C. $(1765 - 94 =)$ 1671 or 1654, to a plain contradiction and absurdity. But Manetho's mythical synchronism of Danaus and Sethos-Rameses at the head of his Dyn. XIX suited the last mentioned reckoning of Ptolemy well enough. For between B.C. 1655, the true date for the accession of Amenoph II. identified with Amosis, and B.C. $(1417 - 8 =)$ 1409, 8 years below the head of Dyn. XIX at the supposed date for the flight of Danaus, there were for the nine Argive reigns 246 years, which exceeded the exact measure of 10 average reigns of $24\frac{1}{2}$ years each by only one year, and left 8 full reigns within one year for the following interval of 197 years to Troy. Probably therefore he intended his two distinct reckonings for the Exodus and Inachus to be connected the one of them with the earlier date hinted, the other with the later date asserted, by Manetho for Danaus; but as he could not expressly introduce both reckonings he abstained from introducing either.

There still remains a portion of Africanus's Egyptian lists, that namely from the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses to the end of the 4th year of Darius Codomannus and of Ptolemy's Dyn. XXXI, which demands attention. There

can be no doubt that the 5th of Cambyses began from Jan. 2 in B.C. 525, or, as Africanus would reckon, from Sept. 1 in B.C. 526, and that the 4th of Darius ended Nov. 15 in B.C. 332, or, as Africanus would reckon, Aug. 31 in B.C. 332. But to fill this space of 194 Nabonassarian years the lists of Africanus, like those of the original Manetho, have not only 194 chronological years (viz. 124 of Dyn. XXVII + 19 of Dyn. XXIX + 38 of Dyn. XXX + 13 of Ptolemy's Dyn. XXXI), but they have also those 8 unchronological years and 2 months (consisting of 6 months of Psammenitus, of 4 months added to Dyn. XXVII, of the 6 years of Dyn. XXVIII, and of 1 year and 4 months added to Dyn. XXIX) which have been repeatedly mentioned above. These 8 years, if reckoned as they stand, must either thrust up the conquest of Cambyses to B.C. 533 (534 for Africanus), or thrust down the end of the 4th year of Darius Codomannus to B.C. 324, both which displacements are equally impossible. On the other hand, if they are omitted altogether, they cause in the case of Manetho's lists a deficiency of 8 years and 2 months above the head of his Dyn. XXVI. But in the case of Ptolemy's lists their omission is necessary. And if they are allowed to reckon, *as if they had been placed above Dyn. XXVI*, this in the case of Manetho's lists suits well enough; but in the case of Ptolemy's it causes an excess of 8 years and 2 months. Manetho therefore had them and meant them (like others of his transpositions) to be *taken account of* and allowed for, but not to be reckoned as they stood. Ptolemy did not mean them either to be reckoned as they stood or to be taken account of, and perhaps he even omitted them altogether, since their fractions are anomalous for his lists, and Africanus certainly has some admixture of variants derived from the original Manetho. Africanus seems not to have reckoned them in the first instance, when he made out his sacred scheme parallel to his Egyptian lists between Amosis and the Exodus above and Apries and Nebuchadnezzar below. But afterwards, when by blundering about the times of the Captivity and Cyrus he had put up the Exodus 44 years higher than he had put it at first, he probably took those 8

years of Manetho into consideration, and allowed them to tell in diminution of the interval between his apparent date for Amosis and that assigned by him for the Exodus.

It is to be regretted that the late learned and venerable President of Magdalen College, Oxford, Dr. Routh, in his "*Reliquiæ Sacræ*," was led by his respect for the superior antiquity of Eusebius into the mistake of reprinting his text of the Egyptian dynasties (especially from Dyn. XVI of Eusebius downwards) as that of Africanus rather than the totally different text really copied from Africanus by Syncellus. Some future re-editor of the *Reliquiæ*, it may be hoped, will restore the genuine text of Africanus to its proper place, and so remedy a considerable blot in that valuable work, one which is the more sensible as the true lists of Africanus, as it happens, from after Dyn. XV downwards, are now omitted in it altogether.

CHAP. VII.

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILI.

WE come next to Eusebius Pamphili, who was Bishop of Cæsarea, the Metropolitan Church of Palestine, in the time of Constantine the Great. His valuable Chronicon in two books, as reconstructed in great measure by Julius Scaliger, who put together the fragments and notices belonging to it from various authors, was published at Leyden in A.D. 1606, and at Amsterdam in A.D. 1658. And, in our own time, the same work has been recovered nearly entire in an old Armenian version, and printed with a Latin translation by Zohrab and Cardinal Mai at Milan in A.D. 1818.

Eusebius in his first book gives a collection of extracts from various authors, intended, as he says, to serve as materials whence to construct his own Canon or parallel chronicle of different nations, which is exhibited in his second book. Thus the same series, as, for instance, the Egyptian lists copied or altered from Africanus, may occur twice over, or even thrice; once in the first book, as raw material; again in the lists of kings, selected and prepared for use, which are prefixed to the second book; and lastly in the Canon itself worked up into Eusebius's own system year by year. The Egyptian lists of Eusebius's First Book have been transcribed and preserved in the original Greek (as well as the lists of Africanus) by Syncellus; and the whole of the Canon or Second Book (with the lists of kings selected for it prefixed) has been translated into Latin by St. Jerome, with some incidental variations and remarks of his own in that part which is later than the date for Troy.

Unlike his predecessor Africanus, from whose work, as from those of other writers, he transcribed freely with or without acknowledgment, and who had unduly swelled the sum of his sacred reckoning between the Exodus and the building of the Temple by 98 years, Eusebius unduly curtailed it between the same two points by 162 years. His reason for doing so he has given at length; and it is briefly this: — that if we consider the genealogy in the line of Judah from the death of Naasson, who may be paralleled with Moses, to the building of the Temple, we find only 5 generations, as it seems, viz. those of Salmon, Boaz, Obed, Jesse, and David, to a space of 701 years according to Africanus, or 561 [really 601] years according to the Book of Judges and St. Paul. “Now five generations,” Eusebius says, “cannot have covered 700 years, unless each father were 140 years old at the birth of his son. And though we reckon only with the Apostle 561 [601] years between the Exodus and the Temple, even so,” he says, “each of the five fathers from Naasson to David must have been of the age of 115 years at the birth of his son, which is not to be thought of.” Here he erroneously supposes that the Apostle suppressed those years of the Elders after Joshua and of Samuel before Saul which he did not expressly mention. But, in truth, Eusebius does not thus make the most of the difficulty, even though he names the sum of Africanus. For even without the 98 years improperly added by Africanus, if we reckon only the true number, viz. $(601 - 84 =) 517$ years between the capture of Jericho and the birth of David, and suppose further, which is improbable, that it was as many as 30 years after the capture of Jericho that “Salmon begat Boaz of Rahab,” there are still $(517 - 30 =) 487$ years between the births of Boaz and David; and Boaz, Obed, and Jesse will appear to have been each of them 159 years old at the birth of his son. With Africanus’s reckoning it would be 192 years. However stated, the improbability, Eusebius thought, was so enormous that it was necessary to remove or palliate it by whatever expedient seemed most available. Having this in his mind, he takes his stand upon a passage in 3 Kings (ch. vi. ver. 1) which, as he says, “strongly affirms

(vehementer affirmant) that there were between the Exodus and the building of the Temple 440 years, though the Hebrew text has 480, and the Jewish doctors defend their reading by excluding the times of the Servitudes. So, they say, there are exactly 480 years from the Exodus to the foundation of the Temple." Eusebius therefore adopts from them this idea; and during the times of the Judges he supposes the years specified for each Servitude to be reckoned over again and included in the years of the Judge who follows. Besides the 111 years of the Servitudes he omits also the 10 years of the judgeship of Elon (saying that they were not in the LXX) and the 10 years given by Josephus to the Elders who outlived Joshua. So that the total of his suppressions thus far would be 131. But on the other hand he adopts from Theophilus of Antioch, Clemens of Alexandria, and Africanus, their addition of 2 years to the 25 of Joshua; and he reckons (which was natural on his principle) the 20 years of Samson, which were really included in the 40 of the Philistines. So the total sum of his suppressions between the death of Moses and the death of Samson is reduced to 109 years. And after the death of Samson, instead of the 40 $[+ 20 + 20] + 12 + (20 + 20) + 40 + 4 = 176$ years of the Scriptures and Josephus harmonised, or the $(100 + 40 + 20 + 10 + 20 + 20 + 40 + 4 =)$ 254 of Africanus, he gives only 40 of Eli, 40 of Samuel and Saul together, 40 of David, and 4 of Solomon, making in all 124 years. And the whole series from the Exodus to the foundation of the Temple, as enumerated in his First Book, being composed of the following sums, $40 + 27 + 40 + 80 + 40 + 40 + 3 + 22 + 23$ (*not 22*) of Tola $+ 6 + 7$ of Eusebon $+ 8$ of Labdon $+ 20$ of Samson $+ 40 + 40 + 40 + 4$, makes just 480 years. Owing, however, to a blunder in dropping the 23rd year of Tola, which seems to have been wanting in some of the Greek copies of the Book of Judges (for Theophilus also had omitted it), he makes out in his Canon only 479 years to the end of the 4th of Solomon, though he still speaks of 480. It is so common a thing with him to reckon variously and uncertainly in excluding or including the extreme points of his sums, that 479 years *full* from the last day of his A. ABR. 505, preced-

ing the Exodus by some months, to the first day of his 5th year of Solomon *might* be called by him 480 years. We, however, taking his scheme not as it seems to have been designed, and as it *ought to have been* made out, but as it is *actually* made out, must reckon uniformly for him 479 years only between the Exodus and the foundation of the Temple, or rather the end of the 4th year of Solomon in which it was founded. And so Eusebius is *within these two points short* of the true sum of the Scriptures and Josephus, viz. 641, by $(641 - 479 =)$ 162 years, and short of the sum of Africanus, viz. 741, by $(741 - 479 =)$ 262 years. "By this method," he observes, "having made only 436 years between the deaths of Moses and David;" (this is in lib. i., but in the Canon he has only 435, and he specifies that sum indirectly, saying "940 years," that is $505 + 435$, "from the birth of Abraham to the death of Saul") "we may exhibit the five ancestors of Solomon as having been one with another of the age of 85 years only ($5 \times 85 = 425$) instead of 115 at the birth of their sons." But here again he makes the least of the difficulty. For even thus he has himself between the death of Naasson and Moses or the capture of Jericho and the birth of David 356 years; and between the birth of Boaz (even if Rahab bare him 30 years after the capture of Jericho) and the birth of David 326 years. So that after all he must allow Boaz, Obed, and Jesse to be each of the age of 115 years at the birth of his son; and the very same improbability which he could not think of accepting from the Book of Judges and St. Paul is admitted by himself, even in the very act of setting them aside, by his own blundering inattention. Even as stated by himself the result would be still so far out of the common course of things as scarcely to repay the temerity used to obtain it. This operation, however, is Eusebius's main peculiarity; and by this he is the father of all the rationalists, and of all the varieties of what may be called in general terms the short chronology below Abraham, that of Usher included, which is still generally received in England. By his off-handed presumption in this question he has done perhaps more to confuse and perplex history than any other writer who can be named. Still, to

be just, one must confess that herein he is better than his later followers and imitators, that with the mischief he gives the antidote, placing the longer and truer reckoning, though with some inaccuracy, side by side with his own, sometimes even inconsistently following it, and even in defending his own theory confessing that the Book of Judges and St. Paul make 450 years of Judges to Samuel the Prophet, and are adverse both to himself and to that text of 3 Kings vi. 1, on which he insists. This being so, it needs no great wisdom to reflect that St. Paul, having been one of the most learned of the school of the Pharisees in the first century, and writing besides as an inspired Apostle, is a more competent commentator on any apparent difficulty or discrepancy between two or more texts of the Scriptures than later Jewish Rabbis, who might have reasons of their own for curtailing the time past, or than late and certainly uninspired Christian critics. Supposing it to be granted that the number of 440 or 480 years in 3 Kings is inconsistent with the plain and natural sense of the Book of Judges, St. Paul, writing when this discrepancy already existed, shows that the earlier Book of Judges and not that single text of the later Book of Kings is to be followed. And it is not difficult, with a little attention, to discover the true origin and meaning of the erroneous reckoning of 480 years. For the writer or glosser of the text in that place of the 3rd Book of Kings, having before his mind the Book of *Judges* only, found there just 390 years, besides $5\frac{1}{2}$ years or 6 years current of the wars of Joshua; and to these years, which alone were expressly named, he added 84 more of the first *three Kings*, to the end of the 4th year of Solomon. Hence he might have said with accuracy that the years of the *Judges* after the Exodus numbered in the Book of Judges being 396, and those of the *Kings* to the end of the 4th year of Solomon being 84, there were of Judges and Kings in all 480 years. A parallel instance of inaccuracy in reckoning from the commencement of the Judges as if from the Exodus, though without any other omissions below, is afforded by S. Theophilus, who says in one place "from Tyrian sources" that there were "from the Exodus to the building of the Temple

566 years." (*Ad Autolyc.* iii. 22.) And after dropping the 40 of Moses, the 25 of Joshua, and the 10 of the Elders, there remain in truth $390 + 40 + 20 + 32 + 40 + 40 + 4$, amounting exactly to 566 years.

But when once a natural origin for the later of two contradictory statements or calculations is discovered, and is felt to account sufficiently for its existence, all the difficulty of an apparent conflict between two equally authoritative testimonies is done away, even though it be not added that a third equally authoritative text has been written afterwards by an inspired commentator, interpreting or correcting that which needed interpretation or correction in the older conflicting texts. Whether in this case the error lies in a very ancient corruption of the text by an uninspired gloss, or the text was even from the first as it now stands, — and, if so, how an incidental human error could be permitted to find place in an inspired book so as to need the subsequent explanation and correction of another inspired writer, — is a question which need not here be examined. It is enough that St. Paul, being, to say the least, a competent critic, and having perfect knowledge both of the *apparent* number of generations between Naasson and David, and also of the text of chapter vi. of the Third Book of Kings, reckons "450 years of the *Judges*" between Joshua and the Elders (*who were not called Judges*) and "Samuel the Prophet," and not 288 only like Eusebius. And when once these 450 years are admitted, Eusebius himself would no longer oppose the readmission of those other years of the Elders after Joshua, and of Samuel's minority, and government, which he suppresses only for the sake of obtaining the reduced sum of 480 years between the Exodus and the foundation of the Temple, and which he himself reckons, however inconsistently, in other parts of his writings when he is not going upon the same theory.

This most important peculiarity of Eusebius having been explained, it follows to mention one or two points of detail in which his inconsistency or want of precision, if unnoticed, might lead to confusion. Besides the remarkable inconsistency mentioned above of professing to make out 480

years from the Exodus to the Temple and making out only 479, he in like manner, after promising to make out 70 years between the 11th year *complete* of Zedekiah (where he improperly begins the Captivity) and the 2nd of Darius Hystaspes, meaning no doubt originally the 2nd *complete*, ends to all appearance the 70 years two years earlier, the 70th being given to the Magi who intervened between Cambyzes and Darius. The source of this incoherency will be examined below; but for the present it is enough to state that we shall deal with the year nominally given to the Magi as if it were the first year of Darius, which *chronologically* it really is. And so the Captivity ending for Eusebius in the spring of the year following will end *really* for him, *though not apparently*, in the 2nd year of Darius; and his only fault, besides that of *misnaming* the preceding year, will be that of reckoning to the beginning instead of the end of the year in the course of which the rebuilding of the Temple was commenced. And this can scarcely be called a fault, seeing that the idea itself in respect of which it is a sort of fault or failure, viz. that of ending the 70 years of Captivity with the 2nd year of Darius, is itself erroneous. It may here be observed, that Eusebius on more occasions than one excludes, instead of including, the year within the course of which any event from which he may be reckoning took place, as if he were ignorant or neglectful of that rule by which the reigns and years of kings were antedated so as to include any odd months of the reign preceding. Thus, if the Egyptian conquest of Cambyzes took place in his 5th Persian year, the whole of that year, including as it did some odd months of Amasis or Psammenitus, ought to be reckoned to his Egyptian reign. But Eusebius, instead of antedating by some 6 months the accession of Cambyzes, fills up the odd months left by Dyn. XXVI with the first six months of the actual reign of Cambyzes, and so makes his 5th Persian year to be the 42nd (which with him is the last) of Amasis. Again, he makes Ochus to conquer Egypt in his 20th, and to reign over it 6 years exclusive of the year assigned for the conquest, since his whole reign had 26 years. In like manner, when the 70 years of the Captivity

began *in* the 11th of Zedekiah, instead of making this to be the 1st year of the 70, he fills it up, and gives it separately as a perfect year to the reign of Zedekiah.

Again, in speaking of the First Olympiad, he is, intentionally perhaps, loose and ambiguous in his expressions, though it is not necessary to charge him, as Scaliger has done, with falsifying the words which he quotes from Africanus, and substituting the name of Joatham for that of Ahaz. Africanus, as it seems, exhibited the last three years of Joatham and the first year of Ahaz, beginning for him from Sept. 1, in B.C. 777, 776, 775, and 774 respectively, as parallel with the four years of the first Olympiad, or, in strictness, as including the *beginnings* of its four years. Hence there is no real inconsistency in Africanus's speaking in one place of his having made the reign of "Joatham," in another of his having made that of "Ahaz," to coincide with "the first Olympiad." Eusebius, who had not like Africanus 10 years too many for the kings between Solomon and Hezekiah, as if to make amends gave 10 too many below to Amon, and reckoned 5 other unchronological years below to the kings or to the Captivity, viz. a 12th year to Jehoiakim, and 32 years instead of 28, being 4 too many, between the end of the *tenth* year of Zedekiah and the Persian accession of Cyrus. And so *below* B.C. 777, he had in all 15 unchronological years, being fewer by 17 than those of Africanus; for Africanus had below the same point 32 unchronological years. Consequently Eusebius's Hebrew year to begin from Sept. 1 in B.C. 777 was the 49th of Uzziah, distant by $(32 - 15 =)$ 17 years from the 14th of Joatham which the 32 unhistorical years of Africanus had thrust up *for him* to the same date. So the last 4 years of Uzziah, beginning for Eusebius from Sept. 1, in B.C. 777, 776, 775 and 774 respectively, as they stand in his Canon, were really those which contained the commencements of the 4 Olympic years beginning in July B.C. 776, 775, 774 and 773; and he paralleled them therefore with the same four Olympic years. Still, as he often speaks without precision where beginnings and endings are concerned, he is not absolutely irreconcilable with himself when he claims to agree in some sense

with Africanus who put Olymp. 1 *a'*, that is part of Olymp. 1 *a'*, under Joatham, "inasmuch as he too had made Olymp. 1 *a'* to coincide in part with or run into the reign of Joatham." For though his year paralleled in the Canon with Olymp. 1 *δ'* as containing its beginning is not the 1st of Joatham but the 52nd of Uzziah, still, as the Eusebian year covered only the first 2 months of the Olympic year with which it was paralleled, and the 10 remaining months, being by far the greater part of the actual Olympic year, belonged to the Eusebian year next following, he might allude to this when he said that he also had made the first Olympiad to run into the reign of Joatham. He says, indeed, also that he made the 50th of Uzziah to coincide with the 1st Olympiad, meaning apparently with its first year; and if only this coincidence were exhibited in the Canon, there would be no inconsistency between his different assertions respecting Uzziah and Joatham, any more than between those of Africanus respecting Joatham and Ahaz. But the 50th of Uzziah could not be thrust up so as to begin with Sept. 1 in B.C. 777 without the insertion of an additional year somewhere below, and a corresponding suppression of one year somewhere above. And as the Canon stands at present it is only the *second* year of Olymp. 1 with which the *fiftieth* of Uzziah can be *paralleled*, though it *actually* includes the last 10 months of the *first*. So the coincidences seemingly asserted for the 50th year of Uzziah and for the 1st year of Joatham with the 1st and 4th years of Olymp. 1 must both alike be understood of the remainder, that is, of the last 10 months of the *actual* not of the Eusebian *Olympic year*.

In any case it was but a vague sort of agreement with Africanus to which he could pretend, if Africanus had made the 1st year of Olymp. 1 to coincide with the 14th, the last but two, of Joatham, while he himself exhibited the 4th year of the same Olympiad in contact with the 1st of Joatham. It was much like that agreement which Africanus had claimed with Polemo, since Polemo had put the Exodus under Apis, while Africanus himself had put it in the last year of Phoroneus, whereas in truth there was still a difference between them of nearly the whole reign of Apis.

Lastly, there is in the present text of the Egyptian column of the Canon, between the last year of Dyn. XXVI and the end of Dyn. XXX and of Dyn. XXXI, a complication of dislocations and corruptions, caused probably in great part by copyists, who did not understand the position given by Eusebius, and given very rightly, to the 6 years of Dyn. XXVIII as parallel and concurrent to the last Egyptian years of Darius Nothus. Whether it were that Eusebius himself had not made those 6 years of Amyrtæus to end exactly with the reign of Nothus, but a year or two earlier (in which there would have been no fault), they are now made to begin concurrently with his 13th; and they have drawn up, as if necessarily cohering to them, the commencements of Dynasties XXIX and XXX, all the years of which are wanted below the death of Nothus. Indeed all the years are not enough. For Eusebius himself had below the death of Nothus 3 years really belonging to Dyn. XXVII still to account for; and 1 out of these 3 years was unprovided for by the lists of Manetho and Africanus. The reckoning therefore for the last portion of the Egyptian lists in that epitome of the Canon which shall be given below will be corrected and restored by a comparison of the list of the same dynasties in Book I. with St. Jerome's Latin version of the Canon, which gives the later Egyptian reigns with much less corruption and curtailment than the Armenian version. The sum total too of the years to be exhibited being fixed from the Old Chronicle, and the dates for the end of Dyn. XXX and Dyn. XXXI being also fixed and known, there is less difficulty. And thus much having been premised, we may now proceed to exhibit Eusebius's scheme of sacred and profane chronology in detail.

He begins, like Africanus, from the Creation, and from the Autumn, Sept. 1, according to Ideler, though Clinton supposes him to follow the older Syrian reckoning which began the fixed year from Oct. 1; and he makes 2242 years to the end of the year of the Flood, like SS. Theophilus and Hippolytus. So at the Flood he already has 20 years fewer than Africanus. And whereas by that text of the LXX which gives to Methuselah 188 or 187 years to the birth

of Lamech, and a survival of 782 years, making in all 969 or 970 years to his death, while the years of Lamech to the birth of Noah are 162, and the years of Noah to the Flood are 599 complete, it follows that Methuselah outlives the Flood by 20 years, other copies (of which the Alexandrine MS. is one) giving to Methuselah 167 years only to the birth of Lamech, and 802 of survival, caused no such inconsistency. But Eusebius, instead of preferring like Africanus this better text, adopted indeed the reading of 167 for the first division of the life of Methuselah, but joined with it a survival of only 782 years, so making the sum of years to the Flood to be 2242, and making Methuselah to die, as he dies also according to Africanus, 6 years before the Flood. But this contrivance, with whomsoever it originated, besides that it is a mere contrivance, involves also the awkwardness of contradicting the received tradition that Methuselah lived the longest life of all the Patriarchs; for it makes him to live only 949 instead of 969 years, while Jared lived 962 years.

After his first 2242 Eusebius makes 942 years complete to Aug. 31, the end of his A.M. 3184, before the birth of Abraham. And after the $(2242 + 942 =)$ 3184 years complete, he reckons 2015 years of Abraham to Aug. 31 in B.C. 1, the 2015th year including the Nativity. He reckons them thus: First, $(75 + 430 =)$ 505 years to the Exodus, which so is after the completion of his A.M. 3689. Then 40 years of Moses; and 27 years reckoned uniformly to Joshua, so that 2 of these compensate for 2 years of the 10 of the Elders after Joshua, as if he had omitted only 8. These bring him to the end of his A.M. 3756, A. ABR. 572. Then, as has been already explained, he has 289 years in his First Book, but in his Second 288 years only, for the Judges, ending with his A.M. 4044, A. ABR. 860, since he suppresses without compensation 91 years out of the 111 of the Servitudes, or 101 if one adds the 10 of Elon. He drops also in his Canon the 23rd year of Tola, and suppresses the 20 years of Samuel's minority, and all the 32 during which he judged alone, making a total sum of 162 years suppressed. Then he gives 40 for Eli, 20 for Samuel together with Saul, and

20 more for Saul alone, 40 of David, and 4 to the end of the 4th of Solomon, making 479 years complete from Sept. 1 preceding the Exodus, the commencement of his A.M. (2242 + 942 + 505 =) 3690 to Aug. 31, the end of his A.M. 4168, A. ABR. (505 + 479 =) 984, in B.C. 1032, a few months after the foundation of the Temple; or equally making 479 years from the Exodus itself at the time of the Passover, in his A. ABR. 506, to the same time of the Passover in his A. ABR. 985 in the 5th of Solomon. From the end of his A. ABR. 984 he makes "36 years" to the death of Solomon at the end of A.M. 2204, A. ABR. 1020, in B.C. 996, being (15 + 3 =) 18 years above the true date; and 406 [405] full years besides of kings to the end of the 11th of Zedekiah *after* the burning of the Temple, which is to the end of his A.M. 4610, A. ABR. 1425, in B.C. 591. So he has here of kings after Solomon 4 over the 401 years of Africanus (for Africanus too gave 10 years too many to the kings after Solomon), 12 over the 393 made by Josephus to the 1st year of the Captivity, and 15 over the truth. This excess is caused by his giving to Amon in his Canon 12 instead of 2 years, and to Jehoiakim 12 instead of 11 years, besides adding up the 3 imperfect years of Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaz, as if they were complete and distinct from the first years of their respective successors, and lastly reckoning the 11th of Zedekiah as a full year preceding the 1st year of the Captivity. This same excess of 15 years on the kings reduces the sum of his hitherto uncompensated suppressions above between the Exodus and his beginning of the Captivity from 162 to 147 years. And the end of the 11th year of Zedekiah appears in his Canon at the end of his A. ABR. 1425, Aug. 31 in B.C. 591, instead of Aug. 31, in B.C. 587, that is, 4 years above Aug. 31 in B.C. 587, which would have been in terms of his reckoning the true date. It is in consequence of the error of substituting the beginning of the 2nd or the end of the 1st year of Darius for the end of his 4th, as the end of the Captivity, and in order to suit this error, that he makes the interval between the end of the 11th year of Zedekiah and the Persian accession of Cyrus to consist of 31 instead of 27 years; and makes 52 years from

the end of the 11th of Zedekiah instead of 49 from the end of his 10th to the capture of Babylon. So his total deficiency is here again reduced, and now for the last time, from 147 to 143 years. From the 2nd of Darius, or rather from the end of his first, being that of his A.M. 4679, A. ABR. 1495, ending according to him at Aug. 31, in B.C. ($591 - 70 =$) 521, he makes 520 years to the end of the year including the Nativity, viz. to Aug. 31, in B.C. 1 of the vulgar era, thus: first 191 years more of the Persians to the end of his A.M. 4870, A. ABR. 1686 (and so, with the 30 of Cyrus + 8 of Cambyses + 1 of Darius preceding, he had in all 230 years of Persians like Africanus); then 302 of Macedonians to the death of Cleopatra (viz. 6 of Alexander + 150 to the end of the 1st year of Antiochus Epiphanes + $146 = 302$), that is, to the end of A.M. 5172, A. ABR. 1988, Aug. 31 in B.C. 28, with 27 more to Aug. 31, following the Nativity, viz. to Aug. 31, in B.C. 1, to the end of A.M. 5199 and A. ABR. 2015. Thence 14 to the beginning of the 1st of Tiberius, to Aug. 31 ending his A.M. 5213, A. ABR. 2029, in A.D. 14; and 14 of Tiberius to the beginning of his 15th year, that is, to Aug. 31 ending A.M. 5227 and A. ABR. 2043; then 1 year of the preaching of the Baptist, including at its end seemingly the Baptism of Christ, to the end of A.M. 5226 and A. ABR. 2044, Aug. 31, A.D. 29; then 3 years, being the 16th, 17th, and 18th of Tiberius, of Christ's teaching; and in the 4th, the 19th of Tiberius, that is, in his A.M. 5232, A. ABR. 2048, in A.D. 33, he put the Crucifixion and the Ascension: thence $37\frac{1}{2}$ years to the burning of the Temple in the 2nd year of Vespasian, that is, to the end of his A.M. 5269, A. ABR. 2085, where he is again reckoning only to the end of his 1st year of Vespasian exclusively of the 2nd, but still indicates the true date, viz. the autumn of A.D. 70. That he reckons the 20th of Constantine with which he ends, and which should really have been his A.M. 5524, A. ABR. 2340, ending Aug. 31, in A.D. 325, to be A.M. 5529, A. ABR. 2345, as if it ended in A.D. 330, is chiefly owing to this, that between the 13th of Commodus, which both he and St. Jerome give as A. ABR. 2208, and the 1st of Probus, which he gives as A. ABR. 2295, he reckons 3 years too many. St. Jerome

rightly omits these, and gives the 1st of Probus as A. ABR. 2292. And, again, Eusebius by giving a 7th year to Probus has a fourth interpolated year which is also rightly omitted by St. Jerome; and the 1st of Caius, which is for Eusebius A. ABR. 2302, is for him 2298. The 20th of Constantine, however, St. Jerome makes to be A. ABR. 2342, so that he ends with one year more than Eusebius, apparently indeed with 3 years less, but, when Eusebius's excess of 4 years is deducted, with one year more, as if in A.D. 327.

In that part of his Canon which is before Christ it is to be noticed that he ends the 1st year of Darius Hystaspes at Aug. 31, in B.C. 521, too high by 1 year of our reckoning, since it really ended Jan. 1, in B.C. 520. But for the 4th of Darius his numeration of the year B.C. agrees with our own, and with the truth, as he makes it to end Aug. 31 in B.C. 518, and it really did end on Dec. 31 in that year. So below this date his neglect of the difference between Hebrew or natural and Nabonassarian years, down to the introduction of the fixed Julian year, is of no great importance. But *above* it must be taken into account in reducing his dates to terms of the anticipated Julian year B.C. And instead of Sept. 1, B.C. 521 + 1 + 8 + 9 + 21 + 27 [+4], that is Sept. 1 in B.C. 522, 530, 539, 560, and [587 or] 591, for the accession of Darius, of Cambyzes, of Cyrus and Darius jointly at Babylon, and of Cyrus in Persia, and for the commencement of the year following the 11th of Zedekiah, we must understand in each case the spring of the next year, viz. of B.C. 521, 529, 538, 559, and [586 or] 590. From Aug. 31, in B.C. 591, the end of Eusebius's A.M. 4509, A. ABR. 1415, we go back ($405 + 36 + 79 + 505 =$) 1425 years to Sept. 1, in B.C. 2016, to the beginning of his A.M. 3185, the year *in* which he put the birth of Abraham. And thence again 942 and 2242 years to Sept. 1 in B.C. 2958, the beginning of the year next after the Flood, A.M. 2243, and to the epoch of the Creation, Sept. 1 in B.C. 5200. But in Julian dates B.C., the end of the 11th of Zedekiah being for him in the spring of B.C. 590, the birth of Abraham will be properly in the spring of B.C. 2015; and the interval of 942 years remaining between the actual birth of Abraham in the spring of B.C.

2015 and the end of the year of the Flood, which is fixed to the autumn of B.C. ($2016 + 942 =$) 2958, being 942 years and 6 months, is certainly too great by 2 years, Arphaxad having been born within 9 or 10 months from the going forth from the Ark, and Abraham having been born in the spring of the 940th year from the birth of Arphaxad. Eusebius's excess then of 2 years between the Flood and Abraham may be taken to compensate for 2 of the 20 years by which his reckoning falls short of the Egyptian, and short of the Alexandrian MS. of the LXX, for the time before the Flood.

From the birth of Abraham set at Sept. 1 in B.C. 2016 Eusebius reckons 2020 years to the death of Herod, which he puts at or after his A.M. 5203, which should be in the spring of A.D. 5, the 2020 years being complete at Aug. 31 following. For he reckons to Herod's reign 37 years as if from B.C. 33, instead of from B.C. 40. It will have been noticed also how his excess of 2 years in giving to the Macedonians 302 seems to bring the death of Cleopatra down from the autumn of B.C. 30 to that of B.C. 28: but his thought perhaps was not so much of her death as of the Roman era of Augustus.

Putting the birth of Christ a year later than Africanus, in Dec. B.C. 2 instead of B.C. 3, and giving $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, instead of only $1\frac{1}{2}$, to Christ's public ministry on earth, he naturally puts the date of the Crucifixion and Ascension 3 years later than Africanus, viz. in A.D. 33, his A. ABR. 2049. Had he not blundered about the years of Herod, he might have corrected that undue compression of Christ's ministry which with others, through a misunderstanding of the 15th year of Tiberius named by St. Luke, had really drawn forward the date for his birth not by carrying forward, as he now has done, the Crucifixion, but by putting back the Nativity to B.C. 5, or earlier, so that the ministry of Christ should begin in A.D. 25 or 26 instead of A.D. 28 or 29.

It being understood then that Eusebius reckons 5200 years from the Creation to Aug. 31 in A.D. 1 of the vulgar era, or 2016 from Sept. 1 preceding the birth of Abraham to the same point, we may now proceed to inquire what view he takes of Egyptian antiquity, and how he deals

with those lists of Manetho or Ptolemy which he knew through the work of Africanus.

He observes that, even after the suppression of all those years which he had suppressed in the scheme of Africanus, the historical traditions of none of the heathen empires or nations go back much before his own date for Abraham. Wherefore, disallowing and cutting off whatever seemed in the Egyptian chronicles to rise higher, and suppressing in the Assyrian lists (at least so Syncellus says) four kings before Teutamus with 162 years, he arbitrarily makes the first year of the Egyptian monarchy, the 43rd of the Assyrians, and the $(52 + 22 =)$ 75th of Sicyon to coincide with his own first year of Abraham. And then, as if no close accuracy in details were possible, but it was enough to exhibit a synchronistic series made by himself as *something like what must be* the actual truth, he arranges and alters his materials in such ways and to such extent as is requisite.

Having made between the end of the year preceding the birth of Abraham, his A.M. 3184, at Aug. 31 in B.C. 2016, and the commencement of the undisputed empire of Alexander at Babylon, Sept. 1, B.C. 330, a sum of 1686 years which he could allow for the Egyptian dynasties of kings (treating the Egyptian years like the Nabonassarian as if identical with Hebrew or Julian years), he proceeded to deal with Egyptian antiquity as follows:—

He had before him the Manetho of Ptolemy as transcribed by Africanus, perhaps in two separate editions (if the words used in one place by Syncellus “κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν ἔκδοσιν Ἀφρικανοῦ” really imply that there were two); but he certainly had not any copy of the original Manetho, whom he is glad to quote at second hand from Josephus. Finding in the work of Africanus xxxi Egyptian dynasties of kings with a sum apparently of $(3555 + 1919 + 13 =)$ 5487 years, vastly exceeding the 1686 which he was prepared to allow, he noticed at the same time in the same work an account of the Old Chronicle copied like the Three Books of Manetho from Ptolemy of Mendes by Africanus. And this Chronicle, which was spoken of as older than Manetho and as the source which he had followed, and from which he had varied, made

for the whole period of the Egyptian monarchy from Menes to Nectanebo only xv dynasties of kings instead of xxx, with 1881 only instead of 5461 years, and an allusion to about 15 years more answering to the 13 of Africanus's Dyn. XXXI. Here then was a sum exceeding his own reckoning from the birth of Abraham to Alexander the Great by no more than $(1896 - 1686 =)$ 210 years. Besides this, the chronological series exhibited in Dynasties XVIII to XXX of the Chronicle, and many of the dynasties themselves, were clearly identical or parallel with Dynasties XVIII to XXX of Africanus, while Dyn. XXVII of the Chronicle had no local designation nor number of kings, nor any chronological place, where it stood, for the 184 years required for it by the sum total; and it was omitted, as it might seem, by Manetho, or represented only by his short Dynasty XXVIII with 6 years, and those plainly concurrent with as many of the years of the Persians. It was natural then for Eusebius to think that he also might suppress the same dynasty; and then the series of the Chronicle, being reduced to $(1896 - 184 =)$ 1712 years, would exceed his own limits by only 26 years. He decided therefore to admit xv or xvi dynasties of kings, numbered from XVI to XXXI, to cover the interval between Menes and Abraham and Alexander, and to take for his chronological materials the sums of years given by the Chronicle for each dynasty, only substituting for the 184 chronological years of its anonymous Dyn. XXVII the 6 merely concurrent years of Manetho's Dyn. XXVIII, and suppressing 26 other years of the *Chronicle* wherever this might be done most conveniently.

The Chronicle having no names of kings, nor separate years for each of the generations or reigns of its dynasties, Eusebius took the lists of the Manetho of Africanus as materials with which to furnish out or people the blank dynasties of the Chronicle as adjusted to his own scheme. And in doing this he did not even think it necessary to consider whether the Manethonian dynasty from which he took names and years for any particular dynasty of the Chronicle were really one with it historically. Thus, though it was manifest that Dyn. I of Africanus with Menes at its head

and seven other Tanites or Thinites after him was really identical with Dyn. XVI of the Chronicle with its viii Tanite generations, and these two dynasties had been identified by Eratosthenes, Eusebius thought it simplest to lop off by one stroke as fabulous and parallel only to the Gods and Demigods of the Chronicle the first fifteen dynasties of Africanus, Menes and all, and to commence his own historical series with that dynasty, whatever it might be, which chanced to stand as XVI with Africanus, making its number of kings and of years to square with those of Dyn. XVI of the Chronicle. And this no doubt he would have done, had it not happened that in the lists of Africanus the kings of Dyn. XVI were described as "*other* Shepherds." And it would have been rather too strong to make the Egyptian monarchy to begin with "*another* dynasty" which proclaimed of itself that it was *not the first*; or to make it begin with any dynasty of those "*Shepherds*" who were always described as *strangers*. Their numbers or their years (for there were xxxii kings with 518 years) would have caused no difficulty. He therefore passed on to the next dynasty, and, as that was not quite so intractable, he operated upon it without ceremony. This too was a dynasty of "*more Shepherds*," xliii in number; but they had just the same number of xliii *Diospolites* associated with them, and a sum of only 151 years, which suited ill for so great a number of kings. Eusebius therefore suppressed the Shepherds, and retained the *Diospolites*, only cutting down their number from xliii probably to viii, the number of Tanites in Dyn. XVI of the Chronicle, though the text now has v, and the viii are reduced to v in the list of Eratosthenes. And the 151 years he filled up to 190, the number of the Chronicle for its Dyn. XVI. So that after these changes he had exhibited perfectly Dyn. XVI of the Chronicle, except that its Tanites had become Diospolites, a change countenanced somewhat by the fact that they were *Thinites* in Dyn. I of the list of Africanus, and *Thebans* in the list of Eratosthenes. That Dyn. XVII of Africanus happened to be anonymous suited well enough, as it would have been awkward to begin the monarchy with any other *name* than

Menes. And, so long as it was anonymous, it was in a manner vacant; and Menes and his seven successors, though put up at the head of the fifteen dynasties disallowed as fabulous, were free to come down and occupy it if they turned out to be historical kings.

After this beginning it was time to introduce the Shepherds, who could neither be omitted, nor placed below Dyn. XVIII. So he brought down, to stand as his Dyn. XVII and to be identified with Dyn. XVII of the Chronicle, the Shepherds named in Dyn. XV of Africanus. And, as Dyn. XVII of the Chronicle had iv *Memphite* generations and 103 years, he cut down the vi *Shepherds* to iv, and their 284 years (which even in Josephus were 260) to 103. The name of *Apophis*, under whom he learned from Africanus that Joseph came into Egypt, stood conveniently for him last in Dyn. XV of Africanus, and needed no transposition, which would not have been the case had he followed the original Manetho of Josephus. The difference of designation still remaining between his own *Shepherds* and the "*Memphites*" of the Chronicle was again a matter of no importance. Chronologically Dyn. XVII of the Chronicle was now exhibited; and he was at the $(190 + 103 =)$ 293rd year from the birth of Abraham, the 133rd of Jacob. But he could scarcely think that he had satisfactorily exhibited that synchronism of Joseph with the Shepherd king Apophis for which, as Syncellus says, there was a sort of consensus among the earlier writers. For, as his lists are arranged, though Joseph certainly is raised to power under Apophis, and Jacob comes into Egypt under the same king, the coming of Jacob is only three years before the king's death: and a new king, who had not known Joseph, that is, the new Dynasty XVIII consisting of Amosis and his successors, is then made to supplant the dynasty of the Shepherds; after which Joseph remains in power, as before, and flourishes under the semi-Nubian or Diospolite kings who had not known him, and who, to carry this absurdity to its climax, overthrow and expel his first friends, to whom the revelation had been made, *in the sixth year of the famine*. Moreover, instead of the notice attached to the first Shep-

herd king, *Saites*, in the lists of Africanus, that these kings “were *strangers*, who *took Memphis*, and built themselves a city of their own in the Sethroitic Nome,” — all which Eusebius transcribes in his collection of materials in his First Book, together with Africanus’s own note that “under these kings Joseph is shown to have ruled Egypt,” — he in his Second Book or Canon substitutes as a marginal note to the name of the first king the astonishing information that “at this time *Apis* coming from Argos founded Memphis.” Thus he makes a sort of connection between this dynasty and Memphis, hinting that, even if it were not identical in its kings, it was at least a perfect contemporary parallel to the Memphite Dyn. XVII of the Chronicle.

If Eusebius had only honestly transcribed into his First Book those materials which he meant to use, for example the blank dynasties of the Old Chronicle and the Manethonian lists of Africanus divided into reigns with names, and then afterwards in his Second Book had made whatever alterations or amalgamations he thought proper, a comparison of the two would have shewn the extent of his liberties, and there would at least have been no appearance of dishonesty. But now he has transcribed into his First Book as materials all the xxxi dynasties of Africanus, yet not all alike, nor upon one uniform plan. But those xv earlier dynasties which he meant to disallow as fabulous and antehistorical, and which therefore were to find no place in his Canon, he transcribes, lazily indeed and with frequent omissions of names, yet with no very extensive nor manifestly systematic alterations. Only here and there he lops off some years, so that the sum total of the years of these xv dynasties may not rise much, if at all, above his own era of the Creation. But those xvi later dynasties which he meant to exhibit again in his Canon are given in *his First Book* nearly in the state in which he intends them to reappear in the *Second*, as if he had found them ready suited to his wishes and needing scarcely any alteration; whereas in truth they are already as they stand in the First Book so greatly altered by himself as to be in a manner his own compilation. And hence it was that Syncellus, seeing the very great differences existing

between the dynasties of Africanus and those of Eusebius, imagined that they must have copied from two different editions of Manetho. With these remarks, omitting for the present to speak of those xv earlier dynasties which he gives in his First Book from Africanus with comparatively little alteration, we shall continue and finish first the examination of those xvi later dynasties which make the Egyptian series in his Canon.

For Dyn. XVIII it would be a matter of course that he should have 348 years (since this is the number of the Chronicle), unless indeed he began already to suppress some of those 26 years which he had to suppress. But the sum given for the dynasty in all the texts of his lists taken from his First Book, and also that made out in his Canon, being 348 years, shows that such was not the case. The heading of the dynasty in his First Book names for it "xiv Diospolite kings" matching the "xiv *Memphites*" of Dyn. XVIII of the Chronicle. And below xiv names only of the xvii names of Manetho are exhibited in detail, the queen *Amesses* and two kings, *Rathos* and *Rameses I.*, being suppressed, and their years consolidated. At the same time it is remarkable that this number of xiv kings is *not adhered to* in the *Canon*; for in it there are xvi kings, the number of 348 years, however, being preserved. In order to understand these variations it is to be considered, first, that the lists of Ptolemy (see p. 445), such as Eusebius found them in the genuine text of Africanus (for in the copy of Syncellus there were one or two variants, and the years of two long reigns had fallen out), offered him of themselves ($25 + 13 + 21 + 22 + 13 + 26 + 9 + 31 + 36 + 32 + 6 + 12 + 12 + 4 + 1 + 66 + 19 =$) 348 years, so that there was no need of altering any thing to obtain this sum. All that he had to do was to count off 212 years from the head of the dynasty to find the place of the Exodus. And this would then seem to be after the 16th year of the 10th reign, viz. that of Achencheres I. the successor of Horus. For $25 + 13 + 21 + 22 + 13 + 26 + 9 + 31 + 36$ with 16 more make 212 years. And accordingly we find in all the copies of Eusebius's lists as extracted from his First Book a note attached to the name of Achencheres the successor of

Horus in these words “Κατὰ τοῦτον Μωϋσῆς τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πορείας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡγήσατο” (In *his* time Moses led the Jews out of Egypt”), though the reigns as they now stand do not by any means make out the sum of 212 years for this Achencheres either in the copy transcribed by Syncellus or in the old Armenian version. Since, however, in these lists the reign of Achencheres is cut down from 32 to 16 years, so that, if the lists of Ptolemy had been preserved above unaltered, its *end* would coincide exactly with Eusebius’s date for the Exodus, it is plain that either the other variations existing above in the present text are of later date, or the note of the synchronism of the Exodus has been attached to an earlier Achencheres instead of a later by some accidental fault of transcribers. This may well seem probable at first sight, and if one considers only that Manetho and Ptolemy have this same name Achencheres three times, and Eusebius four times over, and all in the same part of the dynasty. Still it is much more probable that the note of the synchronism was really attached by Eusebius *in the first instance* to the name of the first Achencheres against which it still stands in his Book I.; and that his *second* operation was to cut down the reign from 32 to 16 years, the number with which it now appears both in Syncellus’s text and in the Armenian version. At this stage then of his processes the earlier reigns of the dynasty stood thus: 25 + 13 + 21 + 22 of *Amesses* + 13 + 26 + 9 + 31 + 36 + 16 of Achencheres I., making 212. And so it would seem that Achencheres I. was drowned in the Red Sea. Eusebius then in continuing to the end of the dynasty had of course to reinsert somewhere those 16 years which he had cut off from Achencheres I.; and, further, he had to bestow somewhere the years of two kings (viz. the 6 years of *Rathos* and the single year of *Rameses I.*) whom he suppressed in order to obtain for the dynasty the same number of xiv kings with the Chronicle. The *queen* Amesses above needed not to be noticed in this proceeding, although she might seem to make a fifteenth reign, since in the lists of Manetho also and of Ptolemy, which reckoned only xvi *kings*, she seemed to make a seventeenth reign. Eusebius then, we may suppose, made the later reigns of the dynasty,

after Achencheres I., to be only five, and he divided their years thus, $8 + 15 + 5 + 68 + 40$ in all 136, as they still stand in the text of Syncellus and in the Armenian version. And thus with these 136 and the 212 preceding he exhibited both the "xiv Memphites" and the "348 years" of Dyn. XVIII of the Chronicle, and drowned the Pharaoh of the Exodus in the Red Sea.

But after these arrangements had been completed in his First Book, before he came to the actual composition of his Canon, Eusebius either observed or remembered that the original Manetho, in that list of this same dynasty which he has himself elsewhere quoted from Josephus, had added some notices not repeated by Ptolemy and Africanus. And from these notices it appeared that the first *Achencheres* was not a man but a *woman*, daughter of Horus, and sister of *Rathotis*, who succeeded her, and in whose name probably she had reigned during his minority. So all the preceding contrivances were rendered useless; and some fresh arrangement was to be devised for the Canon. It would have been well too to cancel all that had been done in Book I., and especially the note attached to the queen Achencheres to the effect that "*he*" had been drowned in the Red Sea. This, from whatever cause, was not done. But it is a common thing in these old writers to find any error or miscalculation once admitted retained as if it had been printed off, or as if they had been engraving all that they wrote on stone or metal, instead of writing on paper, parchment, or vellum. And so in Book I. Achencheres I., though discovered afterwards to be a woman, still retains the note describing *him* as the king of the Exodus; and that too with omissions made by copyists in the reigns above which disconnect her from it altogether, and which really are borrowed from those later changes which were made by Eusebius himself for the Canon, and which are now to be described:

In casting about for the best way to meet his new difficulty, and now with the list of the original Manetho as copied by Josephus before him (see above, at page 111), Eusebius observed that in this list the reigns of the queen *Achencheres* and her brother and successor *Rathotis*, whom he

writes "*Athoris*," having 12 years with 1 month and 9 years respectively, had *together* the same length within 8 months as the single reign of the queen *Amesses* which stood above with 21 years and 9 months as the fourth of the dynasty. Indeed according to a variant of Theophilus the length was precisely the same in both cases, viz. 21 years and 1 month. It seemed therefore that if he were to reinsert *Rathotis* (whom for another reason he had suppressed in his Book I.) and *also his sister Achencheres* (though this was really to re-duplicate her) from the lists of Josephus and the original Manetho, giving them the same reigns as in that list, and were at the same time to suppress above the reign of the queen *Amesses* which had the same number of years (giving her excess of 8 months to one of the adjacent reigns), his own *Achencheres I.*, being thus put down, would appear as *Achencheres II.*; and the reign of 16 years pre-arranged in Book I., would still suit for its purpose. And having thus become a king instead of a queen *he* could be named as such, and it could be said that he was drowned in the Red Sea without any absurdity. This then was what Eusebius did; and in the Canon the reigns of the dynasty stand thus: $25 + (13 + 1) + 21 + (13 + 1) + 26 + 9 + (31 + 1) + (36 + 2) + 12$ of *Achencheres I. of Josephus* + 9 of *her brother Rathotis* or *Athoris also from Josephus* + 16 of *Achencheres I. of his own Book I.* now become *Achencheres II.*; and the sum of years at this point is 212. Then he continues with his own list as already altered in his Book I. from that of Africanus and Ptolemy, giving 8 years to the *Achencheres II.* of Manetho, Ptolemy, Africanus, and his own Book I. now become *Achencheres III.*; then 15 to *Achencheres III.* now become *Achencheres IV.*; then 5 to Armais, the single year of Rameses I., whose name is still suppressed (though the object for which it was suppressed has now been given up), being consolidated with the 4 properly belonging to Armais; then 68 instead of 66 to Rameses II.; and, lastly, 40 instead of 19 to Amenophis. So the 212 and the 136, as before, make 348 years, but now with xvi kings or reigns, answering neither to the xiv of the Chronicle nor, in the names, to the xvi or xvii of Manetho and Ptolemy; since

Amesses and Ramesses I. are both omitted; and Eusebius's Achencheres II. whose reign, sex, and person are all absolutely fictitious, is a mere reduplication of his Achencheres I. (and therefore, by the way, in truth a woman as much as ever) created only to suit his own synchronism of the Exodus.

It was natural that the discrepancy existing between Book I. and the Canon of Eusebius should cause variants to creep into both texts, especially into that of the former. So it is no matter of surprise to find one of the two MSS. of Syncellus (Cod. A.) inserting in Dyn. XVIII *Athoris* (*Rathotis*) with 9 and *Achencheres* with 12 years, which would suit well enough (the reign of Amesses being absent, as it is, above) for making out the sum of 348 years given for the dynasty. But unluckily the same MS. places these two reigns *after* instead of before the 16 years of that Achencheres I. to whom it attaches the Exodus; and it also retains in the heading the number of "xiv kings" as that of the dynasty. In the Armenian version of Eusebius, as well as in the other MS. of Syncellus (Cod. B.), these two kings *and the queen Amesses* being all absent, the actual sum is short of the sum given by 21 years. The number of xiv kings being uniformly given in all these texts, and the names of *Athoris* (i. e. *Rathotis*) and *Achencheres* supplied by Cod. A. of Syncellus being in it *misplaced*, while the suppression of *Rameses I.* is uniformly retained, these three facts show sufficiently that the reign really wanting in the texts of Book I. is that of the queen *Amesses* with her 21 years. This being restored, and also 10 years of the 38 of Horus which have fallen out in the Armenian version, the dynasty will exhibit the sum required of $(317 + 10 + 21 =)$ 348 years. And in like manner in the text of Syncellus the erroneous reading of 36 for Horus must be rejected, and 38, which is given as a variant, and which is the true reading, must be substituted. But, on the other hand, the variant 12 given by Cod. A. of Syncellus, instead of 16, to the Achencheres of the Exodus (and derived from the lists of Africanus) is by no means to be admitted, its effect being only to complicate the confusion introduced by the reinserion and mis-

placement of Rathotis and another Achencheres in the same MS. below. So that MS. has three reigns, viz. that of *Achencheres I.* with 12, of *Rathotis* with 9, and of Achencheres II. with 12 years, and the Exodus attached to the first instead of the second Achencheres, and 12 years only to the second Achencheres instead of 16. And with these sums, even if the Exodus had been joined with the second Achencheres, the reign would come to an end 4 years too early. But if the reign of the *first* Achencheres were cut down, as it is, to its original sum of 12 years, that of the *second* of Cod. A. ought to have been increased from 12 to 16; and the notice of the Exodus should have been put down and attached to it. And then (but for the number of xiv kings in the heading) the dynasty of Book I. would have been brought into agreement with that of the Canon.

Against the name *Armais* he has both in his First Book and in his Canon a note identifying him with Danaus; and as his 5 years should end with the $(505 + 8 + 15 + 5 =) 533$ rd of Abraham, 28 years after the Exodus, his flight to Argos is here put by Eusebius at Sept. 1, B.C. 1483, 300 years above Eratosthenes's date for Troy, and 374 below Eusebius's own date for the foundation of Argos, after A. ABR. 159 ending Aug. 31 in B.C. 1857. And here, by good luck only perhaps, he has marked the right place, and perhaps the historical name also, to which Manetho alluded in that compound myth of Sethos-Rameses-Ægyptus and his brother Armais-Danaus which he ostensibly puts at the head of his Dyn. XIX. By a similar good fortune it was that, while in the very act of making the most arbitrary and groundless changes in the Shepherd Dynasty, he nevertheless put it into its true chronological place, so as to stand as Dyn. XVII, preceding Dyn. XVIII, as it had stood with the original Manetho. But as regards his Hebrew chronology he has no luck; for the 68 years of his *Rameses II.*, *Miammous*, the Egyptian conqueror, would seem to cover the last 12 years of Moses, the 27 of Joshua, and 29 of the 40 of Othniel. So Joshua would conquer Canaan while both it and all Syria were either subject to the Egyptian Sesostris or still the theatre of his wars with the *Khita* (Hittites). And the

servitude under “*Chousan-Athin*” (*Χουσαπάθων*) king of the Arabian “*Shasou*” and of the Mesopotamians, who was also the sun-worshipping conqueror of Egypt, is made to lie between the 39th and the 47th years of Rameses the Great, the conqueror of Asia and Africa.

Dyn. XVIII having ended with the year of Abraham ($293 + 348 =$) 641, which was also according to Eusebius the 29th of Ehud, Dyn. XIX follows with v kings and 194 years, so as to agree with the Chronicle, instead of having vi kings and 209 years as in the list of Africanus. The agreement is obtained by suppressing the fourth name or reign of Africanus, that of *Rameses* (which, unluckily for Eusebius, is a consolidation of four or five actual kings, sons of Rameses III.), while of its 60 years 15 are suppressed, 16 are added to the next reign below, which, instead of ($5 [+5] =$) 10, has so 26 years, and 20 more are added to the reign of *Amenephtes* above, which, instead of 20, has 40 years; 5 are added to the 61 of the second reign, that of *Rapsakes*; and, lastly, 4 years are added to the 51 of the first reign, that of “*Sethos or Rameses*,” of the lists of Africanus. Possibly Eusebius selected the name of *Rameses* for suppression, rather than that of *Amenemes* below or of *Amenephtes* above it (either of which would have involved much slighter changes in the years of the other reigns), because the long reign of 60 years with the same name *Rameses* looked like a repetition of Rameses II. of Dyn XVIII, who also reigned above 60 years. And *Rapsakes*, a name not really different, in Dyn. XIX, had in Africanus’s lists 61 years, and in those of the original Manetho of Josephus 66 years, the very same number as Rameses II. So that a bold and superficial critic might think it expedient to prune away one at least of these three reigns of 60 or above 60 years each, even if he did not recast for us Manetho’s dynasties altogether. *Sethos*, the first, and *Thouoris*, the last name of the dynasty, being connected with special details either by Manetho alone or by both Manetho and Ptolemy, would be the least suitable for omission. The synchronism of the last with Troy is retained by Eusebius, for whom the reign begins with the ($641 + 187 =$) 829th and ends with the 835th year of Abraham, in

B.C. ($2016 - 828 =$) 1188 and B.C. 1181. So the last year but one of his Thouoris coincided very conveniently for him with *Eratosthenes's* date for Troy, though he himself seems to have attached the synchronism of Troy to the *last* year of the reign and of the dynasty.

As he had to suppress somewhere 26 of the years of the Chronicle, besides the 184 of its Dyn. XXVII, it was of course impossible to exhibit *all* its other dynasties unchanged. In some *one at least* he would have to *reduce* its sum of years. And on coming to Dyn. XX, which in the lists of Africanus is altogether anonymous, he might have thought this a convenient place at which to make his reduction. We might have expected him then, since Manetho for this dynasty has only 135 years instead of the 228 of the Chronicle, to have added only ($93 - 26 =$) 67 instead of 93 years, giving to this one dynasty a peculiar sum of his own, viz. 202 years. And then in all the rest (except only Manetho's Dyn. XXVIII, which he might treat as unchronological and concurrent with Dyn. XXVII, and which he would have to substitute with Manetho for Dyn. XXVII of the Chronicle), he might have exhibited the sums of the Chronicle. But now instead of 67 he has added to Dyn. XX of Manetho only 43 years. And so his own Dyn. XX, thus formed, while it agrees in its number of xii kings with that of *Manetho*, having the sum of 178 years, exceeds Manetho's sum of 135 by 43, but falls short of that of the Chronicle, viz. 228 years, by ($25 + 25 =$) 50, agreeing however with it in its units. As a consequence, he will now have to depart again from the Chronicle in one or more dynasties below, and to *exceed* its sum or sums, till he has restored the 24 years still due to it on its Dyn. XX.

In order to understand his motive in thus stopping short by 50 rather than by 26 only of the addition needed to bring up the sum of Dyn. XX of Africanus to that of Dyn. XX of the Chronicle it is to be observed that, if he had added 24 years more, and had given to his Dyn. XX 202 instead of 178 years, its last year would have been his A.M. ($3184 + 835 + 203 =$) 4222, A. ABR. 1037, ending Aug. 31 in B.C. ($2016 - 1037 =$) 979. But this year in his sacred

scheme is the 1st of Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, 13 years below the 5th of Rehoboam, and 19, at the very least, below the date at which Jeroboam could be supposed to have fled from Solomon to Shishak or Sousakeim. It did not, however, seem suitable or probable that the conqueror who took Jerusalem, and made Rehoboam his vassal, should be unnamed, still less that he should be one of a whole dynasty of anonymous faineants, in Manetho's or Africanus's lists. And no doubt it was this consideration which induced Eusebius to bring his Dyn. XX to an end with only 178 years, 24 years earlier than he would otherwise have done, although by so doing he involved himself in the necessity of admitting further discrepancies from the sums of the Chronicle. But when his Dyn. XX ended, as it now ends, in B.C. $(979 + 24 =)$ 1003 with the 1013th of Abraham, which is his 33rd of Solomon, he would have an Egyptian reign of 26 years, the reign, too, of a king of note, since he appears as the founder of a dynasty, to which the synchronisms of Solomon and Rehoboam would seem to belong.

Dyn. XXI of Africanus agreed in its number of kings, and in its designation of *Tanites*, with Dyn. XXI of the Chronicle; and though it had 9 years more than that dynasty (viz. 130 instead of 121) it was not natural to cut them down, as Eusebius was now behind-hand by 24 years, and so needed additions. He therefore in this instance took the dynasty of Manetho and Africanus as it stood, and seems for the moment to be really copying from their lists. And to the 12th year of the first king of the dynasty *Smendes*, whose name unluckily was not much to his purpose, the same year being also his 5th of Rehoboam, he unhesitatingly attached in his Canon as a marginal note the words "*Sousakeim rex Ægypti*," identifying him with the king who took Jerusalem. And though, so far as Africanus's lists are concerned, Eusebius is totally mistaken, and his processes are unjustifiable and even ridiculous, he indirectly approaches to the truth, since he means his own Dyn. XXI to answer rather to *Dyn. XXI of the Chronicle* than to any other. This is shown by the way in which he deals with the next following dynasty of Africanus, making it to represent Dyn.

XXII of the Chronicle. But *the head of Dyn. XXI of the Chronicle was really* the contemporary of Solomon and Rehoboam. The 130 years of Eusebius's Dyn. XXI end with his $(1013 + 130 =)$ 1143rd year of Abraham, in B.C. $(2016 - 1143)$ 873.

In the next dynasty of Africanus the three *names* given with their 49 years, *if taken by themselves, without the other six anonymous kings*, answered almost exactly (for a difference of one year more or less implies no real discrepancy) to Dyn. XXII of the Chronicle with its iii kings and 48 years. Here, then, Eusebius found an opportunity for returning to the Chronicle; and he would apprehend no inconvenience from the suppression of the six anonymous kings with their 71 years, because, when he looked on, he would see that in the dynasties below the Chronicle had more years than Africanus. In the mean time his remaining deficiency on the years of the Chronicle was reduced by one year, from 15 years to 14; and the 49 years of his Dyn. XXII ended in B.C. 824 with his $(1143 + 49 =)$ 1192nd of Abraham, which is also his 1st of Uzziah. In designating the dynasty *Bubastite*, rather than *Tanite*, he follows not the Chronicle but Africanus. But if he supposed that there was no irreconcilable discrepancy in these two designations, he was in this not mistaken.

In Dyn. XXIII, for which the Chronicle has only ii Diospolites with 19 years but Africanus iv Tanites with 89, Eusebius seems again in his number of 44 years to differ from both. And in this and the next dynasty he shows himself careless about agreeing with either in the number of the kings. He adopts for his Dyn. XXIII from Africanus the designation *Tanite*, and retains iii out of his iv kings. One king, the last, with 31 years, he suppresses. Two of the others, viz. the second and the third, having together 18 years in the lists of Africanus, would have represented for him very well Dyn. XXIII of the Chronicle; and he perceived this, for he has added a unit to one of the two reigns, so that in his lists they exhibit together 19 years, the exact sum of Dyn. XXIII of the Chronicle. Or, if he thought this dynasty suitable for the insertion of the 14 years which

he had yet to re-insert, he might have let the first of Africanus's iv kings, *Petubast*, remain at its head, giving to him those 14 years and making iii kings. But now he has left to *Petubast* not 14 only but $(14 + 11 =)$ 25 years; for this is the true number, and so it stands in the Canon, as well as in the text of Book I.: and so he makes the sum of the dynasty to be 44 years. The idea of Eusebius seems to have been this, that if he left as many as 44 years to Dyn. XXIII, and then filled up Dyn. XXIV (which in Africanus's lists has only 6 years) to the 44 years of the Chronicle, his own two dynasties together, having 88 years, would seem to answer to the 89 years of the single Dyn. XXIII of Africanus, only with a different subdivision. Instead of being 14 years behindhand, he was now 11 years in advance of the Chronicle; and the 44th and last year of his Dyn. XXIII, being his A. ABR. $(1192 + 44 =)$ 1236, and his 46th year of Uzziah, ended at Aug. 31 in B.C. 780.

To exhibit in his Canon any synchronism of *Petubast*, the first king of this dynasty, with the First Olympiad was clearly impossible for him, unless, indeed, he had put things together; and then, leaving for Dyn. XXIII the ii kings whose 19 years answered to Dyn. XXIII of the Chronicle, and putting down the other two kings, the first and the fourth, named *Petubast* and *Zet*, to make out, together with *Bocchoris*, the iii Saïtes of Dyn. XXIV of the Chronicle, he *might have* exhibited the synchronism in its true place. But besides the fancy of paralleling the 89 years of Dyn. XXIII of Africanus, he may have felt that he had no time to lose in adding those 14 years by which he was before in arrear, and that he had need, whenever he did this, to add some more years besides; else, when he came to Dyn. XXVI, he might find it difficult to add all the years required by the Chronicle; the more so as the history of that Saïte dynasty was better known, and admitted less easily of interpolations.

In Dyn. XXIV he does not attempt to follow the Chronicle in its number of *three* Saïte kings, though he might easily have done this, had he pleased, by putting down the two names of *Petubast* and *Zet* from Dyn. XXIII. Or, if he

wanted one of them in Dyn. XXIII to hold the years which he wished to leave to it over and above the 19 of the Chronicle, he might have retained *both* the names, and then there would have been, in the two dynasties taken together, five kings answering to the five of the Chronicle, only differently grouped. But now he has filled up the six years given to Bocchoris by Africanus as the sole king of Dyn. XXIV to the 44 years of the Chronicle; and these end with his A. ABR. (1236 + 44 =) 1280, which is also his 5th of Hezekiah, in B. C. 736.

Thus the conquest of Egypt by the Ethiopian Sabaco, the head of Dyn. XXV, owing to those 11 years which were gained upon the Chronicle above in Dyn. XXIII, is so much depressed that, instead of appearing at Sept. 1 in B. C. 747, which would both have been in Eusebian reckoning its true date, and would also have suited Eusebius very well for the synchronism of So and Hoshea, it appears at Sept. 1 in B. C. 736, after his 5th year of Hezekiah, not only 11 years below its true date, but 4 or 5 years too low to admit of his own lists exhibiting the synchronism just mentioned. Here, then, Eusebius is far from having shown the same forethought for the synchronism of So and Hoshea which he had shown after his own way for that of Sousakeim and Solomon. In the number of iii kings for this dynasty the Manetho of Africanus agreed with the Chronicle; and Eusebius adds 4 years to the 8 of Sabaco in order to bring up the sum of the dynasty from the 40 of Africanus to the 44 of the Chronicle. He also takes 2 years from the 14 of Sevechus and transfers them to Tirhakah, whose reign is thus increased from 18 to 20, and ends the dynasty in B. C. 692, at the close of A. ABR. 1324, which is his 20th of Manasseh. But to what purpose it was to vary the last two reigns, giving them 12 and 20 instead of 14 and 18 years, is by no means apparent, since the accession of Tirhakah, "king of Ethiopia," who ought to come out of Egypt against Sennacherib in the 14th year of Hezekiah, is by this change merely raised from the 3rd to the 1st year of Manasseh; and it is still too low by 16 years for the synchronism. The expedient by which Eusebius palliates this failure is amusing. Instead of passing it over

in silence, as he had done with the synchronism of So and Hoshea, he makes the Tirhakah of the Scriptures to have been a "king of the *Indians*," meaning perhaps Arab-Cushites, since the Ethiopians were sometimes called Indians: and he having thus come from India, and returned thither, while Sabaco was reigning over Ethiopia and Egypt, the similarity of the name of "*Taracus*," who reigned next but one after Sabaco, 16 years later, is merely accidental, and need not excite suspicion. Dyn. XXV, in consequence of Eusebius having above gained 11 years on the Old Chronicle, ends for him at Aug. 31 in B.C. 692, apparently only 10 years below the true date of the Chronicle, but really 11 years, since the years of Eusebius commence from the Sept. 1 preceding the true Egyptian dates.

In Dyn. XXVI the difference between the Old Chronicle and the list of Africanus, whose text here by some chance was not that of Ptolemy of Mendes, but that of the original Manetho, amounted to $26\frac{1}{2}$ or 27 years. Eusebius, on coming to this dynasty, being 11 years in advance of the Chronicle, needed to add only $15\frac{1}{2}$ years to 150 years and 6 months, the sum of Africanus, so giving his own dynasty 166 years, to make it end at the same point with Dyn. XXVI of the Chronicle which had 177 years. But, in fact, the sum of Eusebius's Dyn. XXVI in his Canon is 167 years, being one year more than was wanted. His object will appear below. The same sum is also given by the Armenian version of his Book I.: it is made out too by the figures for the ix reigns, if the true reading of 12 years for the first reign be taken into the text from the margin. The figures for the reigns in Syncellus's Greek copy also agree, if only an excess of one unit in the reign of Psammitichus I. be corrected; for now he has 45 years (a number derived by transposition from his true reign of 54) instead of 44, which were really given to him by Eusebius. The sum given for the dynasty, however, by Syncellus is neither the 150 years and 6 months of Africanus, nor the 167 years of Eusebius, nor the 167 or 168 made by the figures of Syncellus's own text, but it is 163, the number of Ptolemy. And it is difficult to understand how this sum could come into the

text of Syncellus, unless it were made by some one adding to the 12 years of the reign of Ammeris (placed at the head of the dynasty by Eusebius) the figures of Africanus for all the other reigns, with one full year besides inserted somewhere instead of the imperfect year of Psammecherites. On the other hand the construction of this dynasty in the text of Eusebius himself in his Canon, and in the Armenian version of Book I., is no less difficult to explain. His variations in the figures of the reigns common to him with the Africanus of Syncellus are remarkable. For having at the head of the dynasty the reign of "*Ammeris*" with 12 years, absent from the Africanus of Syncellus, and suppressing, it may be presumed, the name and the odd months of Psammecherites at the end of the dynasty, both in order to preserve the number of ix kings given in the heading of Africanus, and also in order to get rid of the imperfect year, he needed one would think only to add to some one reign 5 years more. But now he has varied the figures of no fewer than *four* reigns from those of the Africanus of Syncellus, giving to Psammitichus I., Psammouthis, Ouaphres, and Amosis 44, 17, 25, and 42 years respectively, instead of 54, 6, 19, and 44, when his end might have been equally attained, for anything that appears at first sight, by the single change of giving to Ouaphres 24 years. But a still more perplexing question it is how to account for the fresh reign itself of Ammeris, which stands at the head of his dynasty. This is plainly from an Egyptian source. Indeed both the name Ammeris and the qualification *Αἰθίοψ* are justifiable at this day from the monuments. And probably it is from the same source that *some* one or more of Eusebius's variations in the figures of the other reigns are derived. In any case the source can scarcely have been any other than the genuine text of Ptolemy of Mendes, whose scheme required a sum of 163 years for this dynasty, and so needed both such an addition to the dynasty of the original Manetho as the reign of Ammeris, and also another addition of one unit, if the name of Psammecherites were suppressed. Ptolemy therefore might perhaps give to Psammitichus I. 55 years, or to Psammouthis 7. And Eusebius may have

found the dynasty of Ptolemy in this form, $12 + 7 + 6 + 8 + 54 + 6 + 7 + 19 + 44$, making 163 years. But where was Eusebius to find this genuine text of Ptolemy's dynasty, seeing that it was not exhibited by Africanus, and that there is no sign elsewhere that Eusebius knew anything either of the original Manetho, or of the Manetho of Ptolemy, except from Josephus and Africanus? This is the question which it is so difficult to answer satisfactorily; and it forces one in a manner to admit the idea which some have conceived from those words of Syncellus, "according to the second edition of Africanus," that Africanus did in fact vary from himself either by adding later notes or supplements, or by varying the text itself in some places, of which this was one, in some of the latest copies of his work. Otherwise, Syncellus having previously spoken of the text of Africanus and Eusebius as "the two chief *editions* of Manetho," it would be probable that "the second edition of Africanus" mentioned afterwards was only a confused reference to the text of Africanus as one, and that not the second either, of these "two editions."

If we take now the dynasty of Eusebius, its 167 years begin with his A. ABR. 1325 in B.C. 691, being his 21st of Manasseh, and end with his A. ABR. 1491, at Aug. 31 in B.C. 525, which is chronologically one Eusebian year too low, he having reckoned down to the end of this dynasty in his Egyptian series 1492 years, while the Old Chronicle, after his suppression of $(184 + 26 =)$ 210 of its years, has to the end of the same dynasty only 1491. The occasion of this very unnecessary error and variation from the Chronicle, which depresses the commencement of Dyn. XXVII and the Egyptian reign of Cambyses by one year, is to be found in the lists of Africanus, where Cambyses, who is rightly said in the heading to have conquered Egypt in his 5th Persian year, has nevertheless an Egyptian reign of 6 years, the truth being that the 124 years of the Persian dynasty of the Chronicle had run 3 years into the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon; and Manetho, choosing to make the dynasty end, in appearance at least, with the reign of Darius Nothus, threw up the 3 years below it, and added 2 of them unchro-

nologically to Cambyses; and the remaining one he added between Artaxerxes Longimanus and Darius Nothus. Eusebius perceived that, if Cambyses conquered Egypt in his 5th year and reigned only 8 in all, he could not possibly reign over Egypt *six* years; and so he determined to cut off those years which were given to him, as it seemed, only by an error and inconsistency. And this he might well do. But he did not attend to the principle that the year of the conquest itself belonged properly not to the ending but to the commencing reign and dynasty. Owing to this error he cut off from the head of the Persian dynasty (besides two unchronological) one chronological year, and transferred it to the preceding dynasty of the Saïtes; and perhaps he thought that those 3 years, which the sum of 124 given by the Chronicle required him to account for below the reign of Nothus, had been prefixed all together by the Manetho of Africanus to the reign of Cambyses.

His Egyptian years being reckoned as Julian, and their number having been fixed beforehand to agree with that of his Hebrew years between Abraham and the 2nd of Darius, the difference between them and the true Egyptian years for which they are substituted is not apparent at the end of his series, because in fact they were counted back from their known and fixed ending below. If indeed Eusebius had begun from Sept. 1 in B.C. 2016 with his A. ABR. 1 paralleled with that true Egyptian year which began 4 months later from Jan. 10 B.C. 2015, and had allowed only 1490 years of his Egyptian lists expecting them to end together with as many Hebrew years at Aug. 31 in B.C. 526, he would have found himself at fault at the end of Dyn. XXVI, his true Egyptian years having already come to an end one whole year and some days earlier than Aug. 31 in B.C. 526, or the corresponding date in the spring following; so that he would then have had need to allow an additional year to Dyn. XXVI, but not to cut off a year from the head of Dyn. XXVII. But as his process was the reverse of this, and his fixed point from which he counted off the number of Egyptian years to be allowed was not above but below, it is only on reckoning upwards and comparing the Eusebian

Egyptian with the true Egyptian years that any discrepancy to the amount of one whole year will be manifested. Thus, if the true Egyptian year beginning with Jan. 1 in B.C. 525 is paralleled with the Eusebian Egyptian year of Menes and of Abraham 1490 beginning from Sept. 1 in B.C. 526, we shall find 1460 years higher, on coming to A. ABR. ($1490 - 1460 =$) 30, which begins from Sept. 1 in B.C. ($526 + 1460$) 1986, that the true Egyptian year alluded to as parallel, instead of beginning from Jan. 1 in B.C. 1985, begins one whole year later, from Jan. 1 in B.C. 1984. And at the head of the whole reckoning, instead of its being the true Egyptian year which began next after Sept. 1 in B.C. 2016, which is paralleled with the first year of Abraham, it will be that which began one whole year and some days later, viz. from Jan. 9 in B.C. 2014, which is the 1490th above the end of Dyn. XXVI of the Chronicle.

The last year of his own Dyn. XXVI, being his A. ABR. 1491 and his 42nd of Amasis, Eusebius makes, as has been said above, to coincide with the 5th Persian year of Cambyses, the 1st of Dyn. XXVIII of the Chronicle. In the Canon it stands now as the *sixth* of Cambyses; but this is inconsistent with Eusebius's own express words elsewhere, and there are several variants, showing the corrupt state of the text; and one of these variants gives the "fifth," which is no doubt the true reading, though it is true that its restoration involves the necessity of making other corrections. The source of the corruption lies probably in this, that some copyist observing the Magi to stand in the Canon with one year below the reign of Cambyses, and knowing this year of the Magi to be historically one with the 8th of Cambyses, to whom Eusebius gave only 3 in Egypt, thought that 9 years were thus given in fact to Cambyses, so that the year preceding the conquest of Egypt must be his *sixth*, being the same which was commonly called his *fifth*.

The 42nd and last year of Amasis being paralleled with A. ABR. 1491, the 5th really of the 8 of Cambyses, there are above Eusebius's date for the conquest of Egypt 5 years of Cambyses, 30 of Cyrus, 1 of Neriglissar, 2 of Evil Mero-dach, and 25 of Nebuchadnezzar, making together 63 years,

according to the true chronology, up to the commencement of Nebuchadnezzar's 19th Syrian or 18th Babylonian year antedated from the Sept. 1 preceding, in B.C. 588, which would be the *true* date for the commencement of the 11th year of Zedekiah *containing* the burning of the Temple. And the Egyptian list of Eusebius, if compared with this the true chronology, would exhibit $(5 + 30 + 1 + 2 + 4 =)$ 42 years of Amasis and 21 of the 25 of Apries up to the same point, that is, to the head of the Eusebian A. ABR. $(1491 - 63 =)$ 1428, beginning Sept. 1 in B.C. 588, which *ought to contain* the burning of the Temple. So the Jews might fly to Apries in or after his 5th year. Then, continuing upwards with the first 10 years of Zedekiah and 11 more of Jehoiakim, we should have for them in Eusebius's Egyptian lists the first 4 of Apries and the 17 of Psammouthis, so that the death of Necho would be exactly coincident with that of Josiah, 3 or 4 years too early for him to be defeated at Carchemish in the 4th of Jehoiakim. But Eusebius himself between the accession of Cyrus, whose 1st year he parallels with the 8th of Amasis and the 32nd of the Captivity, and the beginning of the 1st year of the Captivity, which he makes to follow not the 10th but the 11th year of Zedekiah, has 31 years instead of the true number, which is 27. He makes out the 31 by reckoning 25 (whereas there were only 24) of Nebuchadnezzar, 2 of Evil Merodach, and 4 of Neriglissar (whereas of these last 4 years 3 are really concurrent with the first 3 of Cyrus). So he has $(31 + 30 + 5 =)$ 66 instead of 62 years, that is 4 years too many, in this space between the commencement of the Captivity, or rather between the commencement of the 11th of Zedekiah, and his commencement of the Persian Dyn. XXVII in Egypt: and the year in which the Jews fled to Apries, instead of being the 5th of his 25 years, appears as the 1st: and the accession of Apries is coincident with the beginning of the 19th Syrian or 18th Babylonian year of Nebuchadnezzar, being the year in which the Temple was burned, though he does not make this the first of the Captivity. And now, perhaps, we see why the reign of Apries was lengthened to 25 years, that of Amasis having been reduced from 44 to 42.

This reduction of the reign of Amasis, which certainly in itself seems quite gratuitous, if the two years cut off were to be added again to Apries just above, must be supposed to have been made first, and for some separate reason of its own. The reason may have been this, that the lists of Africanus gave, however inconsistently, to Cambyzes six years in Egypt, while by the heading of the dynasty in the same lists it was plain that there could be only *four* at most. Still the sum of 124 years seemed to be made out by the help of the *six*. The first two then of the six Egyptian years of Cambyzes, being as they stood clearly unchronological, might be supposed to be also of necessity identical with the last two of Amasis; and, if the reign of Cambyzes were to be antedated by 2 years, that of Amasis ought to be shortened by as many. This change then was made in the first instance, and with a view to the sum of 124 years *which it was then intended to preserve* to Dyn. XXVII below, and respecting which it was not then perceived that its true chronological ending was with the 3rd year of Artaxerxes Mnemon. So having the 2nd year of Apries coincident with the 12th of Jeconiah, which he makes the 1st of the Captivity, Eusebius parallels the preceding 11 years of Zedekiah with 1, the first, of Apries and 10 of Psammouthis, whose 1st year is identified with the 6th of Jehoiakim (and to Jehoiakim he gives 12 not 11 years). So the 6 years of Necho take in exactly the last year of Josiah above and the 5th of Jehoiakim (including the 3 months of Jehoahaz) below. And now we can see why 10 years have been cut off from Psammitichus I. and added to the 7 which Eusebius probably found given in the lists of Ptolemy to Psammouthis below, this change being needed, according to his Hebrew scale, in order to raise the accession of Necho into contact with the last year of Josiah. And that the change is really one made by a Christian writer, and for this or some other similar reason, is plain also when one considers that it is made at a guess; and as it happens, the wrong reigns, those of Psammouthis and Apries, instead of that of Necho, are selected to receive additions. But a native Egyptian who, like Ptolemy, understood Manetho's unchronological dislocations, if he had added at all,

would have been likely to add in the right place, and the right number of years. Why Eusebius should transfer the 10 years needed to elevate Necho rather to Psammouthis than to Necho himself is not difficult to guess. For, first, if he noticed that Ptolemy had already varied from Manetho, or that the "two editions of Africanus" varied from one another, for the reign of Psammouthis, it would be preferable to make a change in that reign rather than to introduce a new sum for the reign of Necho, which was the same in all the lists. And, secondly, after so long a reign as that of Psammitichus I., even though it were reduced from 54 to 44 years, it would seem better to let the next reign stand as it was with its 6 years, and to lengthen in preference to it the next but one.

So between the end of the 6th of Hezekiah, A. ABR. 1281, and the end of the 31st of Josiah, A. ABR. 1402, Eusebius has 121 Egyptian years, consisting of 43 out of the 44 of his Dyn. XXV, and of 77 more (viz. $12 + 7 + 6 + 8 + 44$) of his Dyn. XXVI, to the end of the reign of Psammitichus I. *as shortened by him*, and lastly 1 year, the first, of Necho, which so is made to admit the synchronism of the death of Josiah. The excess introduced into his sacred reckoning in the Canon by giving 12 years instead of 10 to Amon (though elsewhere he gives rightly 2) would of itself have thrust up the death of Josiah so as to stand 9 years above the accession of Necho; and it was to remedy this inconvenience that he transferred 10 of the 54 years of Psammitichus I. to Psammouthis the successor of Necho, so as to thrust up the accession of Necho also by 10 years.

In Dyn. XXVII Eusebius in his Book I., according to the text both of Syncellus and of the Armenian version, instead of the 124 years and 4 months of Africanus, or the 124 years of the Chronicle, exhibits 120 years and 4 months. The Chronicle for this dynasty had named *five* generations. Eusebius in Book I. retains from Africanus the number of viii actual kings; but one of the kings is not the same as with Africanus. For Eusebius, by what seems at first sight a wanton and inappropriate variation, suppresses after Xerxes the name and the 7 months of Artabanus, and names instead

between Cambyses and Darius (also with 7 months) the reign of the Magi, which all the Egyptian lists had suppressed as illegitimate. For they all, though this is contrary to the usual custom, fill up with the 7 months of the Magi the eighth imperfect year of Cambyses, which was only current when he died. The effect of the change made by Eusebius is to make the commencement of his Dyn. XXVII *look* as if it were such as is required by the notice in the heading of Africanus that Cambyses subdued Egypt in his *fifth* year. For so in technical reckoning, from the beginning of that year, he ought to have in the list below *four* years, the fourth and last of these having really only 5 months of its own, but being filled up by the 7 months of the Magi. Eusebius then, giving 3 years to Cambyses himself and their 7 months separately to the Magi, as if their reign were legitimate, would seem to differ only in his mode of statement. But in truth this is not so. For Eusebius gives to Cambyses the full 8 years, besides naming the 7 months of the Magi separately afterwards; and of the eight he makes, as has been explained above, the *sixth* to be his first year in Egypt, so beginning the dynasty chronologically too low by one year, as if from Sept. 1, in B.C. 525 (which in terms of the Egyptian year would be from the spring following). And the 3rd of Cambyses in Egypt, being still as before his 8th Persian year, really contains within itself the 7 months of the Magi. The Magi then, as named by Eusebius in his Book I., are merely Artabanus transposed; and their 7 months belong chronologically to the first year of Darius, as if the reign of Xerxes below had had 21 years and 7 months or 22 years. Artaxerxes Longimanus again in Book I. has only 40 instead of 41 years; and this reduction is justifiable chronologically, since Xerxes II. and Sogdianus, with 2 months and 7 months, are named separately, whereas it is only by a consolidation of these that Artaxerxes can claim 41 years. Thus by cutting off one chronological year of the reign of Cambyses, and two others unchronologically prefixed to it in the lists of Africanus, and one other unchronological year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, Eusebius reduces the sum of his dynasty by 4 years from $124\frac{4}{2}$ to $120\frac{4}{2}$; and it

begins one year after and ends 3 years before the Persian Dynasty XXVIII of the Chronicle.

In the Canon, as the text now stands, Cambyses has only two full years for himself, viz. his 7th and his 8th; but, as we have corrected it by the help of the variant mentioned above, he has 3 years, viz. his 6th, 7th, and 8th; and then, after these, one full year is reckoned to the Magi, which is chronologically identical with the 1st year of Darius, whose 34th becomes by this transposition the 1st of Xerxes, while the 21st of Xerxes represents those 7 months of Artabanus out of which the reduplication of the Magi has been made above, and other 5 months besides. In this, as in some other places, Eusebius on coming to the arrangement of his Canon must have discovered that the materials prepared in his First Book did not suit exactly according to his design. For if Dyn. XXVI ended with his A. ABR. 1491, and this was the 66th year of the Captivity, and Dyn. XXVII began from Sept. 1 in B.C. 525 with the 67th year of the Captivity, and with the *sixth* of Cambyses, and Cambyses reigned 8 years complete, and his reign was then followed by 7 months or one year of the Magi, the 70th year of the Captivity would end with this year of the Magi at or before the *accession* of Darius. But Eusebius had made the termination of the Captivity, whether with or at the *second* of Darius, to be one of his fixed points, to and from which he reckoned both upwards and downwards. Nor did it help him out of his difficulty to be aware himself that the 70th year of the Captivity was only nominally given to the Magi, while chronologically it was the first of Darius. So either he himself, or some later copyist for him, to whom the present reading in the Canon may be owing, boldly but clumsily cut the knot of this difficulty by marking the 1st year of Dyn. XXVII A. ABR. 1492, beginning at Sept. 1 in B.C. 525, as the *seventh* of Cambyses, and the last year of Dyn. XXVI as coincident with his "*sixth*." Thus the year of the Magi would stand as only 69th of the Captivity, and its last year would be the first of Darius, so that it might actually end a little later in the spring of his second. But in the mean time two other consequences were involved; first, that the Persian and

Babylonian series between the commencements of the 1st and of the 68th years of the Captivity would now have a year too many; and we may suppose that the same person, whoever it was, that marked Cambyse's *sixth* year as parallel with the last of Amasis, would also reckon one year less to the Babylonian reign next before Cyrus, making $25 + 2 + 3 + 30 + 6 = 66$ to Sept. 1 in B.C. 525, instead of $25 + 2 + 4 + 30 + 5 = 66$, as in Book I. And on the other hand, in Dyn. XXVII below, Eusebius, or his corrector, would have lost a year. For the year of the Magi being now placed chronologically as A. ABR. 1494, beginning at Sept. 1 in B.C. 523, and so holding the true place of the last year of Cambyse (whether he were said to have 9 or 8 years), the short reign of Artabanus, for which that of the Magi had been substituted in Book I., would now have disappeared altogether, and there would remain for the composition of Dyn. XXVII only Cambyse with 2 years + the Magi with 1 + Darius with 36 + Xerxes with 21 + Artaxerxes Longimanus with 40 + Xerxes II. and Sogdianus with 2 months and 7 months respectively + Darius Nothus with 19 years, making in all only 119 years and 9 months. And under these circumstances, if he wished to end his dynasty like Africanus with the reign of Nothus, and at the same time to get rid of those odd months which did not suit his Canon, it is plain that what he had to do was to fill up the 9 months of Xerxes II. and Sogdianus to a full year, either by giving one year to the name of Sogdianus and omitting Xerxes II., or by allowing a 41st to Artaxerxes Longimanus and suppressing both the names of Xerxes II. and Sogdianus. So he might have obtained his sum of 120 years, lying chronologically between Sept. 1 in B.C. 525 and Aug. 31 in B.C. 405. But now Eusebius, instead of making a year more out of, or in lieu of, the two short reigns of Xerxes II. and Sogdianus, has simply suppressed them, as if he did not perceive that he would so be a year short, and would have only 119 years at the death of Nothus. This fact alone, that the reading which in the Canon parallels the *sixth* year of Cambyse with the last of Amasis is unaccompanied by any allowance of a year below Darius in compensation for the year drawn up and suppressed,

is perhaps a sufficient sign that it is not from Eusebius himself. And in the presence of a number of inconsistencies, and with some manifest corruption in the text, the best plan will be to make out for him the series after which he is manifestly aiming with as little departure as possible from the materials or data of his First Book. We suppose, then, that in spite of the awkwardness of reckoning nominally the 70th year of the Captivity to the Magi, Eusebius really in his Canon, as in his First Book, made his Egyptian Dyn. XXVII to begin with the *sixth* not the *seventh* year of Cambyeses, the same being his A. ABR. 1492 and his 67th year of the Captivity. *Thus* there will be no difficulty in making out the composition of the dynasty, which will differ in the Canon from Book I. only by the consolidation of the 4 odd months, and by the omission of the two names of Xerxes II. and Sogdianus. It will have $(3 + 1 + 36 + 21 + 40 + 19 =)$ 120 years, beginning with A. ABR. 1492, Sept. 1 B.C. 525, one Eusebian year later than Dyn. XXVIII of the Chronicle, and ending with the last year of Nothus A. ABR. 1611, at Aug. 31 in B.C. 405, three years earlier than the same dynasty of the Chronicle.

In consequence of having thus exhibited Dyn. XXVII, Eusebius (who rightly marks in his Canon the 6 years of Dyn. XXVIII of Manetho and Ptolemy as merely concurrent and included within the reign of Nothus) would have below Dynasties XXVII and XXVIII to account for 3 years more than the 57 given to Dynasties XXIX and XXX by the Chronicle, besides those other 15 years which it reckoned from the end of its thirtieth and last dynasty to the cosmocracy of Alexander in B.C. 330. But in Dynasties XXIX and XXX of the Manetho of Africanus he found a provision of only 59 years, being one fewer than what he wanted. And though the present text of the Canon in the Armenian version is hopelessly corrupt, and that of St. Jerome not by any means free from faults, and we have not in the Canon the assistance of a separate exhibition of Dyn. XXXI in the Egyptian column, still, as in Book I. Dyn. XXXI has distinctly 16 years, and the composition of its three reigns shows that the 1st of the 16 is chro-

nologically identical with the last year of Dyn. XXX of the Old Chronicle, it may be collected with tolerable certainty that in the genuine text of the Canon also Dynasties XXIX and XXX had $(21 + 38 =)$ 59 years, and were identical with those of the Manetho of Africanus except in this, that the 4 odd months of Dyn. XXIX would disappear. The first year of Dyn. XXIX beginning with A. ABR. 1612, from Sept. 1 in B.C. 405, and the last year of Dyn. XXX ending with A. ABR. 1670 at Aug. 31 in B.C. 346, one year before the end of Dyn. XXX of the Chronicle, this last year would be the 20th of Ochus, which Eusebius accordingly has named as the year of his Egyptian conquest. And consistently with his practice in other similar cases he seems in Book I. to reckon this year as the last of Nectanebo, and makes the last six years of Ochus, to whom he gives 26 years, to constitute the first reign of Dyn. XXXI. And in this he is not wrong: for the last six years of Ochus, from his 21st to his 26th inclusively, are really those which follow next after the end of Dyn. XXX of the Chronicle. The conquest, however, must have been in point of fact in the 21st not the 20th of Ochus, as otherwise the Chronicle would not have reckoned the 20th of Ochus to Nectanebo, nor would Manetho and Ptolemy have concurred with it in making the year ending in B.C. 345, not 346, the last of the native monarchy. And, besides this, though Eusebius indicates in his First Book the 21st of Ochus as the 1st of his Egyptian reign, yet as he makes this at the same time to be the 16th year before the end of Dyn. XXXI in the autumn of B.C. 330, it must be chronologically only the 20th not the 21st of Ochus; for between the end of his 20th and the end of the 6th of Darius Codomannus, there are in truth only 15 years. And in the Canon, where each year was exhibited, Eusebius must either have given to Ochus only 25 years in all, instead of 26, if Arsēs had 4 as in Book I.; or else, if Ochus had his full 26 years, Eusebius must have given to him 7 years in Egypt from his 20th inclusively, and to Arsēs only 3 years, which is his true number. Part of the confusion now visible in the text of the Canon and in notices derived from it concerning the last years of the

Egyptian series has arisen perhaps from the different ways in which the reigns of Artaxerxes Mnemon and Ochus may be reckoned, Artaxerxes having reigned either 40 or 46 and Ochus either 26 or only 20 years, according as the 6 years during which Ochus was associated are reckoned to the one or to the other. So ostensibly Dyn. XXXI may have begun in the Canon with A. ABR. 1671, the 20th of Ochus, from Sept. 1 in B.C. 346; but really this year was the 18th of Nectanebo, and the reign of Ochus over Egypt began in the year following. And the 16 years ostensibly given by Eusebius to the last 3 Persians, as also the 15 really belonging to them, ended with A. ABR. 1686, the 6th of Darius Codomannus, at Aug. 31 in B.C. 330.

If now we take a general survey of the whole space between the birth of Abraham and the cosmocracy of Alexander in B.C. 330, when Eusebius coincides within a month or two with the true chronology, and note at the chief intervals the peculiarities of his sacred, his Egyptian, and his Greek reckoning, *irrespectively* of any error caused by his beginning his years from Sept. 1, or by his treating Egyptian and Nabonassarian years as identical with Julian, we find, first, in his sacred scheme that the birth of Abraham is set (B.C. 2160—2016=) 144 years lower than it would have been set *for him* by the true chronology of the Scriptures and Josephus harmonised; and all other dates below it, in like manner, down to the 25th year of Joshua. The accession of Othniel as Judge at Sept. 1 in B.C. 1444 is (144—16=) 128 years too low; that of Ehud in B.C. 1404 is (128—18=) 110 too low; that of Deborah in B.C. 1324 is (110—20=) 90 too low; that of Gideon in B.C. 1284 is (90—7=) 83 too low; that of Abimelech in B.C. 1244 and that of Tola in B.C. 1241 are also each 83 too low; but in consequence of the omission in the Canon of the 23rd year of Tola the accession of his successor Jair in B.C. 1219 is only 82 years too low. Then the accession of Jephthah in B.C. 1197 is (82—18=) 64 years too low; and that of Hesebon in B.C. 1191 is also 64 too low. But, in consequence of the omission of Elon with 10 years, the accession of Labdon in B.C. 1184 is only (64—10=) 54 years too low. And lastly

that of Samson in B.C. 1176 is $(54 - 20 =)$ 34 too low. Then the 52 years of Samuel's minority and judgeship being omitted, while too many years by 18 in one place or another are reckoned below, the accession of Saul as governing together with Samuel, instead of being too low, is thrust up to Sept. 1 in B.C. 1116, so as to stand $(52 - 34 =)$ 18 years too high. And in like manner the accession of David in B.C. 1076, of Solomon in B.C. 1036, of Rehoboam in B.C. 996, of Abijah in B.C. 979, of Asa in B.C. 976, and of Jehoshaphat in B.C. 935, are each 18 years too high. But that of Jehoram in B.C. 910, owing to the 25th of Jehoshaphat having been counted as a distinct and perfect year, is only 17 too high. And for a like reason that of Ahaziah in B.C. 902 is only 16; and that of Athaliah in B.C. 901 is likewise 16 years too high. But those of Joash in B.C. 894, of Amaziah in B.C. 854, of Uzziah in B.C. 825, of Joatham in B.C. 773, and of Ahaz in B.C. 757, owing to the last imperfect year of Athaliah having been reckoned as distinct and full, are only 15, and that of Hezekiah in B.C. 741, owing to the 16 of Jotham and the 16 of Ahaz having been imperfect, is only 14 years too high. That of Manasseh in B.C. 712 and that of Amon in B.C. 657 are also each of them 14 too high. But, Amon having too many years by 10, the accession of Josiah in B.C. 645 is only 4 years too high; and that of Jehoiakim in B.C. 614 is only 4 years. But as he again has a year too many, the accession of his successor Zedekiah in B.C. 602 is only 3 years too high. The commencement of the Captivity, if it had been placed, as it ought to have been, after *his tenth* year of Zedekiah, in B.C. 592, would for him have been 4 years too high; but being placed by Eusebius a year later, after *his eleventh* of Zedekiah, in B.C. 591, it is *for him* only 3 years too high. The end of the 43rd (44th Syrian) of Nebuchadnezzar and the accession of Evil-Merodach, in B.C. 566, and that of Neriglissar in B.C. 564, are each of them 4 years too high, and for similar reasons. But the 4 years of Neriglissar as reckoned to precede the Persian accession of Cyrus have no chronological existence, being really concurrent with the first 4 years of his reign. The Persian accession of Cyrus is set, according to Eusebian reckoning, at its true date, viz. Sept.

1 B.C. 560: and, lastly, the end of the 70th year of the Captivity, being set at Aug. 31 in B.C. 521, at or before the beginning of the *second* year of Darius, is 3 years too high, its true place, for Eusebian reckoning, being at Aug. 31 in B.C. 518, at the end of his *fourth* year.

Then, in his Egyptian series (Egyptian years being identified with Julian), his year 1 of Menes, made to begin from Sept. 1 in B.C. 2016, as if parallel with A. ABR. 1, is really the $(2226 - 2016 =)$ 211th year from the true date for the accession of Menes, which instead of being coincident was $(2226 - 2160 =)$ 66 years, as Eusebius would have reckoned, before the birth of Abraham. The commencement of the Shepherd dynasty, being set in B.C. $(2016 - 190 =)$ 1826, is (owing to the omission of the Memphites) only $(210 - 103 =)$ 107 years too low; and as it has $(184 - 103 =)$ 81 years too few, the commencement of the next dynasty, viz. Dyn. XVIII, in B.C. $(1826 - 103 =)$ 1723 is only $(107 - 81 =)$ 26 years too low. The date which he assigns to the Exodus after the 212th year of this dynasty, that is, after Aug. 31 in B.C. 1511, would place it by the lists of the original Manetho, preserved by Josephus, after the 5th year of Rathotis, who so would *not* be drowned in the Red Sea, any more than his sister, or the double of his sister, to unsex and to drown whom Eusebius has taken so much trouble. Down to the 178th year of his Dyn. XX Eusebius's Egyptian dates, irrespectively of any particular dislocations, will continue to be all 26 years too low. Then the head of his Dyn. XXII, that is, the accession of Shishonk I., set by him in B.C. 873, is $(26 + 80 =)$ 106 years too low: but the same dynasty, having 72 years too few, ends in B.C. 824, only $(106 - 72 =)$ 34 years too low. The two reigns of Osorchon and Psammis, answering to Dyn. XXIII of the Chronicle, and beginning for Eusebius in B.C. $(824 - 25 =)$ 799, begin $(34 + 25 = 59 - 49 =)$ 11 years too low. The commencements of the Saite Dyn. XXIV in B.C. $(799 - 19 =)$ 780, of the Ethiopian Dyn. XXV in B.C. $(780 - 44 =)$ 736, and of the Saite Dyn. XXVI in B.C. $(736 - 44 =)$ 692, are also each 11 years too low. The end of Dyn. XXVI in B.C. $(692 - 167 =)$ 525 is *one year too low*. Dyn. XXVII, with 120 years beginning with the 6th of Cambyses and ending

with the 19th of Nothus, ends rightly in B.C. 405. But then Dyn. XXIX, as only 21 years are given to it, ends in B.C. 384 one year too high. And this again draws up all the 38 years of Dyn. XXX, so that they also end one year too high, in B.C. 346 instead of B.C. 345; and the 18th and last of Nectanebo II. is parallel with the 19th Persian year of Ochus, instead of being parallel with his 20th. In consequence 16 years, instead of 15, are given in Dyn. XXXI as the interval between the Persian conquest of Ochus and the cosmocracy of Alexander, upon the death of Darius, which is rightly set at Sept. 1, in B.C. 330.

Of his Greek and other heathen reckonings it may be observed that he is at no pains, generally speaking, to shorten them in the same proportion in which he curtails the Hebrew chronology, but takes them often nearly as they stood with Africanus, and finds Hebrew antiquity to be still sufficiently superior. From the Assyrian list indeed (so Syncellus says) he omits 4 kings, so leaving only 42 years of Ninus (for the reign of Belus he regards as fabulous) before the birth of Abraham. And of the Sicyonian list he allows one whole reign of Ægialeus, viz. 52 years, and the first 22 of the second king, Europs, making 74 in all, to be anterior to Abraham, whereas according to Africanus the 1st year of Ægialeus was parallel with the 28th of Jacob. But the foundation of Argos by Inachus Eusebius places after his A.M. 3341, that is 160 years after the birth of Abraham, in B.C. 1856, at an interval of 673 years above Eratosthenes's date for Troy. The Flood of Ogyges he marks 100 years later, after his A.M. 3444, A. ABR. 260, the 51st of Phoroneus, in B.C. 1756. After A.M. 3708, A. ABR. 525, ending in B.C. 1492, he has a note in his Canon "*Danaidum res,*" meaning "*the affair of the 50 daughters of Danaus and their 50 cousins the sons of Ægyptus;*" so that, if any one likes here to amuse himself, he may consider that Danaus and Ægyptus having the one 50 sons, and the other 50 daughters, grown up must at this date be themselves at least 50 years of age. Then, 8 years *later*, we find A. ABR. 533 ending in B.C. 1484 (301 years above Eratosthenes's date for Troy) paralleled with the 5th and last year of Armais or Danaus in Egypt

Whether he wandered like Ulysses in the mean time is not said; but after 10 more years A. ABR. 544 is marked as the 1st year of Danaus at Argos; and he reigns there 50 years, dying as it seems after A. ABR. 593, in B.C. 1423, at the age, as it may seem, of at least 118 years; while his brother Ægyptus who reigned after expelling him 68 years in Egypt, dies 8 years later, after A. ABR. 601, in B.C. 1415, and so at the age of at least 126 years. But since every fable must have some source, and Eusebius has really fixed this fable to the historical king (Rameses II.) alluded to, though only circuitously, by Manetho, this may be the proper place at which to mention the singular fact, that from the sculptures (unhappily much damaged) of the temple at *Seboua* it appears that Rameses II. had in truth no fewer than 111 sons and 59 daughters, so that he might well spare 50 of them for Greek fable to give to his brother. (*Brugsch, Hist. D'Egypte*, p. 164.)

In several of the notices inserted by Eusebius into his Canon there are signs of a disposition in their authors to turn the tables upon the Egyptians, as if by an amusing kind of mimicry. Thus at A. ABR. 279, ending in B.C. 1738, there is a note that *Apis*, of whose reign at Argos this was the 9th year, now colonised Egypt and "*built Memphis*," continuing however to reign on at Argos for 26 years longer. And as late as A. ABR. 498, ending in B.C. 1519, only 7 years before his date for the Exodus, he lets us know that *Io*, having wandered from Argos, was now in Egypt, where she was named *Isis*, and her son *Epaphus*, born there, is *Apis* or *Serapis*.

Instead of that synchronism of *Inachus* which many had adopted for the Exodus from Ptolemy, Apion, and Josephus, or that of *Ogyges* and *Phoroneus* which Africanus had substituted, Eusebius points out the fact that, even with all those reductions which he has made, the Exodus appears in his Canon in the time of *Cecrops* the first king of Athens; and *Cecrops* is earlier than almost all the famous personages and events of Greek fable. It appears, in fact, after his 45th year, in B.C. 1511. What his dates for each of those later Greek personages and events which he enumerates as later than *Cecrops*, and so than *Moses*, may be, it is unne-

cessary here to specify, as they do not bear directly on the Egyptian lists, and they may be seen in that epitome of the Canon which will be subjoined. But if we pass on to his date for Troy, it seems that he puts this 2 or 3 years later than Eratosthenes, viz. after the 23rd year of Mnestheus of Athens, A. ABR. 835, being his 3rd for Labdon, which ends in B.C. 1181. For what reason he so varied from the date of Eratosthenes is not apparent, unless it were in order to make the synchronism coincide exactly with the end of the 7th and last year of Thouoris and of Dyn. XIX, which ends for him at Aug. 31 in B.C. 1181. He observes that from Troy up to the birth of Moses are 411 and down to Olymp. 1 are 408 years. But from Sept. 1 in B.C. (1511 + 80 =) 1591, his date for the birth of Moses, 411 years would end at Aug. 31 in B.C. 1180, while reckoned up from Sept. 1 in B.C. 777, the beginning of his year paralleled with Olymp. 1 *a'*, 405 years will appear to have begun from Sept. 1 in B.C. 1182. He is reckoning then loosely, after his custom, going up 80 years from the *beginning* of the year *after* which he marks the Exodus, that is, from Sept. 1 in B.C. 1512, to the year of the birth of Moses, which so is in B.C. (1512 + 80 =) 1592, and then reckoning down from it 411 years to end in B.C. 1181. And in like manner he reckons down to Olymp. 1 not from the *end* of A. ABR. 835, the 7th of Thouoris, in B.C. 1181, but from the *beginning*, in B.C. 1182, and so makes 405 years to B.C. (1182 - 405 =) 777. It is before this date that he "suppresses the 4 Assyrian kings [of Anianus?], viz. *Arabelus* with 42, *Chalaus* with 45, *Anebus* with 38, and *Babius* with 37, making in all 162 years, in order that his own date for Troy may fall within the reign of Teutamus." Syncellus, having a much longer chronology, "reinserts" these kings, but about 80 years later, after the reign of *Teutæus*. The end of the reign of Sardapalus and of the Assyrian monarchy is put by Eusebius after A. ABR. 1196, in B.C. 820; but Syncellus's list reckoned up from his own point puts Ninus at B.C. (825 + 51 + 1306 + 48 =) 2230, just above the true epoch of Menes, and 41 years (with Eusebius 42) above the birth of Abraham. And the 1st of Belus is 55 years higher in B.C. 2285 after A.M. 3215.

In the lower part of his scale an excess of 2 years in the reigns of the Macedonians is caused by his giving to Ptolemy Lagi 20 instead of 19 years from the death of Alexander to his assumption of a crown in Egypt, and by another similar inadvertence below. But this is compensated by his bringing down the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra 2 years too low, to the end of his A.M. 5173, in B.C. 28, so that there is no insertion of unchronological years, but only a misplacement of events. The 56 years which he gives to Augustus begin from Sept. 1 in B.C. 43, the year after the death of Julius Cæsar. About the reign of Herod he blunders strangely. He gives to him 37 years beginning with his year of Augustus 11 from Sept. 1 in B.C. 33, and ending at Aug. 31 in A.D. 5. The error may perhaps be accounted for thus: Herod really reigned either 34 or 37 years from two distinct accessions between which there was an interval of 3 years, his first accession being when he was made king by the Roman Senate in B.C. 40, his second when with the aid of Sosius he had taken Jerusalem in B.C. 37. Eusebius, instead of reckoning the interval of 3 years from B.C. 40 to B.C. 37, reckoned it from B.C. 36 to B.C. 33: and, instead of reckoning the longer reign of 37 years from the commencement of the 3 years' interval *above* B.C. 37, he reckoned it from the end of a 3 years' interval *below*, B.C. 36; though, if he had supposed the date of the *first* accession to be in B.C. 36, he ought to have reckoned only 34 years, not 37, from the supposed later accession in B.C. 33. The date *indicated* underneath these mistakes for the death of Herod is some day of the Eusebian year current between Sept. 1 in B.C. 4 and Aug. 31 in B.C. 3, which is one year too low.

It remains to give an account of the Eusebian text of those xv dynasties of Africanus which though not to be used in the Canon were still admitted by Eusebius into his First Book, and which are exhibited both in the Armenian version of that book and in the transcript made from the Greek by Syncellus.

With respect then to Africanus's first xv dynasties of kings, or those which Eusebius has made to stand as such (since he has made Dyn. XVII of Africanus to stand as XVI, Dyn. XV as XVII, and Dyn. XVI as XV), it has

been already observed that he spared himself the trouble of examining whether any of them were historical and, if so, identical or contemporary with any of the xv dynasties of kings in the Old Chronicle. And though in his Book I. he transcribes from Africanus the explanation that, a number of dynasties having in early times existed together in Egypt, there is no great difficulty even if one finds two or three times as many years and kings as there is room for in single succession, — and again the notice, that some writers of repute for exactness had explained the vast periods of the Gods to be made up of month-years, — and though he even seems to appropriate what had been said by Africanus in the first person, as if adopting these explanations for himself, and understanding the reigns of the Gods to cover the time of the antediluvians down to the Flood *and to the Dispersion*, it does not seem that Eusebius *really* adopted or made any practical application of either of the two principles of explanation above stated. Neither in his First, nor in his Second Book, is there any hint in his lists of contemporary dynasties, except in the case of Dyn. XXVIII of Africanus: and in one dynasty, Dyn. XVII of Africanus, where he found two distinct lines of kings expressly named as concurrent, he has simply expunged one of them. We are told, moreover, by Syncellus, that Anianus and Panodorus, or Panodorus at any rate, blamed Eusebius for this very reason, that he had *rejected* the expedient of reducing the vast periods of the Egyptians as if from months to true years, and had failed to perceive that by such reduction they were really reconcilable with the true chronology of the world, as they themselves undertook to show.

This being so, when one compares the first xv dynasties given by Syncellus from Book I. of Eusebius with the same dynasties also transcribed by him from Africanus, it is natural in the first instance to expect that there will be little or no difference; and that such differences as may here and there exist will be real variants, available towards ascertaining the genuine text of Africanus and Ptolemy, or even (indirectly) of the original Manetho. For Eusebius, one would think, could have no motive for altering materials not

intended to be used. Those other dynasties which he meant to work up into his Canon he had an obvious motive for altering; and as we know both by whom and for what particular purpose nearly every one of those alterations which appear in his xv or xvi later dynasties (from Dyn. XVI to XXXI) was made, his peculiarities in those dynasties cannot be mistaken for variants, nor can any critical importance be attached to them. But with the xv earlier dynasties the contrary would seem to be the case.

It may be true indeed that in some few instances the text of Eusebius does present variants from that of Africanus. For instance, when he gives for Dyn. I a sum of 252 instead of 253 years, differing by only one year, any one who knows that the original Manetho gave the reigns with their odd months may reasonably suspect that in this instance the original Manetho had 252 years and some months. So, too, the sums of 297 instead of 302 years for Dyn. II, of 198 or, as the Armenian text has it, 197, instead of 214 for Dyn. III, and of 182 instead of 160 for the reigns of Dyn. XII, may possibly be variants. Just as in the later dynasties the exhibition in Dyn. XVIII of the 25 years of Amosis and of a series of reigns making up exactly or very nearly the given sum of 348 years, is no doubt derived from a different and a far more perfect copy of Africanus than that used by Syncellus. And in Dyn. XXVI Eusebius's first name, *Ammeris*, whether from the same more perfect copy of Africanus or not, is certainly from an Egyptian source, and a very valuable variation from the text of Syncellus. But, if one is to speak of them generally, Eusebius's variations from the text of Africanus in his first xv dynasties, though quite unlike those in the dynasties following, are still both too many and too considerable to be regarded for a moment either as variants or as results of mere carelessness, while yet they are accompanied by such plain signs of extreme carelessness in transcribing and of off-handed arbitrariness in altering, as to justify a doubt whether there is much or anything in them to be ascribed to further causes.

After exhibiting in Dyn. I a text rather fuller than that of the Africanus of Syncellus he almost immediately after-

wards, in Dyn. II, begins to transcribe lazily, omitting here and there several kings together as unimportant, and clubbing together their years. And by the time that he has reached Dyn. IV he is so careless that he transcribes only one name; and so not only omits two out of the three kings whose names from the time of Herodotus had been associated with the three great pyramids, but even in mentioning the greatest of them he names as its builder the *third* king of the dynasty, that is, Suphis II., instead of the second king, Suphis I., who was really "the Cheops of Herodotus," and to whom this notice, copied word for word by Eusebius, was attached by Africanus. Instead of the viii kings who are all named in order by Ptolemy he gives for this dynasty in the heading prefixed a number of xvii, being really the joint number ($\text{viii} + \text{ix} = \text{xvii}$) of Dynasties IV and V; and instead of 277 or 284 years, the sums of the original Manetho and of Africanus, he gives it a sum of 448 years, the 400 being the joint sum of the hundreds of Dynasties IV and V taken together, and the 48 being the decades and units of Dyn. V; whereas the joint sum of the two dynasties together, to be complete, should have been ($284 + 248 =$) 532 years. After this it would have been only consistent to make no separate mention of the next dynasty, Dyn. V, called Elephantinite, seeing that though he may have dropped 84 years belonging to Dyn. IV, he has consolidated with it, and given already under its heading as Memphites, all the ix kings and all the 248 years of Dyn. V. Yet, instead of simply passing on to Dyn. VI, he splits that dynasty into two; and first, after prefixing a heading in which his "Dyn. V" is designated "Elephantinite," he gives to it a number of xxxi kings, of whom iv are really, as it seems, those iv which he means to leave to Dyn. VI, while the other xxvii seem to be the xxvii of Dyn. VIII. Under this heading he then *names* two kings who, instead of being any of Manetho's ix "Elephantinites," are the first and the fourth kings of the six "Memphites" of Dyn. VI. Thus these two kings are virtually placed among the ($\text{viii} + \text{ix} =$) xvii of the heading of his own Dyn. IV. And four only are left to be named, or reckoned

without being named, under Dyn. VI. And the first of these two kings, *Othoes*, he names without specifying the length of his reign. To the other, *Phiops* (the fourth really of Dyn. VI), as he simply transcribes the notice of Manetho that he reigned from the age of 6 to that of 100, and gives no sum of years for the dynasty, he may be supposed to reckon only 94 years, though Syncellus makes out of the 100 years of his life a sum for the dynasty. Passing on, instead of giving to Dyn. VI its designation of Memphite or its number of vi kings, or at any rate the iv still remaining to it, Eusebius begins it abruptly thus: "Dyn. VI. A woman reigned, Nitocris by name" (hers being really the *last* reign of the dynasty), "the bravest and most beautiful person of her time; she was of fair complexion, and is said to have built the third pyramid." The Armenian rendering of the Greek word *ξανθή* is here remarkable, "*flava, rubris genis*," as it is an exact translation of the name of *Rhodopis*, from whom no doubt both the beauty, the peculiar complexion, and the building of the third pyramid passed to the name Nitocris, and through this name to the queen Nitocris of Dyn. VI. After this exhibition of the dynasty there follows the sum of its years introduced by the plural relative in the masculine gender "*who*" (that is, which kings) "reigned in all 203 years." One might have expected that, after transferring two out of the six kings to the preceding dynasty, either both their reigns, or at least the 94 or 100 years of *Phiops* which were named, would be now deducted. But nothing of the kind. The sum given is the full unaltered sum of all the vi reigns of Dyn. VI of Africanus. Both the reign of *Othoes*, and the 94 years of the reign, nay, all the 100 years of the life of *Phiops* are included: that is, they are simply reckoned twice over, as it were in one breath. Well, indeed, may Syncellus here exclaim, as he does, and bid his reader "observe how very far Eusebius falls short of Africanus in accuracy, both as regards the number of the kings, and in omitting names, and either omitting or varying the years, though he seems" except in these his faults "to be copying almost word for word from Africanus." This indeed was precisely the case.

He must have been both lazy and careless, or arbitrary to the last degree, and so sleepy besides as scarcely to know or care what he did. And the wonder is that such a performance should have come down to us uncorrected, just as if it had been printed off, as fast as written, or engraved once for all on steel or on the rock, so that it could neither be cancelled nor amended.

For Dyn. VII the Greek text of Syncellus instead of lxx has only v kings (and, certainly, if Eusebius *was* to alter, a plausible motive for altering was here not wanting); but instead of any corresponding alteration in the duration of the dynasty, the "70 days" of Africanus receive an unmeaning addition of 5 more *days*, so that v instead of lxx kings, are said to reign between them 75 instead of 70 days, being 15 days instead of 1 day each. In this change the gain is not great; but the Armenian version instead of 75 days has 75 years, which is probably the true reading, as it makes a change in the reigns analogous to that made in the number of the kings. The next dynasty, Dyn. VIII, has, according to Syncellus, v Memphite kings and one round hundred of years. But the Armenian text has ix kings, and a marginal variant of xix, with the same sum of 100 years. If Eusebius in the last dynasty, Dyn. VII, made an alteration with the view of getting rid of a manifest and excessive improbability, it is not likely that now in Dyn. VIII he should wantonly create fresh improbabilities of his own. But, as the text stands, the two dynasties, VIII and IX, having the one iv and the other v kings, with exactly the same sum of one round century each, scarcely look more historical than the dynasties of Africanus from which they are altered. And Dyn. VIII having originally had only 146 or 142 years, it is unlikely that for so small a gain as 42 years Eusebius should create a new and manifest improbability, while in the next dynasty, Dyn. IX, which had 409 years, if he had reasons for reducing the sum total of years in these dynasties, there was something tangible in a retrenchment of above 300 years; and this retrenchment being made in Dyn. IX, the 100 years really given only to it might easily produce a corruption of the text in the line above giving

the same number of 100 (instead of 142) to Dyn. VIII also. We shall therefore for this reason, and for another which will appear below, depart in this one instance both from Syncellus and from the Armenian version; and we shall suppose the genuine sum of Dyn. VIII to have been for Eusebius 142, as in Syncellus's text of Africanus. And for the number of its kings too, seeing that its true number, viz. xxvii, was out of proportion to 142 years, and that these xxvii have besides been most likely reckoned already among the xxxi Elephantinites of Dyn. V, and there might seem some improbability in two dynasties in succession having exactly the same number of xix kings, we shall here prefer the marginal reading of the Armenian text, and suppose that Eusebius drew up and gave to his Dyn. VIII that number of xix kings which really belonged to Dyn. IX of Africanus, in like manner as he has twice already in his headings drawn up and anticipated the kings of dynasties which were to follow. Then in Dyn. IX he allowed himself to change both the sum of its years, giving it one round hundred instead of 409, and also the number of its kings, giving it only iv instead of xix.

As for the name of the tyrant *Ac-th-oes* "who did more evil to *all* Egypt than any other king, and eventually went mad, and was killed by a crocodile," Eusebius has retained this notice. It is not easy to say for certain what may be its origin. But as all the *kings* of Ptolemy's Dynasties VIII and IX are mere doubles and nonentities (see above p. 541 in Ch. IV.), and only the *years* which they seem to hold are historical; and as, besides, those historical kings of whom they are the doubles were certainly none of them ever tyrants over "all Egypt," we are driven to cast about for some king who *was* in the eyes of the Egyptians a more merciless and destructive tyrant than all others, and throughout all Egypt. This pre-eminence will perhaps belong rather to the Persian Ochus, than to any other. And even the name *Ἀχθόης* may be his, as the *os* or *oys* is only the Greek termination, and the *θ* or *τ* is the common Egyptian formative, which is sometimes omitted and sometimes added. The first syllable alone then AX or ΩX is the name proper; and the crocodile

which had the wit to slay him in his madness and make cats' meat of his flesh was the Egyptian eunuch Bagoas, whose original name may have been Asychis, or Petesuccus, and who at any rate was the representative of poetical justice, and of Sebak-Ra. In like manner the strange entry in Dyn. I, that the Osirified Menes himself, the founder of the monarchy, the prototype, perhaps, of the sacred bull *Menai* of Heliopolis, after his long and glorious reign was "slain by a hippopotamus" means, perhaps, nothing more than this, that like the ancestor of mankind, Osiris, he was slain by the malignant deity Typhon, one of whose hieroglyphs was the hippopotamus. But to return to Eusebius:

Dynasties X and XI are transcribed from Africanus unaltered; and what is remarkable is that, after those changes which have been recounted, either he himself, or rather some later copyist for him, transcribes from Africanus the sum both of the kings and of the years of Manetho's (that is, of Ptolemy's) Book I. *almost unchanged*, viz. "192 kings and 2300 years." But as we have now followed, and in one place conjecturally restored, the text of Eusebius, he makes to the end of Book I. of the Manetho of Africanus only $8 + 9 + 8 + (8 + 9) + (4 + 27) + 7 + 5 + 19 + 4 + 19 + 16 + 1 = 87$ instead of 192 kings, and $252 + 297 + 197$ [Arm.] $+ (200 + 248) + 94 + 203 + 75 + 142$ [variant of Syncellus in lists of Africanus] $+ 100 + 185 + 59 = 2052$ instead of 2300 or 2303 years.

On coming to Book II. of the Manetho of Africanus, Eusebius gives Dyn. XII with two remarkable variations; one in the *reigns*, which with him when actually added up make 22 years more than with Africanus, viz. 182 instead of 160 years. This is remarkable because suppressions were really made by Manetho in the later part of this dynasty, so that Eusebius's reckoning of 42, instead of 20 years, to the last three reigns (which unluckily he clubs together without names), to whatever cause it may be owing, is, in fact, so far as it goes, a chronological *restoration*; and if he had only given them all to the single immediate *successor*, instead of the *successors*, in the plural, of the fourth of the seven kings, that is to Amenemhe III. standing as Amenemhe IV., and had left it open to add or to understand 12

or 13 years besides for the last two reigns of the dynasty, he would have been *very near* to the truth. The other peculiarity is in the *sum* given for the dynasty, which with him is 245 years. And as the Greek and the Armenian texts agree there is no reason to dispute its genuineness, though it is plain that Eusebius could not even hope to exhibit this sum in detail as divided among the vii kings. In Dyn. XIII he has the same number of lx kings, and the same sum of 453 years as Africanus. In Dyn. XIV too he transcribes faithfully both the lxxvi kings and their inadequate allowance of 184 years. In his Dyn. XV, which (as he has taken and altered Dynasties XVII and XV of Africanus to stand as XVI and XVII for use in his Canon) really answers to Dyn. XVI of Africanus, nearly everything seems to be his own. For Dyn. XVI of Africanus is a dynasty of "xxxii other Shepherds" with 518 years; but Dyn. XV of Eusebius, answering to it, is a dynasty of "Thebans," whose number is *not given*, with 250 years. The years in truth answer rather to the 284 years of the displaced Dyn. XV of Africanus than to those of any other; and they differ by only 9 or 10 from the sum of that same dynasty in the lists of the original Manetho. But it matters little or nothing with what they are compared.

Having reached the point at which Eusebius enters upon those later dynasties which he has altered much more extensively, or rather recast altogether, in preparation for his Canon, we have now only to add up those kings and years which he has hitherto enumerated as if from Book II. of the Manetho of Africanus. The kings then are $7 + 60 + 76 + z$, making in all 143, with some unknown number besides for his Dyn. XV; and the years, at least those of the sums given by him, make together ($245 + 453 + 184 + 250 =$) 1132. But 1132 and 2052 years, the latter being the sum to which Eusebius by his negligences, or by slashes here and there of his pruning-hook, seemed to have cut down Book I. of the Manetho of Africanus, make up together a total of 3184 years, the precise number which Eusebius reckons in his Hebrew chronology from the Creation to the birth of Abraham. The same result would equally have been ob-

tained if in Dyn. III we had kept Syncellus's reading of 198 years instead of following the Armenian version, and in Dyn. VIII had restored the 146 of Syncellus's text instead of the 142 implied by his sum total subjoined, if only in Dyn. VII we had at the same time retained the number 70 from Africanus, understanding, in agreement with the Armenian version, years and not days. And it is easy to see how the reading "75," whether years or days, might arise after Eusebius had placed in the heading of his Dynasty VII the number of *v* instead of *lxx* kings.

The sum of 3184 years found above for the first fifteen Egyptian dynasties of Eusebius, even if we had not been able exactly to exhibit it, but had only found that upon the whole his alterations pointed towards its exhibition, sufficiently explains what his idea and motive was in making some careless changes even in those earlier dynasties which are confined to the First Book of his Chronicon. His intention was, no doubt, to hint that the Egyptians had covered with kings the whole course of human time from the creation of Adam to the historical beginning of their monarchy. *More* than this he was not inclined to avow, because if the difference amounted to only a few centuries more, it might be inferred that in their fabling they had probably gone upon some ground of tradition which gave a longer period since the beginning of mankind than was fixed by himself. And it is remarkable that the light in which he tried to exhibit the lists of Ptolemy and Africanus, as cut down to suit his own system, is almost exactly that which really belongs to them, and in which they naturally appear when compared with the true chronology. For in truth the kings of Dyn. I of Ptolemy and Africanus (as has been shown above in Chap. IV. pp. 449 and 556) are made to begin with the 16th Egyptian year of human time; that is with the 16th year of Adam; and the Egyptian reckoning, bating only the difference between Julian and vague years, and the cutting off of some months at the head of all, agrees with the reckoning of the Scriptures and Josephus harmonised, that is, with the truth, and disallows equally the excesses of Africanus on the one hand and the suppressions of Eusebius on the other.

The Egyptian lists of Africanus as recast by Eusebius to serve as materials in his First Book, and as copied thence by Syncellus, shall now be given in full in the original Greek, together with some restorations which will be added in their places, and with notices of such variants as are found in the old Armenian version:—

Δυναστεία Α'

Μετὰ νέκρας καὶ τοὺς ἡμιθέους πρώτην δυναστείαν καταριθμοῦσι βασιλέων ἡ ὧν πρῶτος γέγονε Μήνης, ὃς διασήμως αὐτῶν ἡγήσατο· ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκάστου γένους βασιλεύσαντας ἀναγράψομεν, ὧν ἡ διαδοχὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον·

α'. Μήνης Θινίτης, καὶ οἱ τοῦτον ἀπόγονοι ζ' ("septem" Arm.). ὃν Ἡρόδοτος Μῆνα ὠνόμασεν· ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ξ' [ξβ']. Οὗτος ὑπερόριον στρατείαν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐκρίθη· ὑπὸ δὲ ἱπποποτάμου ἡρπάσθη.

β'. Ἀθῶθις ὁ τοῦτον υἱὸς ἦρξεν ἔτεσιν κζ'· καὶ τὰ ἐν Μέρμφει βασιλεία ἀκροδόμησεν, ἱατρικὴν τε ἐξήσκησε, καὶ βίβλους ἀνατομικὰς συνέγραψε.

γ'. Κενκένης ὁ τοῦτον υἱὸς ἔτη λθ'· [λα'· yet Arm. also has "39"].

δ'. Οὐεννέφης ἔτη μβ'· ἐφ' οὗ λιμὸς κατέσχε τὴν χώραν· ὃς καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας τὰς περὶ Κωχώμην ("prope Cho oppidum" in the Arm.) ἤγειρε.

ε'. Οὐσαφαῖς ἔτη κ'.

ς'. Νεβαῖς ἔτη κς'.

ζ'. Σεμέμφης ἔτη ιη'· ἐφ' οὗ πολλὰ παράσημα ἐγένετο καὶ μεγίστη φθορά.

η'. Οὐβιένθης ("Vibesthes" in the Arm.) ἔτη κς'.

Οἱ πάντες ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη συνβ'· (and Arm. "252;" to make out which one must restore from Africanus 62 and 31 to reigns i and iii, and then 62+27+31+42+20+26+18+26 will give the sum 252.)

Δυναστεία Β'

Βασιλέων θ'.

α'. Πρῶτος Βωχὸς, ἐφ' οὗ χάσμα κατὰ Βούβαστον ἐγένετο, καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπώλοντο· ("specus ingens sub-sedit, multosque hausit." Arm.)

β'. Μεθ' ὃν καὶ δεύτερος Χωὸς ("Cechous" Arm.), ὅτε καὶ ὁ Ἀπὶς καὶ ὁ Μνεύς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Μενδήσιος τράγος θεοὶ ἐνομήσθησαν.

γ'. Βίοφης, ἐφ' οὗ ἐκρίθη καὶ τὰς γυναικας βασιλείας γέρας ἔχειν.

δ'. ε'. ς'. Καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἄλλοι τρεῖς ἐφ' ὧν οὐδὲν παράσημον ἐγένετο.

ζ'. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐβδόμου μυθεύεται ("mythici aiunt" in the Arm.) τὸν Νεῖλον μέλιτι κεκραμένον ἡμέραις ἑνδεκα ρύηται.

η'. Μεθ' ὃν Σέσωχρις ἔτη μη'· ὃς λέγεται γεγόνειν ὕψος ἔχων πηχῶν ἐ', παλαιστῶν γ' [τὸ μέγεθος. Omit this, though the Arm. also has "tres vero palmos latum fuisse."]

θ'. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ θ' οὐδὲν ἀξιωματικόν· τον ὑπῆρχεν.

Οἱ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτεσι σζ' (and Arm. "297;" but the sum of Africanus is 302).

Syncellus adds: 'Ομοῦ α' καὶ β' δυναστείας ἔτη φμθ' (549=252+297) κατὰ τὴν ἐκδοσιν Εὐσεβίου.

Δυναστεία Γ'

Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων η'.

α'. Νεχέρωχρις, ἐφ' οὗ Λίβυες ἀπέστησαν Αἴγυπτιων, καὶ τῆς σελήνης παρὰ λόγον αὐξηθείσης διὰ δέος αὐτοὺς παρέδωσαν.

β'. Μεθ' ὃν Σέθορθος, ὃς Ἀσκληπίος

παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκλήθη διὰ τὴν
 ἱατρικὴν· οὗτος καὶ τὴν διὰ ξε-
 στῶν λίθων οἰκοδομὴν εὐρατο·
 ἀλλὰ καὶ γραφῆς ἐπεμελήθη.

Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐξ οὐδὲν ἀξιωμακτικῶν
 τον ἐπραξαν.

Οἱ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτεσι ρζη' ("197"
 Arm. But the sum of Africanus is
 214.)

Syncellus adds: 'Ομοῦ τῶν γ' δυ-
 ναστειῶν κατὰ τὸν Εὐσέβιον ἔτη ψμζ'
 (747=549+198).

Δυναστεία Δ'

Βασιλέων ιζ' Μεμφιτῶν συγγενείας
 ἐτίρας βασιλείας (βασιλικῆς? "regum
 xvii ex aliâ regiâ familiâ." Arm.
 The number 17 is probably the joint
 number of this and the next follow-
 ing dynasty, 8+9=17.)

Ἵν γ' Σοῦφισ, ὁ τὴν μεγίστην πυρα-
 μίδα ἐγείρας, ἦν φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ὑπὸ
 Χέοπος γεγενῆσθαι· ὃς καὶ ὑπερόπτης
 εἰς θεοὺς γέγονεν, ὡς μετανόησαντα
 αὐτὸν τὴν ἱερὰν συγγράφαι βίβλον, ἣν
 ὡς μέγα χρῆμα Αἰγύπτιοι περιέπονσι.
 ("Qui in deos ipsos superbiebat: tum
 facti pœnitens sacrum librum com-
 posuit, quem Ægyptii instar magni
 thesauri habere se putabant." Arm.
 Comp. the text of Africanus above
 at p. 442. The true sense of the ὡς
 may perhaps be rendered thus: "so
 that it must have been after repent-
 ing that he wrote that sacred book of
 which, according to Africanus who
 bought a copy of it, the Egyptians
 make so much.")

Τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐδὲν ἀξιωμακτικῶν
 τον ἀνεγράφη.

Οἱ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτεσι νμη'.
 ("448" also Arm. If the 17 kings
 were from the 9+8 of Dynasties III
 and IV, the true reading for the sum
 should be not νμη' 448, but νπη' 488
 =214+274, which last was the sum
 of Africanus's text for Dyn. IV.

Syncellus adds: 'Ομοῦ τῶν δ' δυ-
 ναστειῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμόν ρρζε'
 (1195=747+448) κατὰ Εὐσέβιον.

Δυναστεία Ε'

Βασιλέων λα' ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης· ὧν
 α'. Πρῶτος Ὁθόης· οὗτος ὑπὸ τῶν
 δορυφόρων ἀνγρέθη.

Ὁ δὲ δ' Φίωψ ἐξάτης ἀρξάμενος
 ἐβασίλευσε μέχρις ἐτῶν ἑκατόν· ("a
 sexto ætatis anno regiam dignitatem
 ad centesimum usque tenuit." Arm.)

Syncellus adds up the 100 years
 of the life of Phioops here mentioned
 as if it were the sum of the dynasty,
 and writes Γίνονται σὺν τοῖς προτε-
 ταγμένοις ρρζε' ἔτεσι τῶν δ' δυναστειῶν
 ρσζε' (1295=1195+100). But the
 two names which alone are here
 mentioned, being both taken from
 Dyn. VI, at once show how great
 was Eusebius's carelessness in tran-
 scribing these earlier and for him
 condemned dynasties, and also
 confirm the suspicion that the 17
 kings and the 448 years given above
 to Dynasty IV, are really, though
 in a corrupt form, the kings and the
 years of Dyn. V, the years of which
 latter are else entirely omitted.
 The 31 kings given here to Dyn.
 V are possibly a corrupt reading
 for (8+9+9+8=) 34, the sum of
 the kings of the first four dynasties;
 or else 4 of VI + 27 of VIII = 31.

Δυναστεία ΣΤ'

Γυνὴ Νίτωκρις ἐβασίλευσε, τῶν κατ'
 αὐτὴν γεννικωτάτη καὶ εὐμορφωτάτη,
 ξανθὴ τε τὴν χροῖαν ὑπάρξασα, ἣ καὶ
 λέγεται τὴν τρίτην πυραμίδα φκοδο-
 μηκῆναι. ("omnium ætatis suæ
 virorum fortissima et mulierum
 formosissima, flava rubris genis.
 [i.e. ῥοδῶπις.] Ab hac tertia pyramis
 excitata dicitur, speciem collis præ
 se ferens." Arm. Bunsen supposes
 this last addition to be mistrans-
 lated, and its true sense to be
 that the third pyramid is built on
 higher ground than the other two.

Οἱ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη σγ' ("203"
 also in the Arm.).

Syncellus adds: Γίνονται σὺν τοῖς

προτεταγμένοις ἀσλὲ τῶν ἐδυναστείων
ἐτη ,αυζη (1498=1295+203).

Δυναστεία Ζ'

Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων ε' ("v," Arm.),
οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἡμέρας οε' ("anno 75,"
Arm.).

Δυναστεία Η'

Μεμφιτῶν βασιλέων ε' [ιθ'], οἱ ἐβασί-
λευσαν ἐτη ρ' [ρβ'] ("regum ix"
Arm.; and in the margin "xix," the
number of the next two dynasties of
Africanus)."

Syncellus adds: Γίνονται σὺν τοῖς
προτεταγμένοις ἐτη ,αφζη' (1598=
1498+100) τῶν ἡ' δυναστείων.

Δυναστεία Θ'

Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν βασιλέων δ', οἱ
ἐβασίλευσαν ἐτη ρ' ὧν

α'. Πρῶτος Ἀχθῶης (Ochus?), δει-
νότατος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος, τοῖς
ἐν πάσῃ Αἰγύπτῳ κακὰ εἰργάσατο, ὥστε-
ρον δὲ μανία περιέπεσε, καὶ ὑπὸ κροκο-
δείλου (Bagoas?) διεφθάρη.

Δυναστεία Ι'

Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν βασιλέων ιθ', οἱ
ἐβασίλευσαν ἐτη ρπε' (so too in the
Arm. "xix" and "185").

Δυναστεία ΙΑ'

Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ις', οἱ ἐβα-
σίλευσαν ἐτη μγ'.

Μεθ' οὗς Ἀρμενέμης ἐτη ις'.

Μέχρι τοῦδε τὸν α' τόμον καταγί-
σχεν ὁ Μανεθῶ· ὁμοῦ βασιλεῖς ρζβ',
ἐτη βτ', ἡμέραι οε'. (And Arm. "Hac-
tenus primum librum Manetho pro-
duxit. Sunt autem reges 192, anni
2300," omitting the 75 days.) These
being the sums of Africanus for
Book I., Eusebius, if he entered
them here himself, and they are not
the gloss of some transcriber, must
either have meant to copy the pre-
ceding dynasties also as they stood
in Africanus, or else, if he had
made those changes and omissions
which appear above in his own text,

he must have copied afterwards the
sums of Africanus at the end of the
book from sheer carelessness.

ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΤΟΜΟΥ ΜΑΝΕΘΩ.

Δυναστεία ΙΒ'

Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ζ', ὧν ὁ
πρῶτος

α'. Σεσόγχωσις, Ἀρμενέμου υἱός, ἐτη
μπ'.

β'. Ἀρμανέμης, ἐτη λη'· ὃς ὑπὸ τῶν
ιδίῳν εὐνούχων ἀνῆρέθη.

γ'. Σέσωστρις ἐτη μη'· ὃς λέγεται γε-
γονέναι πηχῶν δ', παλαιστῶν γ',
δακτύλων β'· ὃς πᾶσαν ἐχειρώ-
σατο τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς θ',
καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ μέχρι Θράκης,
πανταχόσε μνημόσυνα ἐγείρας τῆς
τῶν ἔθνων κατασχέσεως, ἐπὶ μὲν
τοῖς γενναίοις ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς
ἀγεννέσι γυναικῶν μόρια ταῖς
στήλαις ἐγχαράσων· ὥς καὶ ὑπὸ
Αἰγυπτίων μετὰ Ὀσίριν [πρῶτον]
νομισθῆναι. ("Quare is ab Ægy-
ptiis proximos post Osirim ho-
nores tulit." Arm.)

Μεθ' ὃν Λάμαρις ἐτη η' ("Lam-
pares," Arm.)· ὃς τὸν ἐν Ἀρσενόιτῳ
Λαβύρινθον ἐαντῷ τάφον κατεσκεύ-
ασεν.

Οἱ δὲ τούτου διάδοχοι ἐπὶ ἐτη μβ'.

Οἱ πάντες ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτσι σμέ.
and Arm. "245." But the actual
sum, both in Syncellus and in the
Armenian version is (46+38+48+
8+42=) 182.

Δυναστεία ΙΓ'

Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ξ', οἱ ἐβασί-
λευσαν ἐτη υνγ'· (and so Arm. "lx"
and "453.")

Δυναστεία ΙΔ'

Ξοῖτῶν βασιλέων ος', οἱ ἐβασίλευ-
σαν ἐτη ρπδ'. Syncellus notes in
another copy νπδ', and the Arm.
Vers. has "484."

Δυναστεία ΙΕ'

Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων [?], οἱ
ἐβασίλευσαν ἐτη σν'· (and the Arm.

has "250," without giving the number of the kings. The sum total of years down to this point is 3184. The reigns in the remaining dynasties are still taken from the Manetho of Africanus, but the sums of the dynasties themselves are generally those of the Old Chronicle, only with the suppression of (184+26 =) 210 years, and with some other variations, so as to suit as materials for the Canon.)

Δυναστεία ΙΣΤ'.

Θηβαῖοι βασιλεῖς ε', οἳ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ρζ'. (And Arm. "v" kings and "190" years, the number of Dyn. XVI of the Old Chronicle, which has viii kings, reduced to v in the list of Eratosthenes.)

Δυναστεία ΙΖ'.

Ποιμένους ἦσαν (ἀδελφοί) Φοίνικες, ξένοι βασιλεῖς (here he omits their number ε' given by Africanus), οἳ καὶ Μέμφιν εἶλον· ὧν πρῶτος

α'. Σαῖτης ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιθ'· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Σαῖτης νομὸς ἐκλήθη· οἳ καὶ ἐν τῷ Σεθροῖτῃ νομῷ πόλιν ἔκτισαν, ἀφ' ἧς ὀρμώμενοι Αἰγυπτίους ἐχειρώσαντο.

β'. [Δεύτερος] Βυῶν, ἔτη μ'. (Arm. "Secundus Bnon," and in marg. "Anon.")

γ'. Μεθ' ὃν Ἀρχλῆς ἔτη λ'. (So restore from the Armenian which has here "Deinde Archles" &c., the "deinde" referring to "Secundus" in the line above. Syncellus has γ' Ἀφωφίς, ἔτη ιδ'.)

δ'. Ἀφωφίς, ἔτη ιδ'. (So restore from the Arm. In Syncellus the order of these last two names is reversed, probably because Μεθ' ὃν seemed to be more suitable for the last than the third.)

Ἵμοῦ ἔτη ργ'. (So too the Arm. And iv kings with 103 years belong also to Dynasty XVII of the Old Chronicle.)

Κατὰ τοὺτους Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς Ἰωσήφ δέικνυται. (Arm. "Horum ætate regnavisse in Ægypto Joseph videtur." So this reading "βασίλεως," even if it be not the genuine, which perhaps it is not, was at least found already in the text of Africanus by Eusebius.)

Syncellus here remarks: "Σημειώτεον πῶς ὁ Εὐσέβιος πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον σκοπὸν τοὺς τῆς ιε' δυναστείας παρὰ τῷ Ἀφρικανῷ φερομένους κατὰ τὴν ιζ' δυναστείαν γεγονέναι λέγει. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ πᾶσι συμπεφύνηται ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἀφώφῳ ἦρξεν Ἰωσήφ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, μὴ ἔχων ὅπως οὖν ἐπὶ ἄλλου τινὸς αὐτὸν παραθέσθαι μετήγαγε τὸν Ἀφωφὶν ἀπὸ τῆς ιε' δυναστείας εἰς τὴν ιζ', κολοβώσας τὰ ἔτη αὐτοῦ ξα' ὑπάρχοντα εἰς λ' [ιδ'], τὰ δὲ τῆς ὅλης δυναστείας ρνα' [ροδ'], ργ' παραθείς, καὶ ἀντιτῶν ε' βασιλέων δ' ἄλλους. It would have been strange if Syncellus while writing this note, in the figures of which there are two corruptions, had at the same time transposed the last two of the four kings so as to make the Joseph of Eusebius no longer rise to power under Apophis but under Archles. But this transposition is clearly a corruption later than the time of Syncellus, since he writes in another place (p. 69. C.), "Πρὸ τούτου τοῦ Ἀμώσεως τέταρτον καὶ τελευταῖον τῆς ιζ' δυναστείας Ἀφωφὶν Εὐσέβιος παρέθετο παραλόγως, καθ' ὃν πάντες ὁμολογοῦσι τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἄρξαι Αἰγύπτου."

Δυναστεία ΙΗ'

Διοσπολιτῶν βασιλέων ιδ', ὧν πρῶτος

α'. Ἀμωσίς ἔτη κέ'.

β'. Χεβρών, δεύτερος, ἔτη ιγ'.

γ'. Ἀμμενῶφίς ἔτη κα'.

[Ἀμμενσίς ἔτη κβ'. So restore, as has been shown above at pp. 775, 779.]

δ'. Μιφρίς ἔτη ιβ'.

ε'. Μισφραγμούθωσις ἔτη κς'.

ς'. Τούθμωσις ἔτη θ'.

ξ'. Ἀμενῶφιδος ἔτη λα'. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μένων εἶναι νομιζόμενος καὶ φθελγόμενος λίθος.

η'. Ὡρος ἔτη λη'.

θ'. Ἀχενχέρσης ἔτη ις'. Κατὰ τοῦτον Μωϋσῆς τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πορείας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἠγήσατο. i. e. after the 212th year of this dynasty, (190+103+212=) 505 years from the beginning of Dyn. XVI, and 505+3184=3689 from the fabulous epoch at which he shows Menes. See above p. 775.

ι'. Ἀχερῆης ἔτη η'.

ια'. Χερῆης ἔτη ιε'.

ιβ'. Ἀρμαῖς, ὁ καὶ Δαναός, ἔτη ε', μεθ' ἃ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐκπεσὼν καὶ φεύγων τὸν ἀδελφὸν Αἴγυπτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφικνεῖται, κρατήσας τε τοῦ Ἄργους βασιλεύει Ἀργείων.

ιγ'. Ῥαμεσσῆς, ὁ καὶ Αἴγυπτος, ἔτη ξη'.

ιδ'. Ἀμένωφιδος ἔτη μ'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη τμη'. (So too the Arm. "Summa anni 348." And xiv kings with 348 years are Dyn. XVIII of the Old Chronicle.) The sum is made out thus: 25+13+21[+22]+12+26+9+31+37+16+8+15+5+68+40=348. The figures in the Arm. are the same as those of Syncellus, except that one decade has fallen out from the reign of Horus who has 28. If 38 is the genuine reading of Eusebius, and he varied in this reign by one year from Africanus, which is unlikely, it follows that he also varied in the reign of Amensis above, and gave her only 21 instead of 22 years. See above at p. 775, &c.

Δυναστεία ΙΘ'

Βασιλέων ε' Διοσπολιτῶν.

α'. Σέθως ἔτη νε'.

β'. Πάμψης ἔτη ξς'.

γ'. Ἀμμενέφθιδος ἔτη μ'.

δ'. Ἀμμενεμῆς ἔτη κς'.

ε'. Θούωρις, ὁ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ καλούμενος Πόλυβος Ἀλκάνδρας ἀνὴρ, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Ἴλιον ἐάλω, ἔτη ζ'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη ρζδ'. (And Arm. has the same sum "194," but for the 3rd reign it has the corrupt reading of "8 years." And v generations with 194 years make Dyn. XIX of the Old Chronicle.)

Eusebius then copies from Africanus without alteration his sum for the years of Manetho's or rather of Ptolemy's Book II.: "Ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ β' τόμου Μανεθῶ βασιλέων 43' ἔτη βρκα'." And the Arm. has the same: "Manethonis secundo libro conflatur summa [1]92 regum, annorum 2121;" although after the changes made by Eusebius above the sum of the kings is really 7+60+76+z [fors. 21]+5+4+14+5=[1]92? And the sum of the years is 245+453+184+250+190+103+348+194=1967.

TPITOY TOMOY MANEΘΩ.

Δυναστεία Κ'

Βασιλέων Διοσπολιτῶν ιβ', οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ροη'. (The Arm. differs, and has 172 years, but 178 is no doubt the true reading. Perhaps some copyist wished to make room for the 6 years of Dyn. XXVIII below. The xii kings are from Dyn. XX of Africanus, not from the Chronicle. How the years come to differ from both has been explained at p. 782.)

Δυναστεία ΚΑ'

Βασιλέων Ταυτιῶν ζ'.

α'. Σμένδιδος ἔτη κς'.

β'. Ψουσέννης ἔτη μα'.

γ'. Νεφερχερῆς ἔτη δ'.

δ'. Ἀμενωφθιδος ἔτη θ'.

ε'. Ὅσοχωρ ἔτη ε'.

ς'. Ψινάχης ἔτη θ'.

ζ'. Ψουσέννης ἔτη λε'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη ρλ'. (The Arm. also has

"130," and agrees throughout. Both the vii kings and the 130 years are here from Dyn. XXI of Africanus, not from the Chronicle.)

Δυναστεία KB'

Βουβασιτιῶν βασιλέων γ'.

α'. Σεσόγχωσις ἔτη κα'.

β'. Ὀσορθῶν ἔτη ιε'.

γ'. Τακέλωσις ἔτη ιγ'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη μθ'. (So too Arm. "iii" kings and "49" years, which are from Dyn. XXII of the Old Chronicle, only with one year more.)

Δυναστεία ΚΓ'

Τανιτῶν βασιλέων γ'.

α'. Πετουβάστης ἔτη κέ'.

β'. Ὀσορθῶν ἔτη θ' ὃν Ἡρακλέα Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκάλεσαν.

γ'. Ψαμμοῦς ἔτη ι'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη μδ'. (So too Arm. "iii" kings and "44" years. How this dynasty comes to differ both from that of the Chronicle and from that of Africanus, is explained at p. 784.)

Δυναστεία ΚΔ'.

Βόχχορις Σαττης ἔτη μδ'· ἐφ' οὗ ἀρ-
νίον ἐφθέξατο.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη μδ'. (So too in the Arm. "44" years. The single king is from Africanus, but the years are from Dyn. XXIV of the Chronicle.)

Δυναστεία ΚΕ'

Αἰθιόπων βασιλέων γ'.

α'. Σαβάκων, ὃς αἰχμάλωτον Βόχχοριν ἐλὼν ἔκαυσε ζῶντα, καὶ ἐβασίλευ-
σεν ἔτη ιβ'.

β'. Σεβίχως υἱὸς, ἔτη ιβ'.

γ'. Ταράκὸς ἔτη κ'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη μδ'. (The Arm. too has "44." The years are here again from Dyn. XXV of the Chronicle. The iii kings are common to the Chronicle and to Africanus.)

Δυναστεία ΚΣΤ'

Σαῖτῶν βασιλέων θ'.

α'. Ἀμμερις Αἰθίοψ ἔτη ιβ'. ("18" Arm. but "12" in the marg.)

β'. Στεφινάθις ἔτη ζ'.

γ'. Νεχεψῶς ἔτη ε'.

δ'. Νεχαῶ ἔτη η'.

ε'. Ψαμμήτιχος ἔτη μδ'. (So read from the Arm. which has "44." Syncellus has μέ'.)

ς'. Νεχαῶ δεύτερος ἔτη ε'· οὗτος εἴλε τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ Ἰωάχαζ τὸν βασιλέα αἰχμάλωτον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπήγαγε.

ζ'. Ψάμμουσις ἔτερος, ὁ καὶ Ψαμμήτι-
χος, ἔτη ιζ'.

η'. Οὐάφρις ἔτη κέ'· φ' προσέφυγον, ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων τῆς Ἱε-
ρουσαλήμ, οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπό-
λοιποι.

θ'. Ἀμωσις ἔτη μβ'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη ρξζ'. (So restore from Arm. which gives as the sum "167," and exhibits it exactly by the reigns in detail, if only the correct marginal reading "12" for the first reign be substituted for the corrupt reading "18" of the text. Syncellus gives as the sum 163 (ρξγ'), but his reigns show that 167 is the true number, since they make up 168, the excess of 1 being caused by his corrupt reading of 45 instead of 44 for the reign of Psammitichus I. The figure however in the units, place in the list of Africanus is not ε' but δ'. The number of ix kings is from Africanus. The sum of 167 years, which is neither that of the Chronicle nor that of Africanus, is accounted for at p. 789.)

Δυναστεία ΚΖ'

Περσῶν βασιλέων η'.

α'. Καμβύσης ἔτι πέμπτῃ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας [Περσῶν being care-
lessly omitted] ἐβασίλευσεν [Αἰ-
γύπτου] ἔτη γ'. (The Arm. is
rather less defective, and has
"Cambyses, qui regni sui quinto
anno Ægyptum occupavit.")

β'. Μάγοι μῆνας ζ'.

γ'. Δαρείος ἔτη λς'.

δ'. Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείου ἔτη κα'.

ε'. Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ μακρόχειρ ἔτη μ'.

ς'. Ξέρξης ὁ δεύτερος μῆνας β'.

ζ'. Σογδιανὸς μῆνας ζ'.

η'. Δαρείος ὁ Ξέρξου ἔτη ιβ'.

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη ρκ' καὶ μῆνας δ'. So too the Arm. 3+7m.+36+21+2m.+7m.+40+19=120.4m.

Δυναστεία ΚΗ'.

Ἀμυρταῖος Σαττης ἔτη ς' (being Manetho's substitution of one king with 6 years, which are merely concurrent, for Dyn. XXVII of the Chronicle the 184 years of which are suppressed.)

Δυναστεία ΚΘ'.

Μενδῆσιοι βασιλεῖς δ'.

α'. Νεφερίτης ἔτη ς'.

β'. Ἀχωρίς ἔτη ιγ'.

γ'. Ψάμμουθις ἔτος α'.

δ'. Νεφερίτης μῆνας δ'. Both Syncellus and the Arm. have a fifth name, viz. Μοῦθις (Muthis) being the last part of the preceding name, Psam-mouthis, and with the same reign of 1 year repeated. Syncellus puts this Mouthis *after*, the Arm. vers. *before* Nephertites II. But the number of "iv kings" given above in the heading shows that he is an intruder, and the sum of the dynasty, instead of being "ἔτη κα' καὶ μῆνας δ'," must be restored thus:

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη κ' καὶ μῆνας δ'. ("20 years and 4 months." The composition of Dynasties XXIX, XXX, and XXXI is explained at p. 798.) Dyn. XXIX of Eusebius both in its number of kings and in its sum is simply transcribed from Africanus.)

Δυναστεία Λ'

Σεβεννυτῶν βασιλέων γ'.

α'. Νεκτανέβης ἔτη ιη'. [Both Syn-

cellus and the Arm. have ι' (10), but Eusebius himself in his First Book by implication requires 18, as may be seen by reckoning upwards the reigns which he gives from the end of the 6 years of Darius Codomannus, and downwards from the beginning of the 6th year of Cambyses: and S. Jerome in his translation of the Canon gives distinctly 18 years. So this number must be restored.]

β'. Τέως ἔτη β'.

γ'. Νεκτανέβης ιη'. [So again restore from what is implied in Book I., and from the Canon, where Nectanebo II. has 19, which is 1 year too many. Here again both Syncellus and the Arm. have only η' (8). But S. Jerome in his Latin version of the Canon has rightly 18. The sum too, which both Syncellus and the Arm. give as κ' (20), must be restored as follows:]

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη λη' (38). This whole dynasty is again copied without change from Africanus.

Δυναστεία ΛΑ'.

Περσῶν βασιλέων γ'.

α'. Ὀχος τῷ κ' ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου ἔτη ς': "Ochus vigesimo jam anno Persis imperitans Ægyptum occupavit, tenuitque annis sex." (Syncellus has a corrupt reading γ', for which Scaliger restored ς' by a conjecture which the Armenian Version has now justified.

β'. Ἀρσῆς Ὀχου δ'. "Arses Ochi 4." γ'. Δαρείος Ἀρσαμοῦ ς'. "Darius 6; quem Alexander Macedo interfecit."

Ὅμοῦ ἔτη ις' ("16" years).

Ταῦτα τοῦ τρίτου Μανεθῶ. Μέχοι τῶνδε Μανεθῶς. "Cuneta hæc ex Manethonis tertio libro."

Those pages of the old Armenian version of the Chronicon of Eusebius which contained the commencement of his Second Book are unfortunately wanting. But St. Jerome, who translated the whole of that book and added a continuation, and who professes to have made no variations or additions of his own until after the date for Troy, has preserved a series of lists of kings with the years of their reigns which were prefixed in the Second Book to the Canon, and were meant to be identical with those exhibited in it worked up and paralleled with one another year by year. These lists are now subjoined; and as besides in our own Epitome of the Canon the names of some lines of kings will be found indicated only by alphabetical references, those letters which will be substituted for names in the Epitome of the Canon are here attached to the names themselves to which they are meant to refer. The Greek variants which are added are from Syncellus, and wherever none are inserted it may be understood that his figures are the same with those of Eusebius; so by this addition the lists will serve equally for reference in connection with the longer chronology of Anianus and Syncellus, which is treated of in Ch. VIII.

On one point a little more explanation than could find room in the columns of the next page may be desirable. Syncellus taxes Eusebius with having suppressed 4 Assyrian kings with 162 years in order to make the 43rd of Ninus to be parallel with his own 1st of Abraham. And Scaliger assents, only observing that Syncellus restores the 4 names about 80 years too low *after* instead of before Teutamus and Teutæus; and he supposes that these 4 kings had been omitted by Eusebius *from the list of Africanus*, and so perhaps of Ctesias. But Diodorus, following Ctesias, made Sardanapalus to be the 35th and Teutamus the 26th from Ninus, *which agrees with the list of Eusebius*; and *Africanus* is open to no suspicion of having *added* names; so that the list from which Eusebius was thought to have dropped 4 names was probably only that of Anianus and of later date. Yet Syncellus is so far right that Eusebius seems really to have suppressed 162 years of the sum "above 1300" reckoned by Ctesias; since Ctesias, as Diodorus quotes him, placed Ninus 1000 years before Troy and Teutamus, *i.e.* at least as high as B.C. ($1212 + 1000 =$) 2212, 154 years above Eusebius's date.

Reges Assyriorum. [Beginning with A.M. (3184 - 42 =) 5113 and ending with A. ABR. 1196.]	Years.	Reges Lacedæmoniorum. [Beginning with A. ABR. 916, and ending with A. ABR. 1240.]	Years.
<i>a</i> Ninus [post <i>v</i> <i>β</i> <i>Beli</i> S.]	52	<i>a</i> Eurystheus	42
<i>b</i> Semiramis	42	<i>b</i> Agis	1
<i>c</i> Zameis or Ninyas	38	<i>c</i> Echestratus	35
<i>d</i> Arius	30	<i>d</i> Labotes	37
<i>e</i> Aralius	40	<i>e</i> Dorysthus	29
<i>f</i> Xerxes	30	<i>f</i> Agesilaus <i>μα'</i>	44
<i>g</i> Armamitres	38	<i>g</i> Archelaus	60
<i>h</i> Belochus	35	<i>h</i> Teleclus	40
<i>i</i> Balæus	52	<i>i</i> Alcamenes	37
<i>j</i> Altadas	32	[In all 325 yrs.]	
<i>k</i> Mamithus	30	Macedonum, A. ABR. 1204-1848.	
<i>l</i> Manchaleus <i>κη'</i>	30	Asiæ. Philippo xxiv. Macedonum rege regnante, Asiæ primus regnavit [A. ABR. 1693 to 1912 incl.]	
<i>m</i> Sphærus <i>κβ'</i>	20	<i>a</i> Caranus <i>λ'</i>	28
<i>n</i> Mamylus	30	<i>b</i> Cœnus <i>κη'</i>	12
<i>o</i> Sparetus <i>μβ'</i>	40	<i>c</i> Tyrimas <i>μς'</i>	38
<i>p</i> Ascades <i>λη'</i>	40	<i>d</i> Perdiccas <i>μη'</i>	51
<i>q</i> Amyntas	45	<i>e</i> Argæus <i>λβ'</i>	38
<i>r</i> Belochus	25	<i>f</i> Philippus <i>λζ'</i>	38
<i>s</i> Balapares	30	<i>g</i> Aeropas <i>κγ'</i>	26
<i>t</i> Lamprides <i>λ'</i>	32	<i>h</i> Alcetas <i>κη'</i>	29
<i>u</i> Sosares	20	<i>i</i> Amyntas <i>μβ'</i>	50
<i>v</i> Lampares	30	<i>j</i> Alexander <i>μδ'</i>	43
<i>w</i> Pannyas	45	<i>k</i> Perdiccas <i>κγ'</i>	28
<i>x</i> Sosarmus <i>κβ'</i>	19	<i>l</i> Archelaus <i>ιδ'</i>	24
<i>y</i> Mitræus	27	<i>m</i> Orestes	3
<i>z</i> Tautames <i>λβ'</i> 32, but in the Canon }	31	<i>n</i> Archelaus	4
<i>α'</i> Teutæus <i>μδ'</i>	40	<i>o</i> Amyntas	1
<i>β'</i> Thinæus	30	<i>p</i> Pausanias	1
<i>γ'</i> Dercylus	40	<i>q</i> Amyntas <i>ς'</i>	6
<i>δ'</i> Eupales	38	<i>r</i> Argæus <i>β'</i> , 1 but in Canon }	2
<i>ς'</i> Laosthenes	45	<i>s</i> Amyntas <i>ιβ'</i>	18
<i>ς'</i> Piritiades	30	<i>t</i> Alexander	1
<i>ζ'</i> Ophratæus <i>κα'</i>	20	<i>u</i> Ptolemæus <i>γ'</i>	4
<i>η'</i> Ophratanes Sync. 'Εφελέρης <i>νβ'</i> }	50	<i>v</i> Perdiccas	6
<i>θ'</i> Acrazapes Sync. 'Ακραγάνης }	42	<i>w</i> Philippus <i>κγ'</i>	26
<i>ι'</i> Sardanapalus <i>κς'</i>	20	<i>x</i> Alexander Magn.	12
Reges hi 1240 annis reg- naverunt. [But by the Canon 42 + 1196 = 1238. Sync. <i>μυζ'</i> .]		[ending with A. ABR. 1692].	
Eusebius, acc. to Sync. omits 4 kings, viz.:		1 Aridæus	7
Arabelus with	42	2 Cassander	19
Chalaus	45	[Sync. has Παύδης Κασσάν- δρου Φίλιππος, and then 'Αλέξανδρος καὶ 'Αντίπατρος <i>γ'</i> .]	
		3 Antigonus et Alex.	4
		Medorum. Post Assyriorum reges Medorum reges regnant. [A. ABR. 1198 to 1456 both incl.]	
		1 Arbaces	28

2 Sosarmus	Years. 30	6 Ptol. Philomet.	Years. 35	c Atreus λγ' et Thyestes fratres 65	Years. } 33?	Atheniensium. Rege vi Argivorum Phorba, anno ejus 22, regnavit primus Athen.
3 Mandaucēs or Me- didus α'	40	7 Ptol. Euerg. II. κη'	29	d Agamemnon ιη'	15	[A. ABR. 461 to 947 both incl.]
4 Artyēs or Cardy- cæus λ'	13	8 Ptol. Soter	17	[In all to Troy πς' 130.]		
a Deiocees [53]	54	(Sync. δ Φεῦσκος ιη').		6 Ægisthus ε'	15	
b Aphraortes να'	[22] 24	9 Ptol. Alexander	10	7 Orestes	23	
c Cyaxares [40]	32	10 Ptol. Cleopatraz f.	8	8 Tisamenus		Years. 50
d Astyages [35]	38	[9, 10 and 11 have dropped out from Sync.]		9 Pentheus		6 Cranaus
[In all 111 + 148 = 259 yrs.]		11 Ptol. Dionysus	30	10 Cometes		c Amphictyon
		12 Cleopatra	22	Usque ad Heraclidarum descensum. [82 yrs. ending with A. ABR. 915? and thence 65, ending with 980, to the settlement of Ionia? S. has for Mycenæ σ' "or less."]		d Erichthonius
Persarum.		[In all 296 σζη yrs.]				e Pandion
[A. ABR. 1457 to 1686 both incl.]		Post Imperatores Romanorum regnaverunt.				f Erechtheus
						g Cecrops
						h Pandion
						i Ægeus Pandionis f.
e Cyrus (λα' Sync.)	30	Argivorum.				j Theseus λα'
f Cambyses η'	8	XVI. Dynastie Egyptiorum anno 161 primus Argivorum regnavit				k Mnestheus λγ'.
g Magi γm. and Sync. μῆνας ζ', but in Can.]	1	[A. ABR. 161 to 705 both incl.]				l Demophon πγ'
h Darius Hystaspes	36					m Oxyntes ι'
i { Xerxes α'	20	a Inachus νς'	50	1 Aletes λη'	35	n Aphidas
{ Artabanus α'	7m	b Phoroneus	60	2 Ixion λη'	37	o Thymætes θ'
[In Can. Xerxes 21.]		c Apis	35	3 Agelas λς'	37	p Melanthus Pylus
j Artaxerxes μα'	40	d Argos	70	4 Prymnes	35	q Codrus
{ Xerxes	2m	e Criasus νς' 54, but in Canon	53	5 Bacchis λβ'	35	Hinc [A. ABR. 948 to 1263, both incl.]
k { Sogdianus α'	7m	f Phorbas πς'	35	6 Agelas	30	Magistratus [Archontes] quoad vixerunt regnaverunt
{ Darius Nothus 16 but Sync. ιθ' [19]		g Triopas λς' 46, but in Canon	48	7 Eudemus	25	a Medon
[In Can. only Darius Nothus with 19.]		h Crotopus πδ'	21	8 Aristomedes	35	b Acastus λς'
l Artax. Mnemon	40	i Stenelus	11	9 Agemon	16	c Archippus
m Artaxerxes qui et Ochus ε'	26	[Hitherto 383 yrs.]		10 Alexander	25	d Thersippus μ'
[Sync. has Ὁχως δ καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου παῖς ε', καὶ τὰ πένες κ']		j Danaus νη' 58, but C. 50		11 Telestes	12	e Phorbas λ'
n Arses δ'	4	k Lynceus λς' 35, but C. 41		12 Automenes	1	f Megacles κη'
o Darius Arsami	6	l Abas λς' 37, but C. 23		[In all 322 yrs. τκβ' S.] Then 90 Prytanes to Cypselus.		g Diognetus
[In all 230 yrs, σιγ' S.]		m Proetus	17			h Pherecles
Alexander, subverso Persarum regno, regnat annis	6	(S. Περὶτος καὶ Πιερσίς.)				i Ariphron
		n Acrisius λγ' 33, but C. 31				j Thespieus
		Argivorum regnum transfertur in Mycenæ.				k Agamestor ις'
		[In all σνα' 545 years i.e. short by 17.]				l Æschylus ιδ'
						m Alcæon
						Magistratus Decennales [A. ABR. 1264 to 1333 both incl.]
Alexandrinorum.						a Charops
[A. ABR. 1693 to 1988 both incl.]						b Æsimes
						c Clidicus
						d Hippomenes
						e Leocrates
1 Ptolemæus Lagi	40					
2 Ptol. Philadelph.	38					
3 Ptol. Euerg. I. πδ'	26					
4 Ptol. Philopat.	17					
5 Ptol. Epiphan.	24					

Years.		Years.		Years.		xix. Dyn. 194.					
f	Apwander	10	17	Joachaz	3m	8	Joram	12			
g	Eryxias	10	18	Joachim	11	9	Hieu	28	1	Zetus	Years. 55
Hinc principes annui.		[In Can. Joachim only,		with 12 yrs.]		10 Joachaz		17	2	Ramses	66
[In all 487+316+70=						11 Joas		16	3	Amenophis	40
873 yrs. Sync. ων 57.]						12 Hieroboam		41	4	Ammenemes	26
Hebræorum.						13 Zacharias		6m	5	Thuoris	7
						14 Sellum λ' ήμ. 3 dys.			xx Dyn. ann.		178
						15 Manaen ιβ'		10			
						[In Can. Manaen with-			xxi. Dyn. [130.]		
						out the two above has			1 Smendis		26
						11.]			2 Psusennes		41
						16 Phaceas [Afric. β']		10	3 Nephercheres		4
						17 Phacee πη'		20	4 Ammenophis		9
						18 Osee		9	5 Osochor		6
						Hi reges per annos 250.			6 Psinaches		9
						Sync. σξ'.			7 Psusennes		35
						Ægyptiorum.			xxii. Dyn. [49.]		
						xvi. Dynastia, i.e. Po-			1 Sencosis		21
						testas sub Thebæis			2 Osorthon		15
						annis		190	3 Tachelotis		13
						xvii. Dynastia, Pastores			xxiii. Dyn. [44.]		
								103	1 Petubastis		25
						xviii. Dynastia Diospo-			2 Osorthon		9
						litanorum qui regna-			3 Psammus		10
						verunt annos 348.			xxiv. Dyn. [44.]		
						1 Amasis		25	1 Bocchorus		44
						2 Chebron		13	xxv. Dyn. [44.]		
						3 Amenophis		21	1 Sabachon		12
						4 Mephres		12	2 Sebichus		12
						5 Mispharmutosis		26	3 Taracus		20
						6 Tuthmosis		9	xxvi. Dyn. [157.]		
						7 Amenoptes		31	1 Merres Æthiops		12
						8 Orus 38, but in } 37			2 Stephinatis		7
						9 Acengée		12	3 Nechepsos		6
						[Sync. 'Αχενχιεσσης.]			4 Nechao		8
						10 Athoris		9	5 Psammeticus 45		44
						11 Chencres		16	6 Nechao qui et Ne-		} 6
						12 Acherres		8	chepsus		
						13 Cherres		15	7 Psammites alius		} 7
						14 Danaus		5	qui et Psammeti-		
						[S. 'Αεμεις, ο και Δαναός.			cus 12, but in Ca-		
						15 Ægyptus		68	non		
						[Sync. 'Αεμισσης.]			8 Vaphres 30, but in		} 25
						16 Menophis		40	Canon		
									9 Amasis		

Years.		Years.		Years.		xix. Dyn. 194.					
f	Apwander	10	17	Joachaz	3m	8	Joram	12			
g	Eryxias	10	18	Joachim	11	9	Hieu	28	1	Zetus	Years. 55
Hinc principes annui.		[In Can. Joachim only,		with 12 yrs.]		10 Joachaz		17	2	Ramses	66
[In all 487+316+70=						11 Joas		16	3	Amenophis	40
873 yrs. Sync. ων 57.]						12 Hieroboam		41	4	Ammenemes	26
Hebræorum.						13 Zacharias		6m	5	Thuoris	7
						14 Sellum λ' ήμ. 3 dys.			xx Dyn. ann.		178
						15 Manaen ιβ'		10			
						[In Can. Manaen with-			xxi. Dyn. [130.]		
						out the two above has			1 Smendis		26
						11.]			2 Psusennes		41
						16 Phaceas [Afric. β']		10	3 Nephercheres		4
						17 Phacee πη'		20	4 Ammenophis		9
						18 Osee		9	5 Osochor		6
						Hi reges per annos 250.			6 Psinaches		9
						Sync. σξ'.			7 Psusennes		35
						Ægyptiorum.			xxii. Dyn. [49.]		
						xvi. Dynastia, i.e. Po-			1 Sencosis		21
						testas sub Thebæis			2 Osorthon		15
						annis		190	3 Tachelotis		13
						xvii. Dynastia, Pastores			xxiii. Dyn. [44.]		
								103	1 Petubastis		25
						xviii. Dynastia Diospo-			2 Osorthon		9
						litanorum qui regna-			3 Psammus		10
						verunt annos 348.			xxiv. Dyn. [44.]		
						1 Amasis		25	1 Bocchorus		44
						2 Chebron		13	xxv. Dyn. [44.]		
						3 Amenophis		21	1 Sabachon		12
						4 Mephres		12	2 Sebichus		12
						5 Mispharmutosis		26	3 Taracus		20
						6 Tuthmosis		9	xxvi. Dyn. [157.]		
						7 Amenoptes		31	1 Merres Æthiops		12
						8 Orus 38, but in } 37			2 Stephinatis		7
						9 Acengée		12	3 Nechepsos		6
						[Sync. 'Αχενχιεσσης.]			4 Nechao		8
						10 Athoris		9	5 Psammeticus 45		44
						11 Chencres		16	6 Nechao qui et Ne-		} 6
						12 Acherres		8	chepsus		
						13 Cherres		15	7 Psammites alius		} 7
						14 Danaus		5	qui et Psammeti-		
						[S. 'Αεμεις, ο και Δαναός.			cus 12, but in Ca-		
						15 Ægyptus		68	non		
						[Sync. 'Αεμισσης.]			8 Vaphres 30, but in		} 25
						16 Menophis		40	Canon		
									9 Amasis		

Years.		Years.		Years.		xix. Dyn. 194.					
f	Apwander	10	17	Joachaz	3m	8	Joram	12			
g	Eryxias	10	18	Joachim	11	9	Hieu	28	1	Zetus	Years. 55
Hinc principes annui.		[In Can. Joachim only,		with 12 yrs.]		10 Joachaz		17	2	Ramses	66
[In all 487+316+70=						11 Joas		16	3	Amenophis	40
873 yrs. Sync. ων 57.]						12 Hieroboam		41	4	Ammenemes	26
Hebræorum.						13 Zacharias		6m	5	Thuoris	7
						14 Sellum λ' ήμ. 3 dys.			xx Dyn. ann.		178
						15 Manaen ιβ'		10			
						[In Can. Manaen with-			xxi. Dyn. [130.]		
						out the two above has			1 Smendis		26
						11.]			2 Psusennes		41
						16 Phaceas [Afric. β']		10	3 Nephercheres		4
						17 Phacee πη'		20	4 Ammenophis		9
						18 Osee		9	5 Osochor		6
						Hi reges per annos 250.			6 Psinaches		9
						Sync. σξ'.			7 Psusennes		35
						Ægyptiorum.			xxii. Dyn. [49.]		
						xvi. Dynastia, i.e. Po-			1 Sencosis		21
						testas sub Thebæis			2 Osorthon		15
						annis		190	3 Tachelotis		13
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								103	1 Petubastis		25
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						litanorum qui regna-			3 Psammus		10
						verunt annos 348.			xxiv. Dyn. [44.]		
						1 Amasis		25	1 Bocchorus		44
						2 Chebron		13	xxv. Dyn. [44.]		
						3 Amenophis		21	1 Sabachon		12
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						6 Tuthmosis		9	xxvi. Dyn. [157.]		
						7 Amenoptes		31	1 Merres Æthiops		12
						8 Orus 38, but in } 37			2 Stephinatis		7
						9 Acengée		12	3 Nechepsos		6
						[Sync. 'Αχενχιεσσης.]			4 Nechao		8
						10 Athoris		9	5 Psammeticus 45		44
						11 Chencres		16	6 Nechao qui et Ne-		} 6
						12 Acherres		8	chepsus		
						13 Cherres		15	7 Psammites alius		} 7
						14 Danaus		5	qui et Psammeti-		
						[S. 'Αεμεις, ο και Δαναός.			cus 12, but in Ca-		
						15 Ægyptus		68	non		
						[Sync. 'Αεμισσης.]			8 Vaphres 30, but in		} 25
						16 Menophis		40	Canon		
									9 Amasis		

Years.		Years.		Years.		xix. Dyn. 194.					
f	Apwander	10	17	Joachaz	3m	8	Joram	12			
g	Eryxias	10	18	Joachim	11	9	Hieu	28	1	Zetus	Years. 55
Hinc principes annui.		[In Can. Joachim only,		with 12 yrs.]		10 Joachaz		17	2	Ramses	66
[In all 487+316+70=						11 Joas		16	3	Amenophis	40
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Hebræorum.						13 Zacharias		6m	5	Thuoris	7
						14 Sellum λ' ήμ. 3 dys.			xx Dyn. ann.		178
						15 Manaen ιβ'		10			
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						out the two above has			1 Smendis		26
						11.]			2 Psusennes		41
						16 Phaceas [Afric. β']		10	3 Nephercheres		4
						17 Phacee πη'		20	4 Ammenophis		9
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						Hi reges per annos 250.			6 Psinaches		9
						Sync. σξ'.			7 Psusennes		35
						Ægyptiorum.			xxii. Dyn. [49.]		
						xvi. Dynastia, i.e. Po-			1 Sencosis		21
						testas sub Thebæis			2 Osorthon		15
						annis		190	3 Tachelotis		13
						xvii. Dynastia, Pastores			xxiii. Dyn. [44.]		
								103	1 Petubastis		25
						xviii. Dynastia Diospo-			2 Osorthon		9
						litanorum qui regna-			3 Psammus		10
						verunt annos 348.			xxiv. Dyn. [44.]		
						1 Amasis		25	1 Bocchorus		44
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						3 Amenophis		21	1 Sabachon		12
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						5 Mispharmutosis		26	3 Taracus		20
						6 Tuthmosis		9	xxvi. Dyn. [157.]		
						7 Amenoptes		31	1 Merres Æthiops		12
						8 Orus 38, but in } 37			2 Stephinatis		7
						9 Acengée		12	3 Nechepsos		6
						[Sync. 'Αχενχιεσσης.]			4 Nechao		8
						10 Athoris		9	5 Psammeticus 45		44
						11 Chencres		16	6 Nechao qui et Ne-		} 6
						12 Acherres		8	chepsus		
						13 Cherres		15	7 Psammites alius		} 7
						14 Danaus		5	qui et Psammeti-		
						[S. 'Αεμεις, ο και Δαναός.			cus 12, but in Ca-		
						15 Ægyptus		68	non		
						[Sync. 'Αεμισσης.]			8 Vaphres 30, but in		} 25
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Years.		Years.		Years.		xix. Dyn. 194.					
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g	Eryxias	10	18	Joachim	11	9	Hieu	28	1	Zetus	Years. 55
Hinc principes annui.		[In Can. Joachim only,		with 12 yrs.]		10 Joachaz		17	2	Ramses	66
[In all 487+316+70=						11 Joas		16	3	Amenophis	40

xxvii. Dyn. in quâ Cam- byses Persarum rex obtinuit Ægyptum us- que ad Darium filium Xerxis annos-150 [but in Canon 120].	<i>d</i> Æneas Sylv.	Years. 31	Imperatores Romanorum. [A. ABR. 1969 to 2345, rather 2340.]	24 Philippus	7 0 0
	<i>e</i> Latinus Sylv.	50		25 Decius β'.	1 3 0
	<i>f</i> Alba Sylv. λ'.	39		26 Gallus et Volusian.	2 0 0
	<i>g</i> Ægyptus Sylv. ι'.	26		27 Valerian. et Gallien.	15 0 0
	24, but in Canon			28 Claudius α'.	1 9 0
	<i>h</i> Capys Sylv. κ'.	28		29 Aurelian ε'.	5 6 0
	<i>i</i> Carpentus Sylv. λδ'.	13		30 Tacitus	0 6 0
	<i>j</i> Tiberius Sylv. μη'	8		31 Probus [7 ς' μήνας δ' S.	6 4 0
	<i>k</i> Agrippa Sylv. ις'.	41		32 Carus cum filiis Carin. et Numeri.	2 0 0
	40, but in Canon			33 Diocletian.	20 0 0
Deinceps Alexandrini usque ad Octavianum Augustum regnave- runt. [But there is here an omission of 59 yrs. of native kings and of 16 of Persians from A. ABR. 1612 to 1686 both incl.]	<i>l</i> Aremulus Sylv.	19	34 Galerius	2 0 0	
	<i>m</i> Aventinus Sylv. ιη'.	37	35 Constantin.	20 0 0	
	<i>n</i> Procas Sylv. λβ'.	44	Continuatio Hieronymi	10 10 0	
	Δμούλιος κγ'		36 Constantin. Constantius et Constans	24 3 13	
	[In all ν', 429 yrs.]		37 Julianus Apost.	2 8 0	
	Romanorum.		38 Jovinianus	0 8 0	
	<i>a</i> Romulus	38	39 Valentinian. et Valens	13 5 0	
	<i>b</i> Numa Pompilius	41	Eus. has 3 yrs. too many between the 13th of Commodus and the 1st of Probus, and 1 too many for Probus.		
	<i>c</i> Tullus Hostilius	32	Jerome makes A. ABR. 1263 + 1131 of U. C. = 2394 to death of Va- lens in A. D. 378.		
	<i>d</i> Ancus Martius	23			
Latinorum.	<i>e</i> Tarquinius Priscus	37			
	<i>f</i> Servius Tullius μδ'	34			
	<i>g</i> Tarquinius Super- bus κδ'	35			
	<i>h</i> regnaverunt simul annos 240 [from A. ABR. 1265 to 1504, both incl. S. ιγ' + 225].				
	Post exactos Reges con- sules quotannis bini creati, et in maximâ urbis calamitate quan- doque creabatur Dic- tator. S. υς' to ,ευνδ' incl.				
	[Sequuntur Dictatores.]				
	<i>a</i> Æneas γ', 5 but in Canon	3			
	<i>b</i> Ascanius λζ' 38, but in Canon	39			
	<i>c</i> Sylvius	29			

“Others before us,” Syncellus says, “have shown Eusebius to be short in all by 290 years, since instead of 5816 he makes to the Vicennalia of Constantine 5527 years.” Anianus and Pano-
dorus made in fact 5817 to Aug. 29, and Syncellus 5817 to
March 25 in A.D. 325. If Eusebius made (5200 + 327 =) 5527
to the Vicennalia, this would show an excess between his 43rd of
Augustus and his 20th of Constantine of 3 years. Jerome’s version
making A. ABR. 2343 = 20th Constantine, exhibits the (2184 +
2343 =) 5527 years. But Scaliger’s Greek makes A. ABR. 2345
= 20th Constantine, showing 5 years too many. Subjoined is the
Epitome of the Canon:—

A. ABR. from Sept. 1. in B.C. 2016.	Hebrews.	Athens.	Argos.	Sicyon.	Assyrians.	Egyptians.	Begins from Sept. 1. in B.C.
1				<i>b</i> (45) 22	<i>a</i> (52) 43	Dyn. xvi. (190)	1 2016
6	[Ninus wars with Zoroaster]			27	48		6 2011
25				<i>c</i> (20) 1	<i>b</i> (42) 15		25 1992
53				<i>d</i> (25) 9	<i>c</i> (38) 1		53 1964
75	1st year of Promise			<i>e</i> (52) 6	23		75 1942
90	Ishmael born			21	38		90 1927
99	[Sodom and Gomorrha destroyed]			36	<i>d</i> (30) 9		99 1918
101	1 Isaac (60)			32	11		101 1916
122	22			<i>f</i> (34) 1	<i>e</i> (40) 2		122 1905
161	1 Jacob (121)		<i>a</i> (50) 1	<i>g</i> (45) 6	<i>f</i> (30) 1		161 1866
191	31		31	36	<i>g</i> (38) 1	Dyn. xvii. Pastores (103)	1 1836
211	51		<i>b</i> (60) 1	<i>h</i> (53) 11	21		21 1816
236	76 [Ogyges founds Eleusis]		26	36	<i>h</i> (35) 8		46 1791
237	77 [Jacob now in Mesopotamia]		27	37	9		47 1780
245	85, and 1st of Reuben		35	45	17		55 1772
252	92, and 1st of Joseph's life		42	52	24		62 1765
261	101 [Diluvium Ægypti hoc tempore quod factum est sub Ogyge]						71 1756
271	111		<i>c</i> (35) 1	<i>i</i> (47) 18	<i>i</i> (52) 8		81 1746
279	119 [Memphis is colonised and founded by Apis from Argos in his 9th.]						89 1738
282	1 Joseph (80) after his 30th yr.		12	29	19		92 1735
291	10 The 3d yr. of famine. Jacob before Pharaoh		38	28			101 1726
294	13 (6th yr. of famine)		24	41	31	Dyn. xviii. (348) Amosis (25) Chebron (13)	1 1723
319	38		<i>d</i> (70) 14	<i>j</i> (46) 19	<i>j</i> (32) 4		1 1698
332	51 [Prometheus acc. to some makes men]			32	17	Amenophis (21)	21 1685
354	73		48	<i>k</i> (45) 3	<i>k</i> (30) 6	Mephres (12)	1 1663
362	1 Servitude (144)		56	11	14		9 1655
366	5		60	15	18	Misphragmuthosis (26)	1 1651
377	16 [Atlas, br. of Prometheus, an astrologer.]			26	29		12 1640
392	31		<i>e</i> (53) 16	41	<i>l</i> (30) 14	Tuthmosis (9)	1 1625
401	40		25	<i>l</i> (63) 5	23	Amenophis (30) (lapis loquens.)	1 1616
404	43 [Æthiopes ex Indo amne migraverunt juxta Ægyptum.]						4 1613
425	64 [Amram 70. Moses born]		49	29	<i>m</i> (20) 17		25 1592
432	71		<i>f</i> (34) 3	36	<i>n</i> (30) 4	Horus (37)	1 1585
461	100	<i>a</i> (50) 1	32	<i>m</i> (28) 1	<i>o</i> (40) 3		30 1556
469	108	9	<i>g</i> (48) 6	4	11	Achencheres (12)	1 1548
477	116 [Flood of Deucalion and Fire of Phaethon]				19		9 1540
481	120	21	18	21	23	Athoris (9)	1 1536
490	129	30	27	<i>n</i> (20) 2	32	Chencheres (16)	1 1527
498	137 [Io in Egypt.]	38	35	10	<i>p</i> (40) 1		9 1519
505	144	45	42	17	8		16 1512
	[Moses duxit Hebræos ab Ægypto exeuntes. Inde ad Templum anni 480.]						
506	1 Moses (40)	46	43	18	9	Acherres (8)	1 1511
514	9	<i>b</i> (9) 4	<i>h</i> (21) 3	<i>o</i> (55) 6	17	Cheres (15)	1 1503
525	20 [Danaïdum res.]	<i>c</i> (10) 6	14	17	28		12 1492

A. M. from Sept. 1.	Hebrews.	Athens.	Mycenæ.	Sicyon.	Assyrians.	Egyptians.	Begins from Sept. 1, in B.C.
A. M. 4004	820 1 Jephthah (6)	k (23) 8	d (35) 14	x (31) 14	z (31) 10		11 1197
	826 1 Hesebon (7)	14		20	16		24 1191
	[Hercules burns himself, aged 52. Rape of Helen.]						
	829 4	17		23	19	Thuoris (7)	1 1188
	["Elon with 10 is not in the LXX." At 832, "Thuoris sive Polybus, Alcandæ vir, ad quem Homerus ait Menelaum post Trojam captam appulisse."]						
	833 1 Labdon (8)	21		27	23		5 1184
	835 3 = 411th from birth of Moses. From Troy to Ol. α. are 405. [If so, from the beginning of the 7th of Thuoris, in B.C. 1182, Sum 835. From 1 of Cecrops to 23rd of Menestheus are 376 [375 ?] years, and from 35th of Moses are 376.						7 1182
	836 4	l (33) 1	Latin. a (3)	30	26	Dyn. xx. (178	1 1181
	841 1 Samson (20)	6	b (39) 1	y (20) 4	31		6 1176
	861 1 Eli (40, by LXX 20)	26	21	z (31) 4	z (40) 2		26 1156
	880 20	m (12) 12	c (29) 1	23	39		45 1148
	881 21	n (1) 1	2	24	40		46 1136
	882 22	o (8) 1	3	25	β' (30) 1		47 1135
	888 28	[Sicyon. end after 958 [961] years. (Castor says 957). Inde Sacerdotes Carnii. Jerome has 962, Sync. 959. And acc. to Castor the Erechthidæ lasted 449.]					53 1129
	901 1 Samuel (40)	p (37) 12	22	Sparra. .	20		66 1116
	916 16 [acc. to some Homer at 915]	27	d (31) 8	a (42) 1	γ (40) 5		81 1101
	941 1 David (40)	q (21) 15	e (50) 2	26	30		106 1076
	958 18	a (20) 11	9	b (1) 1	δ' (38) 7		123 1069
	978 38 [Carthage founded 143 after Troy acc. to some. At 980 Ionica migratio; and Homer?]						
	981 1 Solomon (40)	b (36) 14	42	c (35) 23	30		146 1036
	984 4 Temple begun	17	45	26	33		149 1033
	988 8 "From Exodus to this 8th yr. of Solomon and ["commencement of the"] (Chr. Pasch.) Temple, as in 3 Kings, are 480 yrs." Jerome has this rightly at 984. Sync. copies "the 8th."						
	1014 34 [At 1005 Carthage?]	c (19) 11	f (39) 25	d (37) 21	ε' (45) 25	Dyn. xxi. (130) ? Smendis (26) }	1 1003
	1021 1 Roboam (17)	18	32	28	32		8 996
	1022 2	Jerob. (22) 2	19	33	29	33	9 995
	1025 5 [Susakim rex Ægyp.]	i (41) 3	36	32	36		12 992
From Jerome.	1038 1 Abia (3)	18	g (26) 10	e (29) 8	ς (30) 4		25 979
	1040 3	20	18	12	10	Psusennes (41)	1 977
	1041 1 Asa (41)	21	19	13	11		2 976
	1043 3	Nadab (2)	21	15	13		4 974
	1045 5	Baasha (24)	23	17	15		6 972
	1069 29	Elah (2) 1	e (31) 6	h (28) 15	f (44) 10	ζ' (20) 5	30 948
	1071 31	Omri (12) 1	8	17	12		32 946
	1081 41	11	18	27	22	17 Nephhercheres (4)	1 936
	1082 1 Josaphat (25)	12	19	28	23	18	2 935
	1083 2	Ahab (22) 1	20	i (13) 1	24	19	3 934

	A. ABR. from Sept. 1.	Hebrews.	Athens.	Latins.	Sparta.	Assyrians.	Egyptians.	Begins from Sept. 1. in B.C.	
A.M. 4269	1085 4		5	22	3	26 7' (50) 1	Amenophis (9)	1 932	
	1094 13		12	31	12	35	10 Osochor (6)	1 932	
Cod. Arm.	1100 19		18 f (30) 6	f (8) 5	41	16	Psinaches (9)	1 917	
	1105 24	Ochoziah (2)	1	11 k (41) 2	g (60) 2	21		6 912	
	1107 1	Joram (8)	Joram (12)	1	13	4	4 23	8 910	
	1109 3		3	15	6	6	25 Psusennes (35)	1 908	
	1115 1	Abaziah (1)		9	21	12	12 31	7 902	
	1116 1	Athaliah (7)		10	22	13	13 32	8 901	
	1119 4	Jehu (28)	1	25	16	16	35	11 898	
	1123 1	Joash (40)		5	29	20	39	15 894	
	1144 22		26 g (28) 20	41	41	3' (42) 10	Dyn. xxii. (49) Se- sonchosis (21)	1 873	
	1147 25	Joachaz (17)	1	23	l (19) 3	44	13	4 870	
	1163 1	Amaziah (29)		17 h (19) 11	19	60	29	20 854	
	1164 2	Joash (16)	1	12	m (37) 1	h (40) 1	30	Osorthon (15)	21 853
	1165 3		2	13	2	2	31	Takelloth (13)	1 852
From Jerome.	1179 17		16	i (20) 8	16	16	i' (20) 3	2 838	
	1180 18	Jeroboam (41)	1	9	17	17	4	2 837	
	1192 1	Uzziah (52)		13 j (27) 1	29	29	16	13 825	
	1193 2		14	2	30	30	17	Dyn. xxiii. (44) } Petubast (25)	1 824
	1196 5		17	5	33	33	20	4 821	
	1197 6	Lycurgus gives Laws.	In 1196	Sardan-pal burns himself.	At 1210	Hesiod fl.]			
	1218 27		39	27	n (23) 18	i (37) 14	Maced.	Osorthon (9)	1 799
Cod. Ar.	1221 30	Zacharias (6m) Sellum (3 dys) Menahem (11)		k (20) 3	21	18	a (28) 18	In Cod. Arm. 1221 = 3d of Osorthon and Cambyses below has 2 only.	4 796
At 1221 Apollod. has "Ly- curgi Leges."	1227 36		7	10	o (43) 4	25	24	Psammes (10)	1 790
	1231 40	[Pul k. of Ass.]	11	13	8	28	28		5 786
	1232 41	Pekahiah (10)	1	14	9	29	b (12) 1		6 785
	1237 46		6	19	14	34	6	Dyn. xxiv. Boc- choris (44) a Le- gislator. A lamb spoke. He was	1 780
	1240 49		9	l (23) 2	17	37	9	after 325 years Prytanes at Sparta (and at Corinth) ἐπὶ Ἀισχύλου καὶ Ὀλ. α'. burned alive by Sabaco.	4 777 1 α'
	1242 51	Pekah (20)	1	4	19	Lydians.	11		6 775 1 γ'
	1244 1	Jotham (16)		3	6	21	a (36) 6	c (38) 1	8 773 2 α'
	1260 1	Ahaz (16)		19	23	37	22	17	24 757 3 α'
Rome founded acc. to some.	1262 3	Hoshea (9)	1	m (2) 1	39	24	19		26 755 6 α'
	1270 11	[Shalmanezzer]	9	a (10) 7	a (38) 6	32	27		34 747 8 γ'
	1274 15	Hi reges per annos 150.		b (10) 1	10	36	31		38 743 9 γ'
	1276 1	Hezekiah (29)		3	12	b (14) 2	33		40 741 10 α'
	1281 6			8	17	7	38	Dyn. xxv. (44) Sa- baco (12)	1 736 11 β
	1290 15	[Sennacherib]		c (10) 7	26	c (12) 2	d (51) 9	[Taracus k. of India]	10 727 2 γ'
	1293 18			10	21	5	12	Sebichus (12)	1 724 14 β
	1303 28			d (10) 10	b (41) 1	d (17) 3	22		11 714 16 β
	1305 1	Manasseh (55)		e (10) 2	3	5	24	Taracus (20)	1 712 17 γ'

	A. ARR. from Sept. 1.	Hebrews.	Athens.	Lydians.	Maced.	Latins.	Ægyptians.	Begins from Sept. 1, in B.C.	Olymp.
A. M. 4498	1314 10		<i>f</i> (10) 1	14	33	12		10	703 19 γ'
	1325 21		<i>g</i> (10) 2	<i>e</i> (36) 8	44	23	Dyn. xxvi. (157.)	1	692 22 β'
	1326 22		3	9	45	24	Ameres Æthiops (12)	2	691 22 γ'
	1337 33		Medes.	20	<i>e</i> (38) 2	35	Stephinales (7)	1	680 25 β'
	1344 40		<i>a</i> (54) 36	27	12	<i>c</i> (32) 1	Nechepsus (6)	1	673 27 α'
	1350 46		43	33	18	7	Nechao (8)	1	667 28 γ'
	1358 54		50	<i>f</i> (38) 5	26	15	Psammetichus (44)	1	659 30 γ'
	1360 1 Amos (12 by LXX.)		52	7	28	17		3	657 31 α'
	1372 1 Josiah (31)		<i>b</i> (24) 10	19	<i>f</i> (38) 2	29		15	645 34 α'
	1386 15 Jeremiah begins		24	33	16	<i>d</i> (23) 11		29	631 37 γ'
	1397 26 [Cyaxar.ta.Nineve]	<i>c</i> (32) 11	<i>g</i> (15) 6	27	21			40	620 40 β'
	1402 31 (Slain by Necho)	16	11	32	<i>e</i> (37) 4	Nechao (6)	1	615 41 γ'	
	1403 1 Eliakim (12)	17	12	33	5			2	614 41 δ'
	1408 6 [Cyaxares slays Ni- nus]	22	<i>h</i> (49) 2	38	10	Psammuthes (7)	1	609 43 α'	
	1412 10 Becomes vassal } to Nebuch. }	26	6	<i>g</i> (26) 4	14			8	605 44 α'
	1415 1 Zedekiah (11)	29	9	7	17	Vaphres (25)	1	602 44 δ'	
	1425 11 [19th of Nebuch.]	<i>d</i> (38) 7	19	17	27			2	592 47 α'
	1426 1 [Captiv. Temple]	inflammati(70)	20	18	28			2	591 47 β'
	1433 8 [Eclipse of Thales.	In 1434 battle of Alyattes and Astyages.]						9	584 49 β'
1456 Isthmia and Pythia. 1459 VII Sapientes.	1445 20 [Evil Merodach (7). battle with Lyd.]	In 1441 great }	39	<i>h</i> (29) 11	<i>f</i> (34) 10			21	572 52 β
	1450 25	32	44	16	15	Amosis (42)	1	567 53 γ'	
	1457 32 [In 1455 Pisistra- tus tyrant.] }	<i>e</i> (30) 1	<i>i</i> (15) 2	23	22			8	560 55 β'
	1464 39 Aggai, Zechar. and Jesus]	8	9	<i>i</i> (50) 1	29			15	553 57 α'
	1470 45 [Croesus taken, after 232.]	14	15	7	<i>g</i> (35) 1			21	547 58 γ'
	1487 62	<i>f</i> (8) 1		24	18			38	530 62 δ'
	1491 66 [Cambyzes Ægyptum occ. ἐπεὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας; i.e. post; al. sexto.]							42	526 63 δ'
	1492 67	6		29	23	Dyn. xxvii. (120) Cambyzes (3)	1	525 64 α'	
	1495 70	<i>g</i> (1) 1		32	26	Magi 7m.	1	522 64 δ'	
	1496 1 [At 1498 Harmo- dius and Arist.] }	<i>h</i> (36) 7		33	27	Darius (36)	1	521 65 α'	
	1504 9	9		41	35			9	513 67 α'
	[Hence 460, as also in lib. i. (but Jerome has 464, Syncellus 473) to Dict. of Julius Cæsar in Ol. 183.]								
	1526	31		<i>j</i> (43) 13				31	491 72 γ'
	1532	<i>i</i> (21) 1		19		Xerxes (21) sub- duces Egypt. }	1	485 74 α	
	1534 [Xerxes burns Athens Calliade Archonte.]	21					3	483 74 γ'	
	1537 [Thermopylæ, Salamis.]	6		24			6	480 75 β'	
	1553 [Some say Esther : but Ezra and Nehemiah now from Ba- bylon.]					Artab. 7m. Artax. (40)	1	464 79 β'	
	1572 Nehemiah sent	<i>j</i> (40) 20		<i>k</i> (28) 16				20	445 84 α'
	1584 [Walls finished. Hence 490 end under Nero.]			28				32	433 87 α'
	1585 [Pelop. war begins.]	33		<i>l</i> (24) 1				33	432 87 β'
1571 Herodo- tus reads.	1593	<i>k</i> (19) 1		9		Xerxes 2m. Sodg. 7m. Nothus (19)	1	424 89 β'	

	A. ABR. from Sept. 1.	Miscellaneous.	Persians.	Maced.	Egyptians.	Begins from Sept. 1. in B.C.	Olymp.
A.M. 4790	1606		14	25	Dyn. xxviii. Amyrtæus (6)	1	411 92 γ'
	1611		19	m (3) 3		6	406 93 δ'
	1612		l (40) 1	n (4) 1	Dyn. xxix. (21) Neferites (6)	1	405 94 α'
	1616		5	o (1) 1		5	401 95 α'
	1617		6	p (1) 1		6	400 95 β'
	1618		7	q (6) 1	Achoris (13)	1	399 95 γ'
	1624		13	r (2) 1		7	393 97 α'
	1626	The Gauls burn Rome	15	s (18) 1		9	391 97 γ'
	1631		20		Psammuthes (1)	1	386 98 δ'
	1632		21		Neferites (4m)	1	385 99 α'
	1633		22		Dyn. xxx. (38) Nectanebo (18)	1	384 99 β'
	1644		33	t (1) 1		12	373 102 α'
	1648		37	u (4) 4		16	369 103 α'
	1651		40	v (6) 3	Teos (2)	1	366 103 δ'
	1652		m (26) 1	4		2	365 104 α'
	1653		2	5	Nectanebo (18)	1	364 104 β'
	1670	["Ochus in his 20th recovers Egypt and holds it 6 years."]				18	347 108 γ'
	1671		20	w (26) 17	Dyn. xxxi. (16) Ochus (6)	1	346 108 δ'
	1677		n (4) 1	23	Arses (4)	1	340 110 β'
	1681		o (6) 1	x (12) 1	Darius Arsami (6)	1	336 111 β'
	1682		2	2		2	335 111 γ'
	1683		3	3		3	334 111 δ'
	1684		4	4		4	333 112 α'
	1685		5	5		5	332 112 β'
	1686	[Persians end here after 230.]				6	331 112 γ'
	1692			12	Alexander (6)	6	325 114 α'
	1693	Philip Aridæus 7.			Ptolemy Lagi (40)	1	324 114 β'
	1705	1st of Seleucus Nic. (32) at Babylon.				13	312 117 β'
	1842	1 Antioch. Epiph. (11)			Ptolemy Philom. (35)	5	175 151 γ'
	1852	11 [Temple cleansed after 3 years.]				15	165 154 α'
	1857	3 Demetr. Soter (12)	Judas Macc. (3) 1			20	160 155 β'
	1913	9 Ant. Cyzic. (18)	Aristobulus (1) 1		Ptolemy Physcon (17)	12	104 169 β'
	1969	1 Julius Cæsar (5)	Hyrcanus (34) 20		Cleopatra (22)	3	48 183 β'
Antioch. tempora hine sup- putant.	1974	1 Augustus (56.6m) [Cæsar slain]	25			8	43 184 γ'
	1983	Uncti Præsides, after 483 years from Ol.	65, end with Hyrcanus Ol. 186.]			34	186 δ'
	1984	11 [1924 Seleucidæ end]	Herod (37) 1			18	33 187 α'
	1988	15		5	296th of Lagidæ	22	29 188 α'
Sextilis named August.	1989	16 [Triumph of Aug. in 1990.]		6	[Some reckon this 1 of Aug.]	28	188 β'
	1992	19 Great earthquake. Tralles, and the suburbs of Thebes, ruined.]				25	189 α'
	1996	23 Herod builds at Jerusalem, Sebaste, and Paneas]				21	190 α'
A.M. 5200	2015	42 Quirinus sent. The Nativity.		32	From Abraham the 2015th yr.	2	194 δ'
	2016	43 begins Sept. 1. B.C. 1 and ends with Aug. 31, A.D. 1.]				1	195 α'
	2021	48	Archelaus (9) 1			A.D. 5	196 β'
	2030	1 Tiberius (23)	Herod Tetra. (24) 1			14	198 γ'
	2042	13 Pilate sent		13		26	201 γ'
From Ex- odus 1540.	2044	15 [John baptizes; Christ begins after 2044. From 2nd Darius Ol. 65, 542: from Temple 1064.]				24	202 α'
	2048	19 Crucifixion in spring of A.D. 33.]	19			32	203 α'
	2053	1 Caius (4.4m)		24		37	204 β'
	2057	1 Claudius (14.8m)	Agrippa (7) 4			41	205 β'
	2061	5 [Great fam. in 2064]	Agrippa Jun. (26) 1			45	206 β'
	2071	1 Nero (14.7m)		11		55	208 δ'
	2084	14 SS. Pet. & Paul MM.		24	The Jews rebel.	68	212 α'
	2085	1 Vespasian (9.11m)		25		69	212 β'
	2086	2 To 2nd from 15th of Tib. are 42; from siege of Antiochus 238: from 2nd of Darius 591; from the first building of the Temple 1103.]				70	212 γ'
	2319	16 Diocletian (20)				303	270 δ'
Wanting in Cod. Arm.	2326	1 Constantine (30.10m.)				310	272 γ'
	2345	20 Vicennalia Nicomediæ. [In Jerome 2343 = 20th, Ol. 276 δ', but really the 20th Constant. began in the Eusebian year 2340, which began Sept. 1, A.D. 324, and ended Aug. 31, A.D. 325, and contained the beginning of Ol. 276, α'.]				329	277 β'
						324	276 α']

CHAP. VIII.

ANIANUS, PANODORUS, AND GEORGE SYNCELLUS.

FROM Egypt and Alexandria it was that the Roman empire received the fixed Julian year (beginning at Rome from Jan. 1 B.C. 45, towards the end of A.U.C. 709); and with this the Egyptian year, previously vague, was made to be equivalent from Aug. 30 in B.C. 26, the five *epagomenæ* being then appointed always to precede the Julian Aug. 29, and a new *sixth* day, between the last of them and Thoth 1, being added in the autumn preceding every Julian leap-year. This fixed "Alexandrian year," so produced out of the vague Egyptian year, began then ordinarily with the Julian Aug. 29, and once in four years only with Aug. 30. The Nabonassarian vague year of the Syrians was fixed in like manner, so that the years of the Seleucidæ, *as if from* B.C. 48, were reckoned always to begin from one and the same point answering to the Julian Oct. 1. And afterwards in the East this fixed year was again changed so as to begin in conjunction with the Imperial cycle of the Indictions (a cycle of 15 years) from Sept. 1 in A.D. 312. So there was no longer any room for reckoning a cycle of 1460 canicular or Julian years as a correction of the vague Egyptian and Nabonassarian year which had formerly been in use and which had consisted of only 365 days.

From Alexandria too it was that the Christian Church learned those principles in which, from the time of Dionysius Exiguus (A.D. 525—526), the West also and the whole world was to unite for the calculation of its movable season and of the festival of Easter. The *ἐννεακαίδεκαετηρίς*, or

Paschal cycle of xix years, introduced first, as it seems, in A.D. 277 by Anatolius bishop of Laodicea in Syria (A.D. 270 to 282), but a *native of Alexandria*, became the basis of the Alexandrian reckoning from the first year of Diocletian (made to begin from Aug. 29 in A.D. 284); and probably it gave occasion to the introduction of that era, which is still used in Egypt and in Abyssinia. The Council of Nice commissioned the Church of Alexandria to calculate the time for keeping Easter year by year, and to notify it to the Bishop of Rome, and through him to the Christian world. And as the Romans had a peculiar method of their own which they still retained after the decree of the Council, and which continued to cause discrepancy, the Emperor Theodosius, in A.D. 387, charged Theophilus the 22nd archbishop of Alexandria (who sat from A.D. 385 to A.D. 412) to make out a Paschal Table to be followed by all. This he did, making out a Table for 95 years, and dating it some years back, from A.D. 380, as that was the first year of a cycle. And his nephew, St. Cyril, in re-editing the xix year Cycle, connected it with the first year of Diocletian. He exhibited a Table containing, like that of Theophilus, five cycles or 95 years, and beginning from Aug. 29, A.D. 379, as a portion sufficient for present use of the great period of 532 years formed by the multiplication of the lunar Cycle of xix into the solar Cycle of xxviii years.

But, besides the commencements of that civil and ecclesiastical reckoning of time which is still in use, we have from Christian Egypt and from native Egyptian writers an exhibition of the whole chronological scheme, both true and fabulous, of their ancient heathen countrymen, made to be commensurate with their own reckoning of fixed Alexandrian years from the Creation to Christ, and again from Christ downwards to their own time, paralleled also with the years of the great Paschal period of 532 years reckoned backwards from the era of Diocletian to the Creation; so that it is easy for any one to reduce this Egyptian parallel of synchronistic heathen and sacred chronology to terms of our own Julian and Gregorian reckoning.

It was in the early part of the 5th century (one cen-

tury, that is, after the time of Eusebius) that Anianus and Panodorus, two monks, whose names of themselves show them to have been native Egyptians, composed each of them a chronicle beginning from the Creation (and from Aug. 29), that of Anianus ending as it seems with his A.M. $(532 \times 11 =)$ 5852 as if in A.D. $(9 + 351 =)$ 360 of the vulgar era, and that of Panodorus ending with his A.M. 5904 in A.D. $(5493 + 411 =)$ 412 of the vulgar era, a little before the death of Theophilus, who died Oct. 15 in that year.

It is true that our only knowledge of the scheme or schemes of these two writers is derived from Syncellus, who repeatedly gives extracts from them, with or without their names, and who seems himself in great measure to follow them, even when he does not say so, especially in his Egyptian series of kings. And it is doubtful whether we may be always able to distinguish what belongs to the one or the other, or to both of them, from what may be Syncellus's own. But there are in Syncellus clear traces of a scheme thus far one, and thus far common both to Anianus and to Panodorus, that it reckoned in years of the world downwards, and introduced for the first time the mundane era used, since the Council in Trullo, by the Greek and the Slavonian Churches; only with this difference, that whereas Anianus and Panodorus made, or would have made, both of them alike, a sum of 5774 years to the era of Diocletian, and of 5904 years to Aug. 29 in A.D. 412 of the vulgar era a little before the death of Theophilus, the established reckoning of the Greek Church makes $(5509 + 411 =)$ 5920 years, being 16 years more, to nearly the same point, viz. to Aug. 31 in A.D. 412.

Secondly, while the era of Anianus and Panodorus was one and the same, since both made, or would have made, the same sum of 5904 years from the Creation to the death of Theophilus, there is yet this difference between them, that Anianus, as Syncellus says, "put the Nativity of Christ in his A.M. 5501, but Panodorus, falling short by 7 years" [by 7 of Syncellus's own sum of 5500 years, but by 8 of Anianus], "put it in his A.M. 5493, Anianus making only 403

years, or 8 short of the true number, but Panodorus making the true number of 411 years between the end of their 43rd of Augustus and Aug. 29 a little before the death of Theophilus. Owing to this peculiarity of Anianus, which is imitated by Syncellus, though with the slightly different sum of 5500 years to the *Incarnation*, and which is preserved with Anianus's own sum of 5501 years including the Nativity in the reckoning of the Coptic and Abyssinian Churches, his 43rd of Augustus ends, in fact, chronologically in A.D. 9 of the vulgar era, and his 20th of Tiberius ends in A.D. 42, which was really the 2nd of Claudius. And all his dates above the first of those 8 years of the Emperors which he has dropped, and his date for the Creation itself, are by the same cause drawn forward 8 years in the scale of true time below those places which should have belonged to them, on the supposition that his reckonings were in other respects true and accurate.

Anianus made *eleven* complete Paschal periods of 532 years each to end with his own A.M. ($532 \times 11 =$) 5852, as if at Aug. 29 in A.D. (A.M. 5501 = A.D. 9 + 351 =) 360 of the vulgar era; and to the last period of these, viz. to his *eleventh*, which began from Aug. 29. in B.C. 173, after his A.M. 5320, and ended, as if at Aug. 29 in A.D. 360, together with his A.M. 5852, he annexed a Paschal Table with the 14th day of the moon and Easter-day for each year calculated and marked according to the principles of the Church of Alexandria. His omission of 8 years of the Emperors, and consequent depression of the endings of his 43rd of Augustus and his 19th of Tiberius to A.D. 9 and A.D. 42 of the vulgar era, is considered by Ideler to have been no mere blunder, but a deliberate contrivance in order to obtain for the year and Passover of the Crucifixion certain conditions offered only by A.D. 42, the Resurrection being put by him at March 25 in that year, which is his A.M. 5534, and his Paschalion (which Syncellus promises to copy and continue) beginning as from its *dies natalis* from that day. And the relation in which the scheme of Anianus stands to the cyclical ἀποκατάστασις of the Old Egyptian Chronicle goes far to show that Ideler's opinion is correct. For Anianus

must have known from merely reckoning back in the Calendar of the old movable year that there were 145 years between the era of Diocletian, when the movable Thoth 1 had just fallen on June 12 β' , and the cyclical epoch when Thoth 1 coincided with the rising of Sirius and with July 20 α' ; and yet he depressed by implication the cyclical epoch as attached to the close of his own 483rd year from the flight of Nectanebo by 8 years, so as to leave an interval between it and the era of Diocletian of 137 only instead of 145 years.

On the other hand, as regards Panodorus, who was the later writer of the two, following Anianus, but with many amplifications, additions, and repetitions, and with much less of accuracy, and sometimes varying from him, the fact that the sum of 5493 years, which he made to Aug. 29 *before* the Nativity, gives 'on being divided by 19 the Golden Number suggests, as Ideler thinks, the inference that it was determined with a view to this end. And as he puts the Nativity in B.C. 1 of the vulgar era, and so his epoch coincides with our own, this, Ideler observes, may suggest the idea that Dionysius Exiguus simply followed Panodorus when he introduced it in the West. But in truth Dionysius seems *not* himself to have put the Nativity in the year B.C. 1 of the vulgar era, so as to coincide exactly with Panodorus and with the present vulgar reckoning, but one year later.

Thirdly, we learn from Syncellus that both Anianus and Panodorus made it their object to exhibit the whole series of heathen tradition and history, especially that of the most ancient nations, the Chaldæans and Egyptians, as parallel and in harmony with their own series of sacred history: that in order to exhibit this parallel they made use of the hypothesis that the most ancient times of the Egyptians were reckoned first in *months*, and then in *seasons* (this latter idea being, however, only from Diodorus), so as to make when added up together those vast periods which had provoked ridicule even from the heathen Greeks, while the still vaster periods of early Chaldæan tradition were resolvable into *days*: that they both blamed Eusebius for rejecting this explanation, though it came to him with the acceptance of Africanus, and undertook themselves to show that it

might be applied with a satisfactory result. It is true that Syncellus only ridicules them for their pains, and expresses his own entire agreement with Eusebius, who, he says, understood rightly that those vast periods were merely calculations of a zodiacal ἀποκατάστασις. But this fact itself is an assistance towards distinguishing in the pages of Syncellus and reconstructing the scheme which he so rejects.

Thus much premised, we observe that the Egyptian scheme recoverable from Syncellus professes for itself to be based upon an edition of Manetho, and at the same time to be a reduction of certain vast sums of years contained in the same edition; while the title of the "*Book of Sothis*" and a prefatory "*Letter from Manetho the Sebennyte to Ptolemy Philadelphus*" connected with the same "*Manetho*," clearly show that the nature of the edition in question was cyclical. And the sums given from it, both unreduced and reduced, besides its number of "cxiii generations," show no less clearly that it was in substance that of the Old Chronicle. So the *original* and chief material was no doubt the Manetho of Ptolemy of Mendes and Africanus, in which both the Old Chronicle was given as one of the chief sources followed by Manetho, with its xxx *dynasties* and its cxiii *generations*, and also the Manethonian lists of the names and reigns of the kings arranged in xxx or xxxi *dynasties* differing from those of the Chronicle; whereas the genuine and original Manetho had neither any distinct reckoning of cxiii *generations*, nor any *cyclical* scheme or "astrological θέσις" at all.

Further, though Syncellus quotes at length on this subject from *Panodorus*, and names him chiefly as blaming Eusebius, and as employing himself the method of reduction to harmonise sacred and heathen tradition, it is demonstrable from Panodorus's own words that he was herein only following and describing, and that inattentively, the scheme of Anianus. For after stating accurately the general principle that the vast periods of early Egyptian tradition had been swelled originally by reckoning "months of 30 days" [12 of which, with 5 days implied as accompanying them, really went to an Egyptian year] as if they were full years;

and that they were to be reduced by division to years of 365 days, he connects this statement with two sums, the first 11,985 [11,984] *unreduced* nominal years, the second 968 years and 208 days, obtained, as he implies, by *this method of reduction* from the former. But, in truth, had he not been inattentive, he would have perceived that in the case of this one sum of 968 years and 208 days, and of this one only, the *method of reduction employed was exceptional*, and was *not* that which he has described in connection with it.

Lastly, it will appear that the Christian Egyptian scheme the elements of which are to be found in Syncellus is so connected indirectly with the fancy of the ἀποκατάστασις in xxv Sothic cycles of nominal and mixed, or iv of full, years, and especially with the last cycle, that is the *twenty-fifth*, or the *fourth*, of the whole series which really ended in A.D. 139, that the sum of its ($5501 + 138 =$) 5639 Alexandrian years down to Aug. 29 in the 2nd of Antoninus Pius must be supposed to end, as nearly as may be, together with the last Sothic cycle of the Chronicle, that is, at Aug. 29 next after the Sothic epoch of July 20 in A.D. 139 of the vulgar era. And consequently the first 5501 years of this sum, and in particular the 5501st, which is Anianus's 43rd of Augustus containing the Nativity, must be supposed to end at Aug. 29 in A.D. 1 of the vulgar era. So that on this account also the scheme seems to have had some other author than Panodorus, who made simply and consistently 5494 years only to the end of the 43rd of Augustus in A.D. 1 of the vulgar era, and not more than ($5494 + 138 =$) 5632 to Aug. 29 next after the Sothic epoch in the 2nd year of Antoninus Pius, in A.D. 139. The sum made by Anianus, on the other hand, to the end of the 43rd of Augustus, the year containing for him and for Panodorus alike the Nativity, being 5501 years, these with 138 more of the Emperors to the end of his 483rd from the flight of Nectanebo make ($5501 + 138 =$) 5639 years, exactly the sum which the Egyptian scheme recoverable from Syncellus requires. It is only in appearance, and by a chronological dislocation similar to those of Manetho, that the Nativity is drawn down for Anianus to A.D. 9, and the cyclical epoch of his 483rd year from Nectanebo to A.D. 147 through an

omission of 8 years, probably the same 8 as are dropped by Syncellus between the accessions of Tiberius and Trajan. Anianus probably had for this interval only 75 instead of 83 full years (see p. 904, A.D. 147), while Panodorus reckoned rightly all the 283 years between the 43rd of Augustus and the 1st of Diocletian, but had 7 years fewer than Anianus in his chronology before Christ. This for him was not necessarily any error, as *his* scheme was no longer even indirectly cyclical, nor was he bound to agree to a year with the reckoning of Anianus.

These distinctions having been made, the reader will not be in danger of any misunderstanding when he finds us often, or generally, to speak as if Anianus, no less than Panodorus, made the 43rd of Augustus (the year including for them both the Nativity) to end in A.D. 1 of the vulgar era. Nor will he suppose that this is inconsistent with the statement which he finds in Ideler's *Handbuch*, or elsewhere, that Anianus made the year of the Nativity to end in A.D. 9, while Panodorus by restoring 8 years of the Emperors omitted by Anianus between the accessions of Tiberius and Trajan, put back the 1st Alexandrian year of Trajan and the 43rd of Augustus to their true places, so as to begin and end in A.D. 98 and A.D. 1 of the vulgar era. This is perfectly true. Still, so far as Anianus's *Egyptian* scheme is concerned, we must either rectify for him his unchronological depression by tacitly restoring the 8 years improperly omitted, and speaking as if he ended his Alexandrian 43rd of Augustus and the Alexandrian 2nd of Antoninus Pius, 138 years after it, both at their true places in terms of the vulgar era,—or else, if the reader be a Copt or an Abyssinian who will not admit the existence of a lacuna of 8 years in his reckoning below the 43rd year of Augustus, we must lay down, *ex hypothesi*, and without regard to astronomy or history, that the cyclical epoch itself was drawn down to A.D. $(9 + 138 =) 147$, and then all, for him at least, will be right.

Before inquiring more closely into the Egyptian scheme of Anianus, it will be proper to describe, so far as it may be collected from Syncellus, that scheme of sacred chronology to suit which it was arranged.

Anianus followed Eusebius in making 2242 years rather

than 2262 to the end of the year of the Flood, only beginning not from Sept. 1 or Oct. 1 but from Aug. 29. Syncellus himself, beginning not with Anianus from the autumn but from March 25 in the spring preceding, counts 5000 years complete to the Incarnation, instead of 5501 to the end of the year including the Nativity. From the Flood to the birth of Abraham Anianus made not 940 but 1070 years. These are divided by the Dispersion into two sums of 534 and 536 respectively. The first sum of 534 contained 135 years of Arphaxad, 130 of *the second Cainan*, of which $(130 - 20 =)$ 110 are an uncompensated excess, 130 of Salah, 134 of Eber, and the first 5 years of Peleg. So in all there were 2776 years *complete* to the Dispersion. In the remaining $(125 + 132 + 130 + 79 + 70 =)$ 536, which made to Abraham a total of 3212 years, there was nothing peculiar. The difference between the 3212 of Anianus and the 3184 reckoned by Eusebius to the same point falls short by 2 of the 130 years of the second Cainan because Eusebius had interposed 2 years not retained by Anianus between the year of the Flood and that of the birth of Arphaxad. From the autumn preceding the birth of Abraham to that preceding the Exodus Anianus had the usual 505 years; then 40 to the death of Moses, and $(2 + 25 =)$ 27, like Eusebius, to that of Joshua. Then he not only reinserted the 10 years allowed by Josephus for the Elders, but he added to them [8] more, from not understanding that the last 8 of the "18 years of anarchy," or time without a ruler or judge, named by Josephus were identical with the 8 of the first Servitude. So these, with [2] of the 27 of Joshua, made for him between the death of Moses and the beginning of the first Servitude an excess above the truth of [10] years. Then he reckoned 388 years of the Judges, in which the 111 years of the Servitudes and the 10 years of Elon, all improperly omitted by Eusebius, were restored, but 2 years were wrongly dropped from the judgeship of Jair. Then 20 years were reckoned separately to Samson, and 40 of interregnum, which sums, though both erroneous, may be regarded as equivalent to the 40 of Eli and the 20 of Samuel's minority, only in inverted order.

And so he had, all but 2, the 450 years of St. Paul for the time of the Judges to Samuel the Prophet and to the assembly at Mizpeh. Then followed 20 of Eli, and 20 of Samuel, which was the same thing as if he had given 40 to Samuel. But 40 years are more by 8 than the 32 indirectly given to him by Josephus. So, after allowing 2 of these in compensation for the 2 improperly taken away from Jair, there are still [6] which make all his excesses at this point to amount to $(110 + 2 + 8 + 6 =)$ 126 years. Then he had $(40 + 40 + 40 =)$ 120 years of the three kings, Saul, David, and Solomon making in all to the end of "the 8th year of Solomon, when he dedicated the Temple," a sum of 4478, and to his death 4510 years. Eusebius made to the end of the 8th of Solomon only $(3184 + 988 =)$ 4172 years, being 306 fewer than Anianus. The difference between them consists in the following items: $(130 - 2 =)$ 128 caused by the second Cainan + 18 of the Elders and anarchy after Joshua + 111 of the Servitudes omitted by Eusebius + 10 of Elon, called by Syncellus "Ehud the 11th Judge," + $(40$ of interregnum after the Judges, or, if those years be taken to represent the 40 of Eli, + the 40 divided afterwards by Anianus between Eli and Samuel $- 2$ omitted on Jair $=)$ 38 + 1, which is the 23rd of Tola wrongly and inconsistently omitted by Eusebius, but not by Anianus. From the death of Solomon Anianus made 394 years, as in the scheme of Josephus, unrectified, to the *end* of the 11th of Zedekiah, which would be set at Aug. 29 either by throwing it back nine months (from June 21) or by drawing it three forwards, beyond the burning of the Temple. Let it be supposed to be thrown back. Then, in the 394 there are 6 imperfect years of Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Athaliah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Jehoiakim, (see p. 900) which being improperly reckoned as full, cause an excess of 4 years. But otherwise the years of the kings seem to have been reckoned rightly. And at this point Anianus has completed his A.M. $(4510 + 394 =)$ 4904. And, since his whole sum to the end of the year of the Nativity is 5501, it is clear that he has still to reckon to that point $(5501 - 4904 =)$ 597 years, being 9 years more than really intervened between the commencement of the Captivity if set, as he

may have set it, at Aug. 29 in B.C. 588, and the end of his 43rd of Augustus at Aug. 29 in A.D. 1 of the vulgar era. The composition of his 597 years is as follows. First, there are the 70 of the Captivity beginning as if from Aug. 29 *after* the burning of the Temple, which should be 1 year too low, but from a date 9 years higher than Aug. 29 *before* the burning of the Temple, and so, in fact, in terms of his reckoning 9 years too high, and ending as if at the last accession of Cyrus, which should be in B.C. 536, but which is drawn down by an omission of 9 years of the later Persians, so as to stand in B.C. 527. Thus of the $(70 - 52 =)$ 18 years too many which he seems to make between the beginning of the Captivity of Zedekiah and the Edict of Cyrus (the half of them being compensated), there remain only 9 to be added to his former excesses, raising their total sum to $(126 + 4 + 9 =)$ 139 years. Below the Median accession of Cyrus and the end of the Captivity, instead of 206, the true number of years of the Persian kings still to follow, he gave them only 197 years to the cosmocracy of Alexander in B.C. 330. And it is this his suppression of 9 Persian years which compensates for one half of his excess of 18 years in the reckoning of the Captivity above. The 9 years omitted seem to have been taken 4 of them from Artaxerxes Mne-mon, as if he had reigned only 40 years in all and of those 36 alone, and the other 5 from Ochus, as if he had reigned only 20 years in all and of those 16 from the death of his father. But from the cosmocracy of Alexander beginning from after his A.M. 5171 to the end of his 43rd of Augustus, A.M. 5501, Anianus made rightly 330 years.

Whether ending with the true cyclical epoch or with the cyclical epoch ostensibly drawn down, Anianus had equally $(5501 + 138 =)$ 5639 years with which to compare the Egyptian sum of the ἀποκατάστασις in XXV nominal cycles or 36,525 nominal and mixed years exhibited by the Old Chronicle, and adopted as his basis by the Manetho of Africanus.

That he understood the exhibition of a series of Sothic cycles ending ostensibly at the conquest of Ochus in B.C. 345, or at the assumption of a crown by the Lagidæ in B.C.

305 of the vulgar era to be a mere fiction, and knew that any such series imagined in the times of the Ptolemies must necessarily end, in truth, $(40 + 443 =)$ 483 years later than the conquest of Ochus, viz. in A.D. 139 of the vulgar era, is shown distinctly by the fact that he omits from his Egyptian scheme—or rather he tacitly retransposes and puts down to their true places below the conquest of Ochus—those $(40 + 443 =)$ 483 years “of the Cycle,” which had been thrown up by the Old Chronicle 443 of them above Menes, and the other 40 above the Demigods, while all the remaining $(36,525 - 483 =)$ 36,042 years of the Chronicle are either accounted for by reduction or actually exhibited in the form of Alexandrian years.

Anianus then went up from the end of his own 1st year of Antoninus Pius containing the Sothic epoch, wherever placed or misplaced, the $(443 + 40 =)$ 483 years of the Old Chronicle, or from the end of his own 43rd of Augustus containing the Nativity, wherever placed or misplaced, he went up 345 years to the true date of the last Persian conquest in his B.C. 345; and, having thus disposed of the 483 years “of the Cycle,” he had before him, of the 36,525 years of the Old Chronicle, a sum of 36,036 to examine and to account for. And the first point perhaps to be considered or forecast was how many years in all he could afford to allow for Egyptian kings. With such a sacred chronology as has been described above it is plain that he would not be likely to adhere to the plan of Eusebius who had allowed them to begin only from the birth of Abraham, and, what is more, only from his own date for the birth of Abraham depressed 143 years below the true. On the other hand he could not well introduce Menes as founding a monarchy in Egypt at any earlier date than the Dispersion. And Africanus had already suggested that this was the point from which the kingdom of Menes-Mizraim might be allowed to have begun. Anianus therefore accepted this base. Then he compared with his own sum of $(5639 - 483 =)$ 5156 years from the Creation to the conquest of Ochus, or $(5156 - 2242 = 2914 - 534 =)$ 2380 from the Dispersion to the true date of the last Persian conquest in his B.C. 345, that sum

of 3555 years of kings which the chronographers Eratosthenes and Apollodorus had collected from the original Manetho (this sum, though greater than that of the Chronicle, being much more moderate than what he found in the xxxi dynasties of Africanus). And he found the sum of Manetho to be too great for him by $(3555 - 2380 =) 1175$ years, the foundation of the monarchy by Menes being carried back by it not only to the head of the 534 years intervening between the Dispersion and the Flood, but also $(1175 - 534 =) 641$ years above the Flood itself.

Hereupon he determined to place the settlement of Egypt by Mizraim at the Dispersion, that is, after his own A.M. 2776; and departing slightly from Africanus, and no longer identifying Mizraim himself, the Patriarchal settler of Egypt, with Menes its first king, he allowed 72 years from the Dispersion and the first settlement of the country for the growth of the nation, and made Menes to found the monarchy at some interval after the death of Mizraim at the end of his own A.M. $(2776 + 72 =) 2848$. So there seemed to be a space left of $(3555 - 641 = 2914 - 534 = 2380 - 72 =) 2308$ years for him to allow out of Manetho's 3555 as intervening between the end of his A.M. $(2848 + 2308 =) 5156$, which would have been his natural and true date for the last Persian conquest, and the accession of Menes after his A.M. 2848. And such would have been his scheme, no doubt, but for a singular fancy — a fancy worthy of one of the heathen Egyptian priests who had conversed with Diodorus, and perhaps borrowed from some such source — for the sake of which he varied the construction of the lower part of his series. The change which he devised was this: He put back the conquest of Ochus by 15 years, so as to make it stand ostensibly at his B.C. 360 instead of B.C. 345, just 24 years above the Macedonian accession of Alexander, and 30, instead of 15 as in the Chronicle, above his Asiatic accession or “cosmocracy.” “Nectanebo then, flying after his defeat by Ochus, *as some said*, not to Ethiopia but to Macedon, begat Alexander of Olympias;” and the Egyptians might thus naturalise the son of Ammon who delivered them from the Persians, much as in time preceding they had

naturalised Cambyses, fabling him to have been born from a daughter of Apries, and to have avenged the wrongs of his mother upon the usurper Amasis. In consequence of this arrangement transferring 15 years from the last native Egyptian to the last Persian dynasty (which so would have 20 [really 21] years of Ochus who “according to some recovered Egypt *before his father’s death*,” + 4 [really 3] of Arses + 5 of Darius, in all 30 years), Anianus made as if the 3555 years of Manetho had both ended and begun 15 years earlier than they had ended and begun in truth. And going back from the end of his own A.M. ($5156 - 15 =$) 5141, instead of A.M. 5156, to that of his A.M. ($5156 - 3555 =$) 1601, which was 656 instead of 641 years above his date for the Flood, he cut off and disallowed from Manetho’s 3555 years of kings in all ($656 + 534 = 1190 + 72 =$) 1262, and allowed the remainder, being ($3555 - 1262 =$) 2293, with the distinct proviso that they were to end with his own A.M. 5141. So the sum of years allowed by him for the kings from Menes to Nectanebo differed apparently by only ($1881 + 443 = 2324 - 2293 =$) 31 years from that allowed in the scheme of Eratosthenes, and really by only ($31 - 15 =$) 16, since the native Egyptian kings of Eratosthenes, like those of the Chronicle and of Manetho, ended later by 15 years than did those of Anianus, and those 15 years cut off by Anianus did not really belong to the Persians to whom they were transferred. And the approximation being so close, it will be nothing strange if we find Anianus distinctly alluding to the scheme of Eratosthenes, and identifying the years of kings admitted by himself between the Dispersion and Dyn. XVI of the Old Chronicle and Eusebius with those “443 years of the Cycle in xv generations” which Eratosthenes had transposed from their original place in the Chronicle and had included below Menes in the times of the monarchy. The series itself, too, of Anianus seems to have resembled that of Eratosthenes in this respect, that though he alluded to the dynasties of his own Manetho, he did not himself distinctly exhibit them as such, at least not in that part of his work which was reproduced by Panodorus and Syncellus, but he made out a con-

tinuous list of such of the cxiii generations as he gave to the fifteen dynasties of postdiluvian kings.

The passages in which Syncellus describes and adopts for himself the above process, though he neither understands the basis of the calculation nor exhibits in his own Egyptian series the sum proposed to be allowed, nor makes it end at the point designated, is as follows:—

“Ὁ δὲ παρ’ Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπισημότατος Μανεθῶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λ’ δυναστειῶν γράψας, ἐκ τούτων δηλαδὴ λαβὼν τὰς ἀφορμὰς, κατὰ πολὺ διαφωνεῖ περὶ τοὺς χρόνους πρὸς ταῦτα, καθὼς ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων ἡμῖν ἀνωτέρω μαθεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξῆς λεχθησομένων. Τῶν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς γ’ τόμοις ριγ’ γενεῶν ἐν δυναστείαις λ’ ἀναγεγραμμένων, αὐτῶν ὁ χρόνος [χρονογράφος] τὰ πάντα συνῆξεν ἔτη ρηφνέ, ἀρξάμενα τῷ ἀφπé’ ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου καὶ λήξαντα εἰς τὸ ρερμζ’ κοσμικὸν ἔτος, ἥτοι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα κοσμοκρατορίας ἔτη ποῦ ιε’.” [Syncellus is extracting from Panodorus, who again had followed and varied from Anianus. Neither the sum ρερμζ’, meaning perhaps the end of Syncellus’s A.M. (5500—345=5155—8=) 5147 in his B.C. (345+8=) 353, nor the words which follow, and which imply rather Panodorus’s date of A.M. 5493—345=) 5148 (ρημνέ), belong to Anianus. But the 3555 years of Manetho reckoned downwards by Anianus from the end of his A.M. 1585 (αφνέ) necessarily end with his A.M. 5141, as Syncellus himself writes in another place. So we must restore and read for Anianus ρερμα’. Syncellus then continues]: “Ἐκ τούτων οὖν ἀφελὼν τις τὰ πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ χνς’ πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῶν βσμβ’ ἐξ Ἀδὰμ ἕως τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ὡς ψευδῇ καὶ ἀνύπαρκτα, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἕως τῆς πυργοποιίας καὶ συγχύσεως τῶν γλωσσῶν καὶ διασπορᾶς τῶν ἐθνῶν φλδ’, ἐξεῖ σαφῶς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς βασιλείας ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος τῆς Αἰγύπτου Μεστραῖμ, τοῦ καὶ Μήνεος λεγομένου παρὰ τῷ Μανεθῷ, ἀπὸ τοῦ βψος’ ἔτους τοῦ ἐξ Ἀδὰμ ἕως Νεκτανεβῶ τοῦ ἐσχάτου βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου, ὡς εἶναι τὰ πάντα ἀπὸ Μεστραῖμ ἕως τοῦ αὐτοῦ Νεκτανεβῶ ἔτη βτζε’, ἃ καὶ ἔφθασεν, ὡς προεῖρηται, εἰς τὸ κοσμικὸν ρερμζ’ ἔτος [read ρερμα’, and omit what follows] πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ κτιστοῦ ἀρχῆς ἔτεσι ιε’ ἐγγύς. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ βψος’ ἔτος τοῦ

κόσμον τοῦ μὲν Φαλὲκ τῆς ζωῆς ἦν εἴ, τοῦ δὲ Ἐβερ τοῦ πατρὸς Φαλὲκ ἔτος καὶ αὐτὸ τῆς ζωῆς ρλη' [ρλθ']. Τῷ γὰρ βψοα' ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου, ὅπερ ἦν τῆς τοῦ Ἐβερ ζωῆς ρλγ' [ρλδ'] ἔτος, ἐγεννήθη αὐτῷ ὁ Φαλὲκ, καὶ μετὰ δ' ἔτη τῆς τοῦ Φαλὲκ γεννήσεως, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῷ κοσμικῷ βψοε' συνεχύθησαν αἱ γλῶσσαι· καὶ τῷ ἐπιόντι κοσμικῷ βψοε' ἔτει, τοῦ δὲ Εβερ ρλη' [ρλθ'], καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Φαλὲκ ἔτει εἴ, διεσπάρησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην αἱ οβ' φυλαὶ καὶ γλῶσσαι."

"Manetho," he says, meaning the Manetho of the Book of Sothis and of Anianus and Panodorus, "makes in his Three Books cxiii generations" (the cxiii generations had belonged originally to the Chronicle, and were distinctly reproduced though with changes by Eratosthenes and by Anianus, but they do not *appear* in the lists of the original Manetho, nor in those of the Manetho of Africanus) "and xxx dynasties" (but the xxx or xxxi dynasties, *all of kings*, here meant do not belong to the *same* Manetho with the 3555 years) "with 3555 years beginning" (that is, according to Anianus,) "from after A.M. 1586, and ending"—here Panodorus or Syncellus goes on—"with A.M. 5147" [for Anianus "with A.M. 5141"] "about 15 years before the cosmocracy of Alexander."

Fifteen years before the cosmocracy was the exact date of the end of Dyn. XXX of the Chronicle, as also of the original Manetho, and of Eratosthenes, and of the Manetho of Ptolemy of Mendes and Africanus, though this latter ended his Dyn. XXXI not at the cosmocracy but 2 years sooner. Eusebius, giving to Arses 4 years instead of 3, and so 16 years instead of 15 to Dyn. XXXI, had exhibited the end of Dyn. XXX in appearance one year too high, that is, 16 years before the cosmocracy. But the Manetho of Anianus or of the Book of Sothis ended not 15 but 30 years before the cosmocracy of Alexander, that is, it ended with Anianus's A.M. 5141. "So," he continues, "Manetho goes back not only all the 534 years from the Dispersion up to the Flood, but also 656 years *above* the Flood (all which 1190 years are inadmissible). Let us cut off then and disallow as fabulous these 1190 years; and then beginning after A.M. 2776, the 5th of Peleg or 138th [139th] of Heber,

we may allow the remaining ($3555 - 1190 =$) 2365 years, as the true duration of the monarchy between Menes and Nectanebo, the last native king of Egypt." [So Syncellus, who, like Africanus, identifies Menes with Mizraim, and makes the monarchy to begin at once from the Dispersion. But Anianus distinguished Mizraim from Menes; and, after supposing Mizraim to have settled in Egypt at the time of the Dispersion, he interposed an interval of 72 years for the growth of the people before Menes founded the monarchy. Thus though he named, no doubt, 2365 years from A.M. 2776 to A.M. 5141, as the space from the settlement of Egypt to Nectanebo, he did not allow 2363 of Manetho's years of kings, *as such*, but only ($2365 - 72 =$) 2293.] "But 2365 years reckoned from after A.M. 2776 will make Manetho's Dyn. XXX and the reign of Nectanebo the last king to end together with A.M. 5141." This is the substance of what Syncellus says in the place now alluded to. But, in another place, as we have seen above, thinking of Panodorus's Egyptian series, or of his own, but not of Anianus's, he writes or copies inconsistently that the 2365 years allowed, and beginning from after A.M. 2776, "end with A.M. 5147 *about or nearly* ($\pi\omicron\nu$ and $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\upsilon\varsigma$) 15 years before the reign of Alexander." Panodorus, perhaps, besides omitting somewhere 8 years of the sacred reckoning of Anianus, gave to his own Egyptian series 6 years more than had been given by Anianus, so that it ended with his A.M. 5147, which was in B.C. ($5493 - 5147 =$) 346, and ($8 + 6 =$) 14 years lower than A.M. 5141 of Anianus. This was not indeed exactly 15 or "nearly 15" but 16 years before the *cosmocracy*. It might, however, be said to be "nearly 15 that is 14" before the "*reign*" of Alexander, if his Egyptian accession or the foundation of Alexandria were substituted for the cosmocracy, as it had been by the Manetho of Africanus; and this, perhaps, is hinted by a variation of the expression which is noticeable in this place, Syncellus not writing here as elsewhere " $\pi\rho\omicron$ τῆς κοσμοκρατορίας," but " $\pi\rho\omicron$ τῆς τοῦ Αλεξάνδρου ἀρχῆς," which would suit equally for his Persian, his Egyptian, or his Macedonian accession. For Syncellus himself, who made 5500 years to March 25 in B.C. 1 (depressed to A.D. 8),

the end of A.M. 5147 would be 14 years, which might be called "nearly" or "about 15," before the cosmocracy of Alexander, as he thrusts it up to the head of his A.M. 5162 in B.C. 339; and the end of A.M. 5141, in like manner, might be said to be about or nearly 15 years before the "reign" or Macedonian accession which is thrust up to the head of A.M. 5156 in B.C. 345. As regards Anianus we have seen above that he could have afforded to allow 15 years more than he has actually allowed to the Egyptian monarchy, if it had pleased him to make it end at the same point with the Old Chronicle, with Manetho, and with Eratosthenes, and at the commencement of the $(40 + 443 =)$ 483 years of the Cycle lying between B.C. 345 and A.D. 139 of the vulgar era. The fancy for the sake of which he varied from the earlier schemes, and which has been mentioned above, is indicated by Syncellus in the following passage appended to the last names of the Egyptian and Persian kings, and probably derived from Anianus: —

"Ad Ochum et Nectanebum principes xxxi Dynastiarum descriptionem Manetho" (the Manetho, that is, of Ptolemy and of Africanus) "volumine suo tertio per annos 1050 delineavit. Quæ sequuntur, Macedonum reges spectantia, ex Græcis auctoribus desumuntur." And he says that Ochus according to some "vivente adhuc patre Ægyptum debellavit," that is, reduced Egypt *before the death* of his father Artaxerxes. *Who* said this is plain, when one reflects that any one who like Anianus put back the Persian conquest by 15 years must have given Ochus in fact a reign over Egypt of $(15 + 6 =)$ 21 instead of 6 years; the first of the 21 being in that case also the last of his father, with whom he had been associated 5 years earlier. But Anianus, giving to Artaxerxes only 40 years in all, made the Egyptian accession of Ochus to be apparently 4 but really 10 years before his father's death. "Nonnulli tamen" Syncellus also writes (meaning *all except Anianus*) "post ejus mortem [Ochum] bellum movisse sentiunt, quo Nectanebo Ægypto fugere coactus juxta quosdam in Æthiopiam, ex aliorum relatu in Macedoniam recessit, ubi Alexandrum (Jovis Ammonis filium) genuit."

We have now followed Anianus so far as to have ascertained that above Aug. 29 commencing A.M. 5157 in his B.C. 345, the true date for the last Persian conquest, 483 years before the end of the Cycle according to the Chronicle, and so really fixed to B.C. 345 of the vulgar era, he detaches the last 15 historical years of the 1881 of the Chronicle and adds them to the Egyptian reign of Ochus. Then he allows to the monarchy, going back from the head of the (483 + 15 =) 498th year before the end of the Cycle, Aug. 29 in his B.C. 360 (his unchronological depression being understood to be rectified) first, the remaining (1881 - 15 =) 1866 years of the kings of the Old Chronicle, to the head of its Dyn. XVI, which so should be set at Aug. 29 in B.C. (360 + 1866 =) 2226, and to the end of his own A.M. (5501 + 138 = 5639 - 483 = 5156 - 15 = 5141 - 1866 =) 3275, the Egyptian vague years being reckoned by him as if identical with fixed Alexandrian years. And above this date he allows a further sum of 427 years of kings, being fewer by (443 - 427 =) 16 only than the 443 similarly added to the 1881 of the Chronicle by those Theban priests who made out the list of Eratosthenes. So the accession of Menes was put at Aug. 29 in B.C. (345 + 15 + 1866 + 427 =) 2653, after the end of Anianus's A.M. (5501 - 2653 =) 2848. And above Menes he reckoned 72 years of Mizraim or other fathers up to Aug. 29 in B.C. (2653 + 72 =) 2725 at the end of his A.M. 2776, his era of the Dispersion and of the settlement of Egypt.

We may deduct then in all from the gross sum of the ἀποκατάστασις of the Chronicle, viz. from 36,525 (483 + 15 + 1866 + 427 + 72 =) 2863 years. The remainder, viz. (36,525 - 2863 =) 33,662, is the sum of those years of the Chronicle which on the principle laid down by Africanus and rejected by Eusebius (as later by Syncellus), but accepted by himself, Anianus had to reduce as if from months to full years, and to exhibit as reconcilable by reduction with the true sum of the years which had passed from the Creation to the Flood and to the Dispersion, that is, according to him, with the sum of 2776 years.

Of course it could not be expected that the sum of the

remaining years of the Chronicle, even if they were all really months in its scheme, or had been months originally (neither of which suppositions is true in fact), would of itself give exactly on division by 12 the number of years assigned by Anianus or by any other particular author for the interval between the Creation and the Dispersion; or that Anianus's sum, or that made by any other author to the Dispersion, on being simply multiplied by 12 would give exactly the sum of the Egyptian remainder. Still, as 2776, the sum made by Anianus to the Dispersion, when multiplied by 12, produced 33,312, a sum less by only ($33,662 - 33,312 =$) 350 than the Egyptian remainder of the Chronicle, Anianus thought that such a difference, amounting (if those 33,662 years of the Chronicle had been really months) to only $29\frac{2}{12}$ full years, being of no unmanageable dimensions, might with a little ingenuity be dissembled or removed. Taking advantage of the fact that the earlier years of the Egyptians were said to have been "lunar, that is months of 30 days each," 12 of which, and 5 days besides, went to one full Egyptian "solar" year, whereas the true lunar month has only $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, he thought he had nothing more to do than to devise some pretext for asserting that such a portion of the Egyptian remainder of 33,662 years had been reckoned in a peculiar way, being true lunar months of only $29\frac{1}{2}$ days each, as being reduced to years of 365 days should make $29\frac{2}{12}$, or in round numbers 30, years fewer than would be obtained on dividing the whole remainder of the Chronicle, viz. 33,662, by 12. The difference between actual lunar and Egyptian civil months amounting in 12 months to 6 days, and the distinct consideration of the 5 epagomenæ in the process of reduction disposing of 5 days more in making out each year, he would, in reducing such peculiar month-years as were feigned to have only $29\frac{1}{2}$ days each to full years of 365 days, need 11 days more than were contained by 12 of them to make one solar year. And from 11,984 of them he would make only 968 solar years of 365 days each and 208 days (being 7 months of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days each and $1\frac{1}{2}$ days over) towards a 969th; and this was about 30 years less than he would have obtained had he simply

divided the same number by 12, since 12 in 11,984 go 998 times with 8 over. And, *vice versâ*, 968 Egyptian vague years and 208 days of a 969th would require for their composition 11,984 lunations of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days each, being $(11,984 - 11,628 =)$ 356 more than the sum (11,628) which would give 969 years complete on being simply divided by 12.

The desired coincidence being thus secured, the next thing to consider was how to place those 11,984 nominal years of the Chronicle which were to be thus treated by a peculiar method as lunar months of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days each, and reduced to 968 years of 365 days with 208 days over, reckoned by Anianus as 969 full years. The Flood being at a distance of 534 years only above the Dispersion, this of itself would forbid all thought of putting them immediately before the Dispersion and the settlement of Egypt, as in that case they would be broken into two sums by the epoch of the Flood. And, besides, it would be natural to put first a form of reckoning which pretended to be simpler and less artificial, actual natural months as observed and counted before conventional months of 30 days, and to connect the peculiar reckoning asserted to have been in use during these 11,984 moons with some plausible account of its origin.

Now Anianus found in the First Book of Eusebius's *Chronicon* a fable originally from Berosus which offered just what he wanted. The passage of Eusebius, translated into English is as follows: — "The Chaldæan empire is noticed first before all others by learned men, viz. by Alexander Polyhistor, Berosus, and Abydenus, and Apollodorus, who mention first 1058 years, in which there was no kingdom (*ἔτη ἀβασιλευτα*). For they say that Adam ruled for his life, that is the 930 years" (the corrupt reading *τὰ ιλ'* being corrected into *τὰ θλ'*), "and Seth 128 years more, making 1058, during which there is no mention made as yet *in the Scripture* of kings. But in [i. e., as usual, *after*] the year of the world 1058, in the Northern region called the Lower Country, the Chaldæans who were descendants of Seth set up over themselves a king named *Alorus*," &c. And the reigns of Alorus and his nine successors were so apportioned

by Berosus, or at least by Polyhistor, as to give to the ten *kings* a sum of 1200 years (expanded into days, and described as 120 *sari*) which with the 1058 years said to have elapsed first made up 2258 years, a sum agreeing very nearly with the reckoning of the Sacred Scriptures for the time before the Flood. And notwithstanding the fancy of the first 1058 years being separate, it is plain that the ten generations are really those of the ten Patriarchs beginning from Adam, and that Alorus, the first of them, is no other than Adam himself. So that the 1058 years ought to have been divided among the ten reigns, instead of preceding them separately. Anianus, however, seeing the distinction of the first 1058 years to give an opening for placing separately those years which he meant to connect with a peculiar method of reduction, adopted it into his own Egyptian scheme, in which in consequence he made his Manetho to depart very widely from the pattern of the Old Chronicle, no longer reckoning, like it, to his cxiii generations and xxx dynasties all the years of true human time from the beginning of the antediluvian world, nor again from the recommencement of the world after the Flood, but only those during which *kingdoms* were in existence, beginning with A.M. 1059 for the antediluvians, and with the $(534 + 72 =)$ 607th year from the Flood, being his A.M. $(2242 + 534 = 2776 + 72 =)$ 2849, for the existing or postdiluvian world. And whereas in the Chronicle the first-named of the Gods, *Phthah*, had neither any limited reign or dynasty in time, nor was reckoned as one of the cxiii generations, the Manetho of Anianus on the contrary made him to have been the first mortal king of the antediluvian Egypt answering to the Chaldæan Alorus, and so, though really no other than Adam, later ostensibly both than Adam and than Seth.

So, taking the first 12,696 years of the Old Chronicle as months of 30 days each, implying and carrying with them under every 12 the 5 epagomenæ necessary to make up one full year, and asserting that 1058 full years obtainable by dividing 12,696 such months by 12 had passed from the Creation during which men were too rude and ignorant to

measure time at all, he implied that these 1058 years were afterwards calculated and reckoned by the Egyptians in 12 times their own number of months with the epagomenæ necessary for each year tacitly included after their manner though not distinctly noticed. He then introduced from the apocryphal book entitled the Little Genesis certain personages called the "*Egregori*" or Sons of God, whom Eusebius and Syncellus explain to have been the posterity of Seth, but Anianus and Panodorus seem to have described as angels. These "descended [from their highlands] after the 1058 years above-mentioned, and became the fathers of the Giants. And not long afterwards either these Egregori or certain angels (here the writer, whether it be Anianus or Panodorus, refers to the apocryphal book of Enoch) taught men both the division of the zodiac by its XII signs into 360 degrees, suggesting a corresponding division of the solar year into XII months of 30 days each, and the use of a solar year of 360 days, and *also* taught them the knowledge of the lunar month consisting of 30 days [Panodorus should have written of 30 and 29 days alternately, that is, properly of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days.] And at this same time monarchy having been also first established, men looked rather to the shorter, simpler, more visible, and more convenient circuit of the moon, the nearer one to the earth of the two great luminaries, and reckoned the years of their first six dynasts, who are called the six Gods" [viz. *Phthah* or *Ἡφαιστος*, *Ra* or *Ἡλιος*, *Cneph* or *Ἀγαθοδαίμων*, *Seb* or *Κρόνος*, *Osiris*, and *Typhon*] "in lunations of [$29\frac{1}{2}$] days each. And these lunations reckoned to the number of 11,984 (and equal, if reduced, to 968 full Egyptian years of XII months of 30 days with their epagomenæ distinctly supplied to each, and 208 days besides going towards a 969th year) were the earliest periods of time called *years* (*ἐνιαυτοί*)."

Having thus $1058 + 968\frac{7}{12}$ which he reckons as 969, in all 2027 full years, reduced from $(1058 \times 12 =)$ 12,696 and 11,984, in all 24,680 years of the Old Chronicle, while the 534 full years between the Flood and the Dispersion multiplied by 12 answer to 6408 more, he has already accounted for 31,088 out of those 33,662 years of the Chronicle which

remained to be accounted for. And he has now only 2574 more of its years to deal with. These 2574 being divided by 12 give $214\frac{6}{12}$, reckoned by him as 215 years: and 215 years added to the former 2027 ($2027 + 215 =$) exactly fill up the space left vacant between them and the Flood, and complete his sum of 2242 years.

This last number 215 being (though by mere accident) within 2 units the same with that of 217 years given by the Chronicle to its VIII Demigods, it seemed natural to Anianus that he also in like manner, having given the preceding 969 years to the Gods, should now give his smaller sum of 215 to the Demigods, of whom he made IX, instead of making VIII only like the Chronicle. By this arrangement, as if it had been an object to make room for the reign and generation of Phthah, Horus, whose traditional place had always been that of "last of the Gods," became the first of the Demigods.

And thus ($VI + IX =$) XV dynasties and generations of Gods and Demigods were made to follow one another in succession after the 1058 *ἔτη ἀβασίλευτα* in the world before the Flood, answering to the XV earlier or divine dynasties of the Chronicle, and symmetrical in some sense with its other XV later dynasties of ordinary mortals which were to follow in the postdiluvian world. For after the Flood, in the renewed world, the first 534 years to the Dispersion, during the survival of Noah and his sons, answered to the time of Adam, and the 72 years between the Dispersion, or the settlement of Egypt by Mizraim, and Menes answered to the time of Seth after Adam. And then, after these ($534 + 72 =$) 606 years in the new world, monarchies were established by Menes in Egypt, and by Belus in Assyria, and by others elsewhere; just as in the old world of the antediluvians after the first 1058 years monarchy was established by those called the Gods and the Demigods. In this way too Anianus came somewhat nearer to the order of Manetho than to that of the Chronicle, as his 534 years without monarchy between the Flood and Mizraim, or ($534 + 72 =$) 606 between the Flood and Menes, are equal, if multiplied by 12, to 6408 or ($6408 + 72 =$) 6480 nominal

years, a sum which following after those of the Gods and Demigods is not unlike that given by Manetho to his Manes in the same relative position; whereas the Chronicle had brought down the times of its Gods 158 years below the death of Shem; and the 217 years of its Demigods (but for the interposition of the last part of the Cycle to run out in A.D. 139) would have ended only at the accession of Menes.

The process of construction as above described having been completed, the scheme of the Chronicle with xxx dynasties, xv of Gods and Demigods and xv of kings, and with cxiii *generations* of rulers, whether called Gods, Demigods, or ordinary kings, in 36,525 nominal and mixed or 5844 full years, was paralleled by Anianus with variations rather than exhibited in detail, the whole of his parallel scheme being understood to end according to the true chronology at the cyclical epoch of July 20 in the 1st year of Antoninus Pius, or at Aug. 29 following, which was really in A.D. 139 of the vulgar era. But according to the apparent chronology of Anianus his sum of years answering to that of the ἀποκατάστασις of the Old Chronicle was completed at Aug. 29 in the 1st of Antoninus depressed to our A.D. 147, 8 years below the true point of its completion.

This whole Egyptian scheme reduced and incorporated into his own chronography by Anianus, and copied, though with some incompleteness, by Panodorus, was really, as has been shown, of complex origin, the materials for its composition being drawn chiefly from the Old Chronicle and from the original Manetho, but partly also from Eratosthenes, from the Manetho of Ptolemy and Africanus, from Josephus, from Eusebius, and even from other Egyptian, Jewish, Chaldæan, and Greek sources. But as a whole it was ascribed under the title of the Book of Sothis to Manetho (the Chronicle having been recognised since the time of Ptolemy as one of the chief sources used by Manetho); and a preface, analogous to that of Ptolemy containing the Chronicle, was probably prefixed in order to give some hint how the cyclical form of the Egyptian ἀποκατάστασις had originated, and how it had come to be conjoined, as was asserted, with a true chronological reckoning from the Cre-

ation, agreeing with Hebrew and Christian computations ; and also in order to make Manetho, as if of himself, give an Egyptian explanation of the fact that there had been preserved in the sanctuaries of Egypt reckonings and genealogies of the Patriarchs or dynasts (for as such Anianus represented the Gods and Demigods of the first xv dynasties) who lived before the Flood.

The account given by Syncellus of this "Manetho" or "Book of Sothis" (for he seems to give the two titles indifferently to the Manetho of Anianus and Panodorus) is contained in the following extract : —

“Πρόκειται λοιπὸν καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δυναστείας μικρὰ διαλαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν Μανεθῶ τοῦ Σεβεννύτου, ὃς [ἂ αὐτὸς ?] ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἰδωλείων χρηματίσας ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σιριαδικῇ [Σιριάδι] γῇ κειμένων στηλῶν ἱερᾶ, φησὶ, διαλέκτῳ καὶ ἱερογραφικοῖς γράμμασι κεχακτηρισμένων ὑπὸ Θῶθ τοῦ πρώτου Ἑρμοῦ, καὶ ἐρμηνευθεῖσάν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα [κοινὴν sc.] φωνὴν γράμμασιν ἱερογλυφικοῖς, καὶ ἀνατεθέντων ἐν βίβλοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγαθοδαίμονος, υἱοῦ τοῦ β' Ἑρμοῦ, πατρὸς δὲ τοῦ Τάτ, ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τῶν ἱερῶν Αἰγύπτου προσεφώνησε τῷ αὐτῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ βασιλεῖ δευτέρῳ Πτολεμαίῳ ἐν τῇ Βίβλῳ τῆς Σώθews γράφων ἐπὶ λέξεως οὕτως :

“Ἐπιστολὴ Μανεθῶ τοῦ Σεβεννύτου πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλάδελφον.

“Βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ Πτολεμαίῳ Φιλαδέλφῳ Σεβαστῷ Μανεθῷ, ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ γραμματεὺς τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερῶν ἀδύτων, γένει Σεβεννύτης ὑπάρχων, Ἡλιοπολίτης, τῷ δεσπότῃ μου Πτολεμαίῳ χαίρειν.

“Ἡμᾶς δεῖ λογίζεσθαι, μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐὰν βούλῃ ἡμᾶς ἐξετάσαι πραγμάτων. Ἐπιζητοῦντί σοι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων τῷ κόσμῳ γίγνεσθαι, καθὼς ἐκέλευσάς μοι, παραφανήσεται σοι ἂ ἔμαθονίερὰ βιβλία γραφέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ προπάτορος Τρισμεγίστου, Ἑρμοῦ. Ἐρῶρόσῳ μοι, δέσποτά μου βασιλεῦ.”

This explanation of the way in which the knowledge of antediluvian times had been preserved by means of the “pillars or inscriptions of Seth,” here called the First Thoth, is manifestly borrowed from Berosus, and accommodated by

the help of certain additions to the service of the Egyptian priesthood (see Joseph. Ant. Jud. i. 2). Berosus had represented the deity Cronus as "warning Xisuthrus of the Flood, and enjoining him to write an account of the beginnings, middles and ends of all things and bury it in the city of the sun or Heliopolis named Sippara" (which means "*The Books*"). And after the Flood Xisuthrus, then himself deified, bade his descendants to return to *Babylonia* and there dig up the buried writings and communicate them to mankind. They therefore did so, and, having dug up the writings at Sippara, founded many cities and temples, and among them Babylon, which was thus *restored* after the Flood." (Comp. Syncell. Chron. p. 28 and Euseb. Chron. 5. 8.) Josephus speaks of certain *stelæ* inscribed by *Seth*, and set up ἐν γῇ Σιριάδι, which is only another version of the same story, Seth being here the first or antediluvian Hermes.

The connection of the Sothic period, and so of the ἀποκατάστασις, with the idea of the recurrence of similar events, and with predictions of things future, and divination, and astrology, is Egyptian, and may be illustrated from other sources; as, for instance, from what Africanus says of the vast periods of the Egyptians, where, alluding to the sum of the Chronicle and to the ἀποκατάστασις, he calls it an "*astrological period*" (πρὸς θεοῖς τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀστρολογουμένων). But from the way in which this idea is here connected with the scheme of the Old Chronicle and with the Book of Sothis it is clear that the forger of the letter from Manetho to Ptolemy Philadelphus did not understand the true incidental origin and purpose of the Chronicle.

The Ἀποτελεσματικά ascribed to Manetho were also an astrological work containing passages distinctly connecting it with this Book of Sothis, mentioning the same sources, viz. inscriptions of the most ancient Thoth translated and laid up in the sanctuaries of Egypt, and addressing Ptolemy in the same sense, —

“Ἐξ ἀνύτων ἱερῶν βίβλων, βασιλεῦ Πτολεμαῖε,
Καὶ κρυφίμων στηλῶν ἃς ἡύρατο πάνσοφος Ἑρμῆς.”

And the same idea which in a more general way and on a

larger scale is connected in the Epistle of the pseudo-Manetho with the Sothic ἀποκατάστασις is connected by Horapollo (*Hieroglyph.* i. c. 3) also with the annual rising of the star Sothis itself:—“Ὅς (Σῶθις ἀστὴρ) καὶ δοκεῖ βασιλεύειν τῶν λοιπῶν ἀστέρων, ὅτε μὲν μείζων ὅτε δὲ ἥσσων ἀνατέλλων, καὶ ὅτε μὲν λαμπρότερος, ὅτε δὲ οὐχ οὕτως. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ διότι κατὰ τὴν τούτου τοῦ ἄστρου ἀνατολὴν σημειούμεθα περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ μελλόντων τελεῖσθαι.” But to return to Syncellus. He continues thus:—

“Ταῦτα περὶ τῆς ἐρμηνείας τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ β' Ἑρμοῦ βιβλίων λέγει.

“Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ ἐθνῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ἐ' ἐν λ' δυναστείας” [and elsewhere he ascribes to “Manetho,” meaning no doubt the same work, the exhibition also of the cxiii generations of the Chronicle], “τῶν λεγομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς Θεῶν, καὶ Ἡμιθέων, καὶ Νεκύων, καὶ Θνητῶν” [the five are probably Θεῶν, Ἡμιθέων, Ἀεριτῶν, Μεστραίων, καὶ Αἰγυπτίων], “ὧν καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου μνησθεὶς ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως·

“Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ θεῶν καὶ ἡμιθέων καὶ παρὰ τούτους καὶ νεκύων καὶ θνητῶν ἐτέρων βασιλέων πολλὴν καὶ φλύαρον συνείρουσι μυθολογίαν. Οἱ γὰρ παλαιότατοι σεληνιαίους ἔφασαν εἶναι τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐξ ἡμερῶν λ' συνεστῶτας· οἱ δὲ μετὰ τούτους ὥρους ἐκάλουν τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς τριμηνιαίους.” [τετραμηνιαίους it was in the original source, viz. Diodorus Siculus, and so also St. Augustine has rightly copied it; and so no doubt Anianus too understood it; though this assertion was probably only made in conversation to Diodorus and for a purpose explained above at p. 628.]

“Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Εὐσέβιος, μεμφόμενος αὐτοῖς τῆς φλυαρίας, εὐλόγως συνέγραψεν, ὃν ὁ Πανόδωρος” [so Syncellus's knowledge of the Manetho of the Book of Sothis is directly from *Panodorus*, and only indirectly and through Panodorus from Anianus] “οὐ καλῶς, ὥς οἶμαι, ἐν τούτῳ μέμφεται, λέγων, ὅτι ἡπόρησε διαλύσασθαι τὴν ἔννοιαν τῶν συγγραφέων, ἣν αὐτὸς καινότερόν τι δοκῶν κατορθοῦν λέγει·

“Ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ πλάσεως ἕως τοῦ Ἐνῶχ, ἥτοι τοῦ καθολικοῦ κοσμικοῦ ἔτους ασπβ'” (Bunsen from the Book of Enoch would read ασπς', but the sum to the birth of

Methuselah in the LXX is 1287 which requires *ασπζ'*), “οὔτε μηνὸς οὔτε ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀριθμὸς ἡμερῶν ἐγνωρίζετο, οἱ δὲ Ἑγρήγοροι κατελθόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ καθολικοῦ κοσμικοῦ χιλιοστοῦ ἔτους” [elsewhere *χιλιοστῶ πεντηκóstw ὁγδόw ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου κατῆλθον οἱ Ἑγρήγοροι, καὶ διήρκεσαν ἐν τῇ παραβάσει ἕως τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ*]” and Enoch was *born* after A.M. 1122] “*συναναστραφέντες τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐδίδαξαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς κύκλους τῶν δύο φωστήρων δωδεκαζωδίου εἶναι ἐκ μοίρων τξ' . οἱ δὲ ἀποβλέψαντες εἰς τὴν περιγιώτερον, μικρότερον, καὶ εὐδηλότερον τριακονθήμερον σεληνιακὸν κύκλον ἐθέσπισαν εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀριθμεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ιβ' ζωδίοις πληροῦσθαι ἐν ἰσαρίθμοις μοίραις τξ' .*” Οθεν συνέβη τὰς βασιλείας τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς βασιλευσάντων Θεῶν γενεῶν *ς' ἐν Δυναστείαις ς' κατ' ἔτη ἐν σεληνιακοῖς τριακονθημέροις κύκλοις παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀριθμεῖσθαι . ἃ καὶ συνήξαν σελήνια αααπε', ἔτη ἡλιακὰ αααθ' .*” [969. But read *αααπδ'*, that is, 11,984 years]. What Panodorus here says is true *generally*, as for instance of the first 1058 years, which are reduced from $1058 \times 12 = 12,696$ months of 30 days each; and it is true of the 534 years between the Flood and the Dispersion, which are reduced from $534 \times 12 = 6408$ months of 30 days each; and in like manner of the $214\frac{1}{2}$ years of the ix Demigods next preceding the Flood which are reduced from 2574 months of 30 days each. But of this one sum of the vi Gods and their 968 full years and 208 days, *and of this alone*, it is *not* true that it is obtained by reduction from 12 times as many months of 30 days each. Nor are these years of 360 days. But they are years to each of which the 5 *epagomenæ* are apportioned separately and deducted from the month-years composing them; and the months themselves are not months of 30 but of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days only; all which has been already stated and reasoned upon above. The reader may notice how it incidentally appears here also that this scheme exhibited the cxiii generations, and made each of the vi Gods to be a dynasty by himself, as was the case in the Chronicle. Syncellus continues, and says of the 969 solar years, —

“Ταῦτα δὲ συναριθμούμενα τοῖς πρὸ τῆς τούτων βασιλείας ἡλιακοῖς *ανή* (1058) ἔτεσι συνάγουσι ὁμάδα ἐτῶν βκζ' (2027). Ὅμοίως δὲ κατὰ τὰς β' [θ'] δυναστείας τῶν ἡμιθέων τῶν

μηδέποτε γεγονότων ὡς γεγονότων ἔτη σιδ' καὶ ἡμισυ (214½) σπουδάξει συνιστᾶν ἀπὸ ἀνῆ' (1058) ὥρων ἥτοι τροπῶν, ὡς γίνεσθαι, φησι, σὺν ρξθ' (969) ἀρνγ' [1153½, but 969 + 214½ make 1183½; so we must read ἀρπγ'] καὶ ἡμισυ ἔτη, καὶ συναπτόμενα τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ μέχρι τῆς τῶν θεῶν βασιλείας ἀνῆ' (1058) ἔτεσι συνάγειν ἔτη βσμβ' (1058 + 969 + 215 = 2242) ἕως τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ."

And again Syncellus writes:—"Μανεθῶ ὁ Σεβεννύτης γράφει τῷ αὐτῷ Πτολεμαίῳ ψευδηγορῶν καὶ αὐτὸς, ὡς ὁ Βήρωστος, περὶ Δυναστειῶν 5' ἥτοι θεῶν τῶν μηδέποτε γεγονότων ζ [5'] ὧν α' φησι θεὸς Ἡφαίστος ἔτη θ (9000) ἐβασίλευσεν. Ταῦτα τὰ θ ἔτη πάλιν τινὲς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ιστορικῶν" (that is, Anianus and Panodorus) "ἀντὶ μηνῶν σεληνιακῶν λογισάμενοι, καὶ μερίσαντες τὸ τῶν ἡμερῶν πλήθος τῶν αὐτῶν θ σεληνίων παρὰ τὰς τξέ' ἡμέρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ" [this is right, only the months whose days were so divided by 365 days were months of only 29½ days] "συνῆξαν ἔτη ψκζ'δ'" [727 years and 145 days] "ξένον τι δοκοῦντες κατωρθωκέναι, γελοῖον δὲ μᾶλλον εἶπεν ἄξιον τὸ ψεῦδες τῇ ἀληθείᾳ συμβιβάζοντες."

The scheme of Anianus thus far described is exhibited or indicated also by Syncellus in many of its details, which shall be put together with some verbal supplements. And first in this place for the antediluvian world:—

Πρὸ τοῦ Κατακλυσμοῦ.

[Πρῶτον καταριθμοῦνται ἔτη ἀβασίλευτα ἀνῆ' ἰσοδυναμοῦντα σεληνίοις τριακοθημέροις ἀβχλς'. i. e. First, there were 1050 years before the institution of monarchy, equal to 12,696 months of 30 days each.]

(Dyn. I. Gen. i.) Δυναστεία α', γενεὰ α'. Αἰγυπτίων α' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἡφαίστος ἔτη ψκζ' [καὶ ἡμέρας ρμε'] ἰσοδυναμοῦντα σεληνίοις θ'. that is, *Phthah* reigned 727 years of 365 days each, so put in full years for 727 with 145 days over, obtained from 9000 nominal years of the Chronicle treated as lunations of 29½ days each.

(Dyn. II. Gen. ii.) Δυναστεία β', γενεὰ β'. Αἰγυπτίων β' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἥλιος Ἡφαίστου ἔτη π' [καὶ ἡμέρας ρκγ'] ἰσοδυναμοῦντα σεληνίοις ρζδ'. *Ra*, son of *Phthah*, reigned 80 years and 123 days obtained as if from 994 lunations.

(Dyn. III. Gen. iii.) Δυναστεία γ', γενεὰ γ'. Αἰγυπτίων γ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀγαθοδαίμων ἔτη νς' [καὶ ἡμέρας σξβ'] ἰσοδυναμοῦντα σεληνίοις χζή'. *Agathodæmon* reigned 56 years [and 269 days] obtained as if from 698 lunations.

(Dyn. IV. Gen. iv.) Δυναστεία δ', γενεὰ δ'. Αἰγυπτίων δ' ἐβασίλευσε Κρόνος ἔτη μ' [καὶ ἡμέρας ζα'] ἰσοδυναμοῦντα σεληνίοις νζή'. *Cronus* reigned 40 years [and 91 days] obtained as if from 498 lunations.

(Dyn. V. Gen. v.) Δυναστεία ε', γενεά ε', Αἰγυπτίων ε' ἐβασίλευσεν Ὅσιρις καὶ Ἰσις ἔτη λε' [καὶ ἡμέρας κη'] ἰσοδυναμοῦντα σεληνίοις υλδ'. *Osiris* and *Isis* reigned 35 years [and 28 days] obtained as if from 434 lunations.

(Dyn. VI. Gen. vi.) Δυναστεία ε' γενεά ε'. Αἰγυπτίων ε' ἐβασίλευσε Τυφῶν ἔτη κθ' [καὶ ἡμέρας λε'] ἰσοδυναμοῦντα σεληνίοις τξ'. *Typhon* reigned 29 years [and 35 days] obtained as if from 360 lunations.

Ὁμοῦ ἔτη τῶν ε' Θεῶν θξβ' [θξη' καὶ ἡμέραι σή] ἰσοδυναμοῦντα σεληνίοις ααθπδ'. Sum of the years of the vi Gods [968 and 208 days, reckoned as] 969, obtained from 11,984 of the years of the Chronicle treated as lunations of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days each. Below the years of the Chronicle are treated as Egyptian months of 30 days each, which Anianus pretended were reckoned in groups of 4 each as *seasons*, but as numbered in the Chronicle are reduced by him to years by simply dividing by 12.

(Dyn. VII. Gen. vii.) Αἰγυπτίων ζ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ὁρος ἡμίθεος ἔτη κε' [καὶ μῆνας ε'?] ἰσοδυναμοῦντα ὥροις ος' καὶ ἡμέραις ξ' ἥτοι σεληνιαίοις τριακονθήμεροις ἐνιαυτοῖς τς'. *Horus* the Demigod reigned 25 years and 6 months, reduced as if from $76\frac{1}{2}$ seasons or 306 lunar years so called, being months of 30 days each.

(Dyn. VIII. Gen. viii.) Αἰγυπτίων η' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἄρης ἡμίθεος ἔτη κγ'. [ἰσοδυναμοῦντα ὥροις ξθ' ἥτοι σεληνιαίοις τριακονθήμεροις ἐνιαυτοῖς σος'. *Ares* reigned 23 years, reduced as if from 69 seasons or 276 months.]

(Dyn. IX. Gen. ix.) Αἰγυπτίων θ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἄνουβις ἡμίθεος ἔτη ιζ' [ἰσοδυναμοῦντα ὥροις να' ἥτοι σεληνιαίοις τριακονθήμεροις ἐνιαυτοῖς σδ'. *Anubis* reigned 17 years, reduced as if from 51 seasons or 204 months.]

(Dyn. X. Gen. x.) Αἰγυπτίων ι' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἡρακλῆς ἡμίθεος ἔτη ιε'. [ἰσοδυναμοῦντα ὥροις μέ ἥτοι σεληνιαίοις τριακονθήμεροις ἐνιαυτοῖς ρπ'. *Heracles* reigned 15 years, reduced as if from 45 seasons or 180 months.]

(Dyn. XI. Gen. xi.) Αἰγυπτίων ια' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀπολλῶν ἡμίθεος κέ'. [ἰσοδυναμοῦντα ὥροις οε' ἥτοι σεληνιαίοις τριακονθήμεροις ἐνιαυτοῖς τ'. *Apollo* reigned 25 years, reduced as if from 75 seasons or 300 months.]

(Dyn. XII. Gen. xii.) Αἰγυπτίων ιβ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμμων ἡμίθεος ἔτη λ'. [ἰσοδυναμοῦντα ὥροις ι' ἥτοι σεληνιαίοις τριακονθήμεροις ἐνιαυτοῖς τξ'. *Ammon* reigned 30 years, reduced as if from 90 seasons or 360 months.]

(Dyn. XIII. Gen. xiii.) Αἰγυπτίων ιγ' ἐβασίλευσε Τιθῶς ἡμίθεος ἔτη κζ'. [ἰσοδυναμοῦντα ὥροις πα' ἥτοι σεληνιαίοις τριακονθήμεροις ἐνιαυτοῖς τκδ'. *Tithoes* reigned 27 years, reduced as if from 81 seasons or 324 months.]

(Dyn. XIV. Gen. xiv.) Αἰγυπτίων ιδ' ἐβασίλευσε Σῶσος ἡμίθεος ἔτη λιβ'. [ἰσοδυναμοῦντα ὥροις ις' ἥτοι σεληνιαίοις τριακονθήμεροις ἐνιαυτοῖς τπδ'. *Sosus* reigned 32 years, reduced as if from 96 seasons or 384 months.]

(Dyn. XV. Gen. xv.) Αἰγυπτίων ιε' ἐβασίλευσε Ζεὺς ἡμίθεος ἔτη κ'. [ἰσοδυναμοῦντα ὥροις ξ' ἥτοι σεληνιαίοις τριακονθήμεροις ἐνιαυτοῖς σμ'. *Zeus* reigned 20 years, reduced as if from 60 seasons or 240 months.]

Ὁμοῦ ἔτη τῶν θ' Ἡμιθέων σιδβ' [ἰσοδυναμοῦντα ὥροις χμγ' καὶ ἡμέραις ξ' ἥτοι σεληνιαίοις τριακονθήμεροις ἐνιαυτοῖς βφοδ'. Sum of the reigns of the ix Demigods $214\frac{1}{2}$ years, reduced as if from $643\frac{1}{2}$ seasons or 2574 months.]

Τὰ πάντα ὁμοῦ ἔτη τὰ τε ἀγν' ἀβασίλευτα, καὶ τα θξθ' τῶν ε' Θεῶν, καὶ τὰ συ' τῶν θ' Ἡμιθέων συναριθμούμενα βσμβ', ἰσοδυναμοῦντα ἔτεσι τοῦ Μανεθῶ βζσνδ'. Total sum hitherto $1058 + 969 + 215 = 2242$ years, as if reduced

from $(12,696 + 11,984 + 2574 =)$ 27,254 of the 36,525 years of "Manetho," that is, really of the Old Chronicle.

In making each of his VI Gods and of his IX Demigods to be by himself a dynasty as well as a generation the author of the Book of Sothis departed again from Manetho (whom he had rather followed in giving to Phthah a reign in time) and returned to the Chronicle; yet without exactly following it. For though in both schemes there were just xv divine dynasties, these in the Chronicle made $(i + xiii + viii =)$ xxii of the cxiii generations, xiv being constituted by as many single Gods, each in himself a dynasty, while all the VIII Demigods together, though viii generations, made only one dynasty, the Fifteenth. And after these xxii generations there were added xv other generations which made no dynasty, and which, being only vehicles for years transposed from between B.C. 305 and A.D. 139, had no true place in the consecutive series of human generations deducible from Adam to Nectanebo. So in the Chronicle $(xxii + xv =)$ xxxvii of the cxiii generations were already accounted for before coming to Menes and the kings who commenced with its Dynasty XVI. But in the scheme of Anianus, whether it were that he did not know how to name all the XII Gods the descendants of Cronus in the Chronicle, or for some other reason, the VII Gods of Manetho's Dyn. I, and VIII other names of deities which he either found named somewhere, or perhaps named himself, as answering to the VIII Demigods of the Chronicle, were made each of them into a dynasty and a generation; so that, after the exhibition of these $(vii + viii \text{ or } vi + ix =)$ xv dynasties and generations for the old world, there remained not only $(cxiii - xxxvii =)$ lxxvi, but $(cxiii - xv =)$ xcvi generations (as the full number of cxiii, though really too many by xv, was retained) for the xv dynasties of kings in the postdiluvian world. And, further, the chronological — one might almost say the true historical — character of the generations of the Chronicle (for its xv generations "of the Cycle" go with their 443 years) was destroyed or impaired not only by the improper retention of the xv generations "of the Cycle," though their 443 years were omitted or put down to

their true place, but also by the exclusion of 1058 years at the head of the old world and of $(534 + 72 =)$ 606 at the head of the present world from the time covered by the cxiii generations.

It may be objected indeed that our correction of Syncellus's express mention of "the *two* dynasties ($\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \beta' \delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$) of the ix Demigods" into *nine*, as if he had written θ' not β' , or as if he had been confusing the *two* dynasties of Demigods which he might fancy, though erroneously, were made by the original Manetho as quoted for reduction in the Manetho of Ptolemy and Africanus, is arbitrary; and that though it be granted that Syncellus says there were xxx dynasties, and connects Menes and his first successors with "Dyn. XVI of what is called the Cynic Cycle," still the seven dynasties wanting between the "two dynasties of the Demigods" and Dyn. XVI may be understood to have belonged to those "Manes and other kings," who are also mentioned by Syncellus, and who may occupy the space between the Flood and Menes; or they may even be looked for in those first vii dynasties of kings of the original Manetho which are omitted in the scheme of the Book of Sothis and in the list of Syncellus himself. For these, on the principle laid down by Africanus, might be supposed to have been contemporary with the earlier kings whose names are given. But when we consider how distinctly Anianus reckons the 1058 $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta \acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha$ before the Flood, and again after the Flood not only the 534 to the Dispersion but also 72 of Mizraim himself in Egypt (though Syncellus has transposed these and has filled them up at some interval below his Menes-Mizraim with two reigns of anonymous kings), distinguishing the antediluvian patriarchs Adam and Seth above, and the postdiluvian patriarchs and Mizraim the settler of Egypt below, from the *kings* and dynasties which in each case followed, it seems probable that the scheme of Anianus was consistent with itself, and that *after* no less than *before* the Flood the time of patriarchal rule, before monarchy arose, was excluded from its cxiii generations and from its xxx dynasties. And in making xv dynasties of individual dynasts before the Flood

it would follow very nearly the Chronicle which had XIV such dynasties, its Dyn. XV being composed of the Demigods collectively. As for Syncellus's mention of "Manes and other kings," there is no difficulty in this, as in a number of other places there are plain signs of confusion caused by three or four distinct schemes all going under the same name of Manetho, and all really, in some sense, re-editions of the chronicle contained in his work. It by no means therefore follows that either the Book of Sothis, or even the Manetho of Ptolemy of Mendes and Africanus, gave any dynasties to Manes because Syncellus in passages which refer to those schemes mixes up the mention of Manes, any more than it follows that the original Manetho made in all XXXI dynasties, or that he made XXX dynasties *all of kings*, or that the Manetho of Africanus made in all only XXX dynasties, because Syncellus may speak here and there as if such were the case.

It appears from a passage in Syncellus that the author of this Egyptian scheme — that is, probably, Anianus himself — made a similar reduction of the still more vast periods assigned by Berosus for the early times of the Babylonians or Assyrians, and that Anianus blamed Eusebius there also for not having seen that they would reduce so as to agree with the scriptural and true chronology of the world. "Alexander Polyhistor" (Syncellus writes at p. 78 of his chronography) "pretends that with this year A.M. 2405 the monarchy of the Chaldæans recommenced after the Flood, and he has a fabulous enumeration of *sari*, and *neri*, and *sossi*, saying that lxxxvi Chaldæan and Median kings reigned 34,090 years, that is, ix *sari*, ii *neri*, and viii *sossi*, which *some of our Ecclesiastical historians* — not showing their good sense thereby — have taken to be equivalent to 94 solar years and 8 months, which as they say come down to A.M. 2499," that is $(2498 - 2258 =)$ 240 years below Berosus's, or $(2498 - 2242 =)$ 256 below Anianus's own date for the Flood, but $(2776 - 2498 =)$ 278 short of Anianus's date for the Dispersion. Syncellus continues, "And from this time, after, that is, the lxxxvi kings, of whom ii were Chaldæans and lxxxiv Medes, the same Polyhistor introduces

Zoroaster and ix other Chaldaean kings who succeeded him as reigning 190 solar years; and for these he has no longer the same nonsense of *sari*, *neri*, and *sossi*, but says plainly that they reigned so many [solar] years."

No doubt both the reductions alluded to by Syncellus, that of the Babylonian sums (which seem however to be incompletely stated) and that of the Egyptian, were by one and the same author, and were made to suit one and the same system of sacred chronology; and while in that place where Syncellus quotes at length from Panodorus, without naming Anianus, an explanation of the reduction of the *Egyptian* sums it appears nevertheless that Panodorus was only following, and to some extent misunderstanding and misrepresenting Anianus, the reduction of the *Babylonian* sum of days is in a separate passage expressly ascribed to Anianus.

Anianus's sum of 534 full years after the Flood, reduced from 6408 years of the Chronicle treated as months, answers in its relative position to the time of the Manes in the scheme of Manetho; and the inhabitants of Egypt not indeed during these 534 years (for according to Anianus Egypt was not yet settled) but during the 72 years following them may be the Ἀερίται, the third of the five ἔθνη or peoples spoken of by Syncellus, though it is possible that this distribution belonged rather to the scheme of the original Manetho, or to that of Ptolemy. The Μεστραῖοι would then be the Egyptians from the time of Menes to Rameses-Ægyptus.

The reason for which the 72 years following next after the Dispersion and the settlement of Egypt were reckoned by Anianus together with the times of the monarchy (though Syncellus has not understood this) was no doubt that they might be kept apart from all those preceding years which had been obtained by reduction.

At the point now reached, if one takes the years as if there had been no reduction, Anianus has paralleled or accounted for in the scale of the Old Chronicle, first, all the 30,000 nominal years given by it to the Sun; then also the fractional 681 years really belonging to the same and needed

to complete the 21st cycle; and the 2922 years nominal, like the preceding, but indicating the original 2922 full years which were the sources of all the 35,064 month-years of the hieratic scheme, and belonging properly to Cronus and his XII descendants; and he has advanced besides $(59 + 72 =)$ 131 years into the 341 full but *fictitious* years added in all cyclical schemes in order to make time seem to have commenced from the Sothic epoch of B.C. 5702. At this point then, 72 years below the Dispersion, Anianus places the commencement of the Egyptian monarchy, as is clearly shown by a passage borrowed from him, however inconsistently, by Syncellus.

Irrespectively of the $(40 + 443 =)$ 483 years "of the Cycle" thrown up in the Chronicle, and tacitly dismissed to their true cyclical places by Anianus, who had no reason for noticing them, he has now still remaining and to be accounted for 210 of the 341 *fictitious* years of the Chronicle, and also the 217 years of its Demigods, before coming to its dynasties of kings. These then, being 427 years in all, constitute virtually his addition to the 1881 years reckoned by the Chronicle from Menes to Nectanebo, though, as Nectanebo is made to lose his crown 15 years earlier by Anianus than by the Chronicle, and the 15 years so cut off are transferred to the Persian Ochus, Anianus in appearance adds the 427 not to 1881 but to 1866 years only of the last xv dynasties of the Chronicle.

To fill the above $(210 + 217 =)$ 427 years Anianus does not use those earlier dynasties of kings, whether of the original Manetho or of Ptolemy, which had nothing answering to them in the Old Chronicle, nor does he betake himself to the Theban list of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, which may at first sight seem strange, seeing that his own addition to the times of the monarchy differed by only 16 years from that made by Eratosthenes. In truth, however, even if he had had the list of Eratosthenes before him, it would not have suited, because its names and reigns cover all those years in which Anianus had to place the rule of Joseph in Egypt under the Shepherd Apophis and 156 years really belonging to Dyn. XVIII of Africanus, while

yet neither the Shepherds nor any king of Dyn. XVIII were named in it. What he does is merely to string together a number of names, some of them Egyptian and some Greek, and even Latin (as *Κήρως* like *Certus*, i. e. *Quartus*, or *Curtius*), which are plainly fictitious. And so, like Africanus, he virtually leaves all such dynasties of Manetho or Ptolemy as may have had an historical though only contemporary existence to be understood together with the earlier of the xv sovereign dynasties of kings given by the Chronicle, and to be harmonised and arranged synchronistically with them for himself by any one who pleases and is able, Anianus not pretending to be qualified to undertake any such task.

But though the 427 years, as has been said, were really 210 of them the last 210 of the 341 fictitious years of the Chronicle added by it in one sum to the years of its XIII Gods, and the other 217 the 217 of its VIII Demigods, and Anianus omitted or put down to their true place the 483 years of the Cycle, he preferred to appear to omit *other* years, and retained here from the Chronicle the designation of "years of the Cynic Cycle." For he had found it convenient to place a number of 215 years scarcely differing from the 217 of the Chronicle with its designation of Demigods (only making IX instead of VIII) before the Flood; and now, though the *number* 443 could not be exhibited by him, those years "of the Cycle" in the Chronicle presented themselves to him in a convenient form in this respect, that they were divided into "xv generations," while yet they were unattached, having no kings, nor belonging to any dynasty, so that he might easily fill them up with names, and unite them (as had been done also in the scheme of Eratosthenes) with Dyn. XVI of the Chronicle.

So Anianus made his own Dyn. XVI to consist of the 427 years above-mentioned (as if they represented the 443 named "of the Cycle" in the Chronicle), uniting with them the 190 of Dyn. XVI of the Chronicle and 11 more really belonging to its Dyn. XVII, which made in all 628 years; and these taken together with the 72 *ἔτη ἀβασίλευτα* of Mizraim and perhaps other fathers after him completed a sum

of 700 years from the Dispersion. His first 628 years of kings Anianus distributed to xv reigns or generations, answering to the xv of the 443 years of the Cycle, and to other viii answering to the viii generations of Dyn. XVI of the Chronicle. And the whole compound of 628 years in xxiii generations he named "Dyn. XVI of what is called the Cynic Cycle."

But the 72 years of Mizraim with the 628 of "Dyn. XVI of the Cynic Cycle" make a sum of 700 years not obtained by reduction, but parallel to as many full years of the Chronicle, commencing from the Dispersion and the last of the reduced years, and ending 9 years above that chronological point at which Eusebius fixed the birth of Abraham, and from which he begins his Canon, Anianus having now made $(2776 + 700 =)$ 3476 years of the world to the end of the 4th of Jacob instead of the $(3184 + 164 =)$ 3348 of Eusebius, that is, having made 128 more than Eusebius, but making downwards from this point to the end of the 43rd of Augustus 2025 years, while Eusebius makes $(2016 - 164 =)$ 1852, or 173 years fewer. So the whole difference between their reckonings to the end of the 43rd of Augustus in A.D. 1 is $(128 + 173 =)$ 301 years. For the postdiluvian world the list of Anianus may be made out from Syncellus as follows:—

[Μετὰ τὸν Κατακλυσμόν.]

Τῷ ᾠβοστ' ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου (i. e. after A. M. 2776 complete), μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμόν ἔτεσι φλδ', πρῶτος οἰκήσας [ᾠκησε Μιστραίμ] τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνομαζομένην] Μιστραίαν χώραν ἔτεσι πρὸ τῆς καταστάσεως βασιλειῶν οβ'. That is, "After A. M. 2776 Mizraim first settled Egypt, called from him *Misr*, 534 years after the Flood, and 72 years before the establishment of kingdoms. After these 72 years," Μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ οβ' ἔτη,

[Δυναστεία ΙΣΤ' τοῦ Κυνηκοῦ λεγομένου Κύκλου, γενεῶν κγ'. Dyn. XVI of the Cynic Cycle, with $(xv + viii =)$ xxiii generations.]

α'. (Gen. xvi.) Πρῶτος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Μήνης ἔτη λε'. *Menes*, A. M. 2848 + 35 = 2883.

β'. (Gen. xvii.) Κουρώδης ἔτη ξγ'. *Curodes*, A. M. 2883 + 63 = 2946.

γ'. (Gen. xviii.) Ἀρίσταρχος ἔτη λδ'. *Aristarchus*, A. M. 2946 + 34 = 2980. This and other names are meant to appear as if translated from the Egyptian, like the glosses in the list of Eratosthenes.

δ'. (Gen. xix.) Σπάνιος ἔτη λς'. *Spanius*, A. M. 2980 + 36 = 3016.

ε'. (Gen. xx.) Σάραπις ἔτη κγ'. *Serapis*, A. M. 3016 + 23 = 3039. Thus it is hinted that the deity Serapis, so prominent in the last times of Egyptian history, had been an early king. Before this name Syncellus in his own list interpolates two *anonymous* kings with 72 years

between them instead of the 72 ἔτη ἀβασίλευτα suppressed by his identification of Mizraim with Menes. Perhaps he did not understand why the 72 years should be prefixed and as it were united to the series of the kings if they did not belong to it.

ε'. (Gen. xxi.) Σεσόχχωσις ἔτη μθ'. *Sesonchosis*, A.M. 3039+49=3088. This king is meant to answer to the very early Sesonchosis or Sesostris of Dicæarchus. His years are from the reign of Sesortasen I.

ζ'. (Gen. xxii.) Ἀμενέμης ἔτη κθ'. *Amenemes*, A.M. 3088+29=3117. The name is taken like the last from Dyn. XII of Africanus.

η'. (Gen. xxiii.) Ἀμασις ἔτη β'. *Amasis*, A.M. 3117+2=3119. From Dyn. XVIII or XXVI, or from Diodorus.

θ'. (Gen. xxiv.) Ἀκεσέφθρης ἔτη ιγ'. *Akesephthres*, A.M. 3119+13=3132.

ι'. (Gen. xxv.) Ἀγχωρεὺς ἔτη θ'. *Anchoreus*, A.M. 3132+9=3141. This is probably meant for *Uchoreus*, Diodorus's founder of Thebes. Pliny too has the similar name *Nunchoreus*.

ια'. (Gen. xxvi.) Ἀρμιύσης ἔτη δ'. *Armaises*, A.M. 3141+4=3145. From Dyn. XVIII, where *Armais* has the same reign of 4 years.

ιβ'. (Gen. xxvii.) Χαμοίς ἔτη ιβ'. *Chamois*, A.M. 3145+12=3157. The name may be from *Ham* or *Khem*, or from *Psammous* of Dyn. XXVI.

ιγ'. (Gen. xxviii.) Μιαμοῦς ἔτη ιδ'. *Miammous*, from Dyn. XVIII, A.M. 3157+14=3171.

ιδ'. (Gen. xxix.) Ἀμεσῆσις ἔτη ξέ'. either *Amesses*, or *Armesses*, from Dyn. XVIII, the reign being from "*Armesses Miammous*," A.M. 3171+65=3236.

ιε'. (Gen. xxx.) Οὔσης ἔτη ν'. *Ouses*, A.M. 3236+50=3286.

These xv names and generations are feigned to answer to the xv generations of the Cynic Cycle in the Old Chronicle, though instead of 443 they have only 438 years. And of those 438 which they have *none really answer* to the 443 years belonging in the Chronicle to the "xv generations of the Cycle," but the first 210 of the 438 years are the last 210 of the 341 fictitious years added to the years of the Gods in the Chronicle, 217 more are the 217 of the VIII Demigods of the Chronicle, and lastly 11 are the first 11 of its 1881 years of kings. We ought then at this point, after the 11th year complete of Menes, to be according to the true chronology of the Old Chronicle, and in terms of the anticipated Julian or canicular year, at Feb. 28 in B.C. (2224-11=) 2213, and we are in fact according to Anianus's reckoning at Aug. 29 in B.C. (5501-3286=) 2215 of the anticipated Alexandrian or Julian year. So that between this point and the end of his 43rd of Augustus Anianus's excesses and deficiencies in his *Egyptian* scale compensate one another all but two years and a half.

Then follow viii other names meant to parallel the viii Tanite generations of Dyn. XVI of the Chronicle; and they have its full number of 190 years. But since the first 11 years of Dyn. XVI of the Chronicle have been paralleled already, the last 11 of the 190 given by Anianus to those viii generations which now follow must be understood to run on into Dyn. XVII of the Chronicle. It is to be noticed also that Anianus having made of his antediluvian Gods and Demigods only xv generations, whereas the Chronicle made xxii, he will have not only to parallel its (lxxvi—viii=) lxxviii generations of kings still remaining below Dyn. XVI, but also to add to them vii more in order to exhibit the same number of cxiii in all with the Chronicle.

The Tanites of Dyn. XVI of the Chronicle, who are "Thebans" for Eratosthenes and "Thinites" for the Maretho of Ptolemy and Africanus, and of whom Eusebius also makes a dynasty of "Thebans," have with Anianus all of them but two the same Theban name *Rameses*, which was really repeated in a similar way in the names and titles of the monumental kings of Dynasties XVIII, XIX, and XX. But there is no appearance of the slight variations of the name Rameses made by Anianus in this part of his list being borrowed from as many distinct historical kings of the later Theban dynasties.

α'. (Gen. xxxi.) 'Ραμισσῆς ἔτη κθ'. *Ramesses*, A. M. 3286+29=3315. After his 26th year, that is, in B. C. (5501—3312=) 2189, Anianus puts the birth of Abraham, 173 years higher than it was put by Eusebius, and 29 years higher than the true date, which in terms of his reckoning should have been Aug. 29 in B. C. 2160.

β'. (Gen. xxxii.) 'Ραμισσομένης ἔτη ιε'. *Ramesso-Amon*, or *Ramesso-meri-Amon*, A. M. 3315+15=3330, to the end of the 18th of Abraham in B. C. 2171.

γ'. (Gen. xxxiii.) Οὐσιμάρης ἔτη λα'. *Ousimares*, A. M. 3330+31=3361, to the end of the 49th of Abraham.

δ'. (Gen. xxxiv.) 'Ραμισσῆσιος ἔτη κγ'. *Ramessesius*, A. M. 3361+23=3384, to the end of the 72nd of Abraham.

ε'. (Gen. xxxv.) 'Ραμισσαμένω ἔτη ιθ'. *Ramesso-Amon*, compounded of *Ramesses* and *Amon* as Gen. xxxii above, A. M. 3384+19=3403, to the end of the 91st of Abraham in B. C. 2098. And to this name Syncellus has a note of his own: Οὗτος πρῶτος Φαραὼ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ μνημονεύεται· ἐπὶ τούτου ὁ πατριάρχης Ἀβραάμ κατῆλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον. The synchronism of the descent of Abraham into Egypt with this reign is no doubt copied by Syncellus from Anianus.

ε'. (Gen. xxxvi.) 'Ραμεσσης 'Ιουβασση ἔτη λθ'. *Ramesses-Jubassce*, A. M. 3403+39=3442, to the end of the 30th of Isaac in B. C. 2059.

ζ'. (Gen. xxxvii.) 'Ραμεσση Ουάφρον ἔτη κθ'. *Ramesse-Ouaphrou*, A. M. 3442+29=3471, to the end of the 59th of Isaac in B. C. 2030. The surname may be from Dyn. XXVI.

η'. (Gen. xxxviii.) Κόγχαρις ἔτη ε'. *Concharis*, A. M. 3471+5=3476, to the end of the 4th of Jacob in B. C. 2025. *Concharis* may perhaps be from the throne-name of Sesortasen III., in whose time *Upper Egypt* became subject to the *Shepherds*.

[Ομοῦ αἱ κγ' γενεαὶ ἔτη χλη'· αἱ δὲ ἡ' τελευταῖαι ἔτη ρζ'. The xxiii generations have together 638 years, but the last viii of them 190.]

“Τούτῳ τῷ ε' ἔτει τοῦ κγ' [so we must substitute for the κέ' of Syncellus] βασιλεύσαντος Κογχάρεως τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ τῆς ΙΣΤ' Δυναστείας τοῦ Κυνικοῦ λεγομένου Κύκλου παρὰ τῷ Μανεθῷ [that is, the pseudo-Manetho or Book of Sothis of Anianus] ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως [omitting the next words “καὶ οἰκίστου Μεστραῖμ” as being only from Syncellus, and substituting for Μεστραῖμ] Μηνέως τῆς Αἰγύπτου πληροῦνται ἔτη χκη' [so we must substitute for the ψ' of Syncellus], τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ καθολικοῦ κοσμικοῦ ἔτους [Syncellus has “βψος', καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἡ διασπορὰ γέγονεν ἐν τῷ λδ' ἔτει τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ἀρφαξὰδ, ε' δὲ ἔτει τοῦ Φαλέκ.” all which we must omit for Anianus and continue thus] βωμη'· καὶ διεδέξαντο Τανῖται βασιλεῖς δ'.” [the designation *Tanites* being drawn down from Dyn. XVI of the Chronicle which by being amalgamated with the xv generations of the Cycle had lost its own *local* designation.] The number of *four* kings for these *Tanites* who are now to follow is that of Dyn. XVII of the Chronicle. According to the Chronicle they should be *Memphites*. But Eusebius had already identified iv *Shepherds* with its Dyn. XVII; and the same *Shepherds* are now by Anianus called *Tanites*, which in point of locality they were; and he adds to the four three others, so as to make seven of them in all, and so as to represent at once not only Dyn. XVII of the Chronicle but also its Dyn. XXVII, the kings of which were really the last four of the *Shepherds*.

Syncellus, after naming “four kings” answering to the four of Dyn. XVII of the Chronicle and of Eusebius, observes that “in this place it is better to follow Josephus [than Eusebius], and that Josephus gives *six* kings.” Never-

theless he does not hereupon transcribe from Anianus the six names of Jesephus with their six reigns unaltered, but *seven*, a new and strange name, *Κήρως*, being interpolated in the last place but one to make out the seven. Syncellus, however, not understanding what was meant by Anianus, counted off the first six ending with *Κήρως*, as if they were the six of Josephus; and by a prodigious blunder, and one entirely his own, made of *Aseth*, who was really the last Shepherd king, the head of Dyn. XVIII, and the "*father of Amosis*" who expelled the Shepherds. And yet he continues, as if speaking only of the "*six*" of Josephus, "*οὐ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ τῆς ΙΖ' Δυναστείας ἔτη σξ', ὡς ἐξῆς ἐστοιχείωται*" that is, "these constituted Dyn. XVII, and reigned 260 years," without perceiving that the 260 years as made out by Anianus and by himself included all the *seven* kings, and that so Aseth could not be put down into the next dynasty. Further, on looking on, we find that the specified sum of 260 years, to which the 259 years and 10 months of the Manetho of Josephus might naturally be filled up, is not made out as one might expect after comparing the list of Africanus by filling up the 36 years and 7 months of the third Shepherd, *Apachnas*, to 37 years and omitting the 1 odd month and the 2 odd months of two of the later reigns; but instead of any such process there is an awkward interpolation of a single unappropriated year between the end of the preceding series called Dyn. XVI and the 1st year of *Silites*, the first Shepherd king; while the seven reigns of the Shepherds following this year make together only 259 years. This might be considered to be giving in fact to *Silites* 20 instead of 19 years. But as the missing year is clearly shown by a comparison of the lists of Josephus and Africanus to belong rather to *Apachnas*, and Syncellus's interpolation of the unattached year at the head of the dynasty is easily accounted for, there need be no scruple in restoring this year for Anianus to its true place. Syncellus, it may be, either had not the actual work of Anianus before him, or not the perfect text, but a copy in which 36 years only were given to *Apachnas*. He perceived then not only that one year more was wanting on the seven

reigns to make up the 260 named by him from Anianus as the sum of the dynasty, but also that the missing year must precede the accession of Apophis the fourth Shepherd king, otherwise Joseph would come into Egypt in or after the *fifth* and rise to power in or after the *eighteenth* year of that king, contrary to the consensus—a consensus including at all events Anianus—which made him come into Egypt in the *fourth* and rise to power in the *seventeenth* year of Apophis. Not knowing then exactly to *which* of the first three reigns the year wanting was rather to be attached (though this was not difficult to discover), he prefixed it by itself to the first reign of the dynasty.

As regards the Chronicle, it is plain that Anianus's introduction after Dyn. XVI and 11 years virtually belonging to Dyn. XVII of vii Shepherds with 260 years amounts to the same thing as if, after allowing 92 years and iv generations of these Shepherds to parallel the iv Memphite generations and $(11 + 92 =)$ 103 years of its Dyn. XVII, he had restored to its true place Dyn. XXVII, exhibiting $(260 - 92 =)$ 168 of its 184 years and iii of its iv generations; so that there are still 16 of its years and one of its generations to be looked for somewhere else below:—

[Δυναστεία 12' Ποιμένων, γενεῶν ζ'. Dyn. XVII of Shepherds with $(iv + iii =)$ vii generations.]

α'. (Gen. xxix.) Σιλίτης ἔτη ιθ', πρῶτος τῶν ε' [ζ'] βασιλέων τῆς ιζ' δυναστείας παρὰ Μανεῶν. *Silites*, the first of the six [*seven*] kings in [Anianus's] Manetho, A. M. $3476 + 19 = 3495$, from the end of the 4th to the end of the 23rd year of Jacob. The name is from Josephus and the original Manetho.

β'. (Gen. xl.) Βαίων ἔτη μδ'. *Bæon*, A. M. $3495 + 44 =$ A. M. 3539 complete, to the end of the $(23 + 44 =)$ 67th of Jacob. The name is softened from Βιών.

γ'. (Gen. xli.) Ἀπαχναὶν ἔτη λς' [λζ']. *Apachnan*, A. M. $3539 + 37 = 3576$, to the end of the $(67 + 37 =)$ 104th of Jacob, and of the $(104 - 91 =)$ 13th of Joseph.

δ'. (Gen. xlii.) Ἀφωφίς ἔτη ξα'. *Apophis*, A. M. $3576 + 61 =$ A. M. 3637, to the end of the $(13 + 61 =)$ 74th of Joseph. To Apophis Syncellus attaches this note: Τοῦτον λέγουσί τινες πρῶτον κληθῆναι Φαραῶ· (alluding perhaps to Anianus or Panodorus, as if they through inattention had said that Apophis was the first so named in the Sacred Scriptures): καὶ τῷ δ' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον δοῦλον. Οὗτος κατέστησε τὸν Ἰωσήφ κύριον Αἰγύπτου καὶ πάσης βασιλείας αὐτοῦ τῷ ιζ' ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ, ἡνίκα καὶ τῇν τῶν ὀνείρων διασάφησιν ἔμαθε παρ' αὐτοῦ,

καὶ τῆς θείας συνίσεως αὐτοῦ διὰ πείρας γέγονεν· ἡ δὲ θεία γραφή καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀεραάμ βασιλείᾳ Αἰγύπτου Φαραῶ καλεῖ.

According to the true chronology of the Scriptures and Josephus harmonised, and of the Old Egyptian Chronicle, the *birth* of Joseph was in the same year with the accession of Apophis; and it was not his advancement but his first coming into Egypt which was rightly connected by the Egyptian tradition with the 17th year of that king. (See above pp. 80 and 109.)

It is remarkable that though Syncellus says that it was a settled point that Joseph came into Egypt under the Shepherds, and even [that he rose to power] in the 17th of Apophis, no single author exhibits, or is conscious of exhibiting, exactly this synchronism. Josephus, it is true, exhibits the synchronism really indicated, though wrongly described by Syncellus, for such as know the true date of the Exodus to be in the 1st year of Amenoph II. But Josephus himself supposed that the Exodus took place under Amosis and Inachus, and that consequently both the exaltation of Joseph and his coming into Egypt was much earlier than the 17th of Apophis. Africanus in like manner, and Ptolemy whom he follows; while Eusebius on the other hand puts it, as we have seen above, much later. Anianus too and Syncellus himself exhibit the Exodus just 81 years below the commencement of Dyn. XVIII, and $(81 + 134 =)$ 215 after the 26th year of Apophis, so that the advancement of Joseph is after the $(26 - 9 =)$ 17th year of the same king. But this is only by the help of an omission of 16 years of Dyn. XXVII of the Old Chronicle and an arbitrary alteration of the first reigns of Dyn. XVIII, made to suit a synchronism already predetermined. If, after beginning to parallel the viii generations and the 190 years of Dyn. XVI of the Chronicle, Anianus had completed without omission or transposition his exhibition of those 190 years, of the 103 of Dyn. XVII, and of the 184 of the Shepherds, Joseph must have been made by him to come into Egypt 12 years before the accession of Apophis, and the Exodus would have found its date only $(81 - 16 =)$ 65 years below the commencement of Dyn. XVIII. The

synchronism therefore of the 17th of Apophis with the coming of Joseph, though it had been shifted by Anianus to his advancement, and the 4th of Apophis substituted for his coming, owing to a misunderstanding, in order that there might be only 81 years under Dyn. XVIII instead of the true number of 94, is for this very reason plainly derived from some anterior and genuine Egyptian tradition. But to return: After Apophis with his 61 years Syncellus gives three more kings tacitly added to the four of Dyn. XVII of the Chronicle, so as to make together with the preceding four seven names in all as if for the same Dynasty XVII, the whole really representing, as has been said above, though not quite completely, both Dyn. XVII and Dyn. XXVII of the Chronicle. If Dyn. XXVII had been openly put back to its true place, it would have stood as XVIII, and then the numeration of all the later dynasties would have varied from that of Eusebius and Africanus, and their Dyn. XXVIII would have had to be suppressed. But this was not desired:—

ε'. (Gen. xliii.) Σέθως ἔτη ν'. *Sethos*, A.M. 3637+50=3687, from the end of the 74th year of Joseph to the end of the 14th year after his death. The reign of 50 years identifies this king with the *Janias* of Manetho in Josephus. As for the name *Sethos*, though it looks as if borrowed from Dyn. XIX, the Shepherd kings were all worshippers of *Seti* or *Sutech*; and two of their six names, at least, as written by Ptolemy, viz., *Saites* and *Aseth*, are merely variations from the name of that deity. So it may really have belonged to *Janias* also; and his name, as written by Josephus, Σαάν, may be no corruption, but if written at full with all the vowels, a compound name Σετι-'Αάν, in like manner as 'Αν-ώυης is resolvable into the two names *Aan-Khoufou*. Next follows

ς'. (Gen. xliv.) Κήρωως ἔτη κθ' κατὰ τὸν Μανεῶν, κατὰ δὲ τὸν 'Ιώσηπον [Ἀσήθ] ἔτη μθ'. *Certus*, A.M. 3687+29=3716, from the end of the 14th to that of the 43rd year after the death of Joseph. The actual text of Syncellus not having the name Ἀσήθ, inserted above in brackets, reads as if the difference between Josephus and Anianus was this, that instead of giving *Certus* only 29 Josephus gave him 49 years. But this *Certus* was altogether absent from Josephus, and was created by Anianus, in forging his own Manetho or Book of Sothis, by splitting the 49 years of *Aseth* into two reigns of 29 and 20 years respectively.

ζ'. (Gen. xlv.) Ἀσήθ, ἔτη κ'. *Aseth*, A.M. 3716+20=3736, from the end of the 43rd to that of the 63rd after the death of Joseph. To this name Anianus has a note older than the time of Eusebius, since Eusebius, after suppressing *Aseth*, has altered its wording and transferred it to *Saites*, the first of the Shepherd kings. It is probably from Pto-

lemy and Africanus: "Οὗτος προσέθηκε τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν τὰς ἐπαγομένας, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὡς φασιν, ἐχρημάτισεν τξξ' ἡμερῶν ὁ Αἰγυπτιακὸς ἐνιαυτὸς τξ' μόνον ἡμερῶν πρὸ τούτου μετρούμενος. Ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ μόσχος θεοποιηθεὶς Ἄπις ἐκλήθη." This latter notice also about the deification of Apis is transferred hither from Dyn. II of Africanus. Respecting both the reader may see above at p. 689. He may also bear in mind that, as Anianus himself may have varied somewhat the wording of the note respecting the ἐπαγομέναι, it is nothing wonderful if its assertions, as they stand, should be inaccurate, Anianus having introduced elsewhere also fancies of his own concerning the manner of reckoning time in early ages to suit arbitrary and inaccurate processes of reduction.

[Ὁμοῦ τῶν ζ' γενεῶν τῆς ιζ' δυναστείας ἔτη σξ'. A.M. $3476 + 260 = 3736$]

Anianus then has now arrived at the end of his A.M. 2776 + (72 + 210 + 217 + 190 + 11) + (92 + 168) = 3736, and at the beginning of his B.C. ($5501 - 3736 =$) 1765 which corresponds to Ptolemy's date for the commencement of Dyn. XVIII, and is just 16 years higher than the point at which he ought to have set it in order to agree with the true date, B.C. 1748, at which it is set by the Chronicle, and which in terms of his own reckoning would be B.C. 1749. Hence it appears that if he had given 16 years more to the kings above, and so had completed his parallel of the 184 years of the Shepherds of Dyn. XXVII of the Chronicle, with a corresponding reduction of 16 years at the proper place or places below, he would have set the commencement of Dyn. XVIII just at its true date. And his date for the Exodus also would consequently have been correct were it not for his error of supposing that Moses was born in the very first year of Amosis, the king who had not known Joseph, instead of 13 years later:—

[Δυναστεία ΙΗ' Διοσπολιτῶν, γενεῶν ιδ'.]

α'. (Gen. xlv.) Ἀμωσις, ὁ καὶ Τέθμωσις, ἔτη κς'. Amosis, who is also called *Tethmosis*, (that is, by the original Manetho); A.M. $3736 + 26 = 3762$, from the end of the 63rd to that of the 89th year after the death of Joseph.

β'. (Gen. xlvii.) Χεβρων ἔτη ιγ'. Chebron, A.M. $3762 + 13 = 3775$, to the end of the 102nd year after the death of Joseph.

γ'. (Gen. xlviii.) Ἀμεμφίς ἔτη ιε'. Amemphis, A.M. $3775 + 15 = 3790$, to the end of the 117th year.

δ'. (Gen. xlix.) Ἀμινσῆς ἔτη ια'. Amenses, A.M. $3790 + 11 = 3801$, to the end of the 128th year.

ε'. (Gen. l.) Μισφραγμούθωσις ἔτη ις'. Mischragmuthosis, A.M. $3801 + 16 = 3817$, to the end of the 144th year from the death of Joseph.

And it is implied that this king was drowned in the Red Sea. Manetho, as has been observed elsewhere, split the name or names of Thothmes III. Miphres into two, and concealed under the compound Misphragmuthosis, which he made the second of the two, the historical king of the Exodus, Amenoph II., the 6th of the dynasty. Here then, though the reigns have been curtailed so as to make only 81 years intervene from the head of the dynasty, the Exodus is put all but in its true relative place, between the 5th and the 6th reigns, only one year too high in being made to end the last year of the 5th instead of the first of the 6th reign, and yet attached to that name of the two which originally, or at least in the original Manetho, belonged to the 6th reign.

ς'. (Gen. li.) Μισφρής ἔτη κγ'. *Misphres*, A. M. 3817+23=3840; the order of the two names being reversed, and Misphres being made to stand as the son of Misphragmuthosis, instead of being his father.

ζ'. (Gen. lii.) Τούθμωσις ἔτη λθ'. *Touthmosis*, A. M. 3840+39=3879, to the end of the 22nd year of Joshua.

η'. (Gen. liii.) Ἀμενώφθις ἔτη λδ'. *Amenophthis*, A. M. 3879+34=3913, to the end of the 3rd year of Othniel. Οὗτος ὁ Ἀμενώφθις ἐστὶν ὁ Μένμων εἶναι νομιζόμενος καὶ φθεγγόμενος λίθος· ὃν λίθον χρόνοις ὕστερον Καμβύσης ὁ Περσῶν τέμνει νομίζων εἶναι γοητείαν ἐν αὐτῷ, ὡς Πολύαινος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἱστορεῖ.

[Περὶ Αἰθιόπων, πόθεν ἦσαν, καὶ ποῦ ᾤκησαν· Αἰθίοπες ἀπὸ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναστάντες πρὸς τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ᾤκησαν. Respecting this note see above at p. 659.]

ς'. (Gen. liv.) Ὀρος ἔτη μη'. *Horus*, A. M. 3913+48=3961, to the end of the 11th of the 18 years of servitude to Eglon.

ι'. (Gen. lv.) Ἀχενχερής ἔτη κέ'. *Achencheres*, A. M. 3961+25=3986, to the end of the 18th year of Ehud.

ια'. (Gen. lvi.) Ἀθωρίς ἔτη κθ'. *Athoris*, A. M. 3986+29=4015, to the end of the 47th of Ehud.

ιβ'. (Gen. lvii.) Χενχερής ἔτη κς'. *Chencheres*, A. M. 4015+26=4041, to the end of the 73rd of Ehud.

ιγ'. (Gen. lviii.) Ἀχερρής ἔτη η'. *Acherres*, A. M. 4041+8=4049, to the end of the 1st of the 20 of servitude to Jabin.

ιδ'. (Gen. lix.) Ἀρμαῖος, ὁ καὶ Δαναὸς, ἔτη ς'. A. M. 4049+9=4058, to the end of the 10th of Jabin.

[Ὅμοῦ τῶν ιδ' γενεῶν ἔτη τκβ'. A. M. 3736+222=4058. So that Anianus is here short by 16+26=42 years of having paralleled the years of the kings in the Chronicle down to the end of its Dyn. XVIII.]

The ambiguities of Manetho and Ptolemy are done away by bringing down *Armæus* to be the 14th and last generation of Dyn. XVIII, and making Rameses II. as the head of Dyn. XIX to be absolutely one and the same person with the Rameses ὁ καὶ Σέθως of Manetho. So, as before either Seti II. or Rameses III. had been overlaid and supplanted the one by the other in consequence of Rameses III. having been brought up to stand as the head of Dyn. XIX, so now both of these two kings are overlaid and supplanted together

by the bringing down of Rameses II. into the same place. Thus the flight of Danaus is put by Anianus after his A.M. 4058, at the head of his B.C. (5501—4058=) 1443, 241 years below his date for the Exodus. In the text of Syncellus there is the following note:—

“Ἀρμαῖος, ὁ καὶ Δαναὸς, φεύγων τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ῥαμεσσῆν τὸν Αἴγυπτον, ἐκπίπτει τῆς κατ’ Αἴγυπτον βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, εἰς Ἑλλάδα τε ἀφικνεῖται. Ῥαμεσσῆς δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ καὶ Αἴγυπτος καλούμενος, ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου ἔτη ξη΄, μετονομάσας τὴν χώραν Αἴγυπτον τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι, ἣτις πρότερον Μεστράα, παρ’ Ἑλλησι δὲ Ἀερία ἐλέγετο. Δαναὸς δὲ, ὁ καὶ Ἀρμαῖος, κρατήσας τοῦ Ἄργους καὶ ἐκβαλὼν Σθένελον τὸν Κροτωποῦ Ἀργείων ἐβασίλευσε· καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ μετ’ αὐτὸν Δαναῖδαι καλούμενοι ἐπ’ Εὐρυσθέα τὸν Σθενέλου τοῦ Περσέως· μεθ’ οὗς οἱ Πελοπίδαι ἀπὸ Πέλοπος παραλαμβάνοντες τὴν ἀρχήν, ὦν πρῶτος Ἀτρεΐς.”

Thus the flight of Danaus is put (B.C. 1484—1443=) 41 years lower than in the scheme of Eusebius. The preceding nine generations of Argive kings, reckoned as average generations of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years each, would take us back to the 22nd year of Amosis for the foundation of Argos; and so would just save the synchronism of Amosis and Inachus, the Exodus being put under Phoroneus, 81 years below the commencement of Dyn. XVIII, and 58 below the foundation of Argos. Moses, too, though not in the sense of Ptolemy, would have been the contemporary of Inachus. But by the longer reckoning of the Argive reigns we should go back 382 years from B.C. 1443 of Anianus to the foundation of Argos, which would have been after his A.M. 3676 in B.C. (1443+382=) 1825; and this is 60 years before the commencement of his Dyn. XVIII, and 141 before his date for the Exodus.

[Δυναστεία Ἰθ’ Διοσπολιτῶν, γενεῶν η΄.]

α΄. (Gen. lx.) Ῥαμεσσῆς, ὁ καὶ Αἴγυπτος, ἔτη ξη΄. *Rameses* or *Ægyptus*, A.M. 4058+68=4126, to the end of the (10 of Jabin+40 of Deborah+7 of Midian+11=68) 11th of Gideon.

β΄. (Gen. lxi.) Ἀμένωφης ἔτη η΄. *Amenophis*, A.M. 4126+8=4134, to the end of the 19th of Gideon. The name is really that of the last king of Dyn. XVIII, the son and successor of Rameses Miammou.

γ΄. (Gen. lxii.) Θούωρις ἔτη ιζ΄. *Thouoris*, A.M. 4134+17=4151, to

the end of the 36th of Gideon. As the name is the same with that of the last king of Manetho's Dyn. XIX whom Anianus gives also below, and that is probably derived from the monumental name *Siphthah*, it may be supposed that this first Thouris of Anianus is the earlier Siphthah of the monuments (see p. 222) whose reign is excluded as illegitimate from other lists; unless it be doing too much honour to Anianus to suppose that any of his peculiarities had an historical foundation.

δ'. (Gen. lxiii.) Νεχεψώς ἔτη ιθ'. *Nechepsos*, A.M. 4151+19=4170, to the end of the (4 Gideon+3 Abimelech+12=19) 12th of Tola. The name is an anticipation and reduplication of the 2nd Saite name of Dyn. XXVI. Why that of *Amon-Meses* should not have done just as well, if Anianus knew of his existence, is not easy to see. And this casts the more doubt upon the identification of his Thouris I. above with the earlier *Siphthah*.

ε'. (Gen. lxiv.) Ψαμμουθις ἔτη ιγ'. *Psammouthis*, A.M. 4170+13=4183, to the end of the 2nd of Jair. This name again is from Dyn. XXVI or Dyn. XXIX.

ς'. (Gen. lxv.) . . . ἔτη δ'. A.M. 4183+4=4187, to the end of the 6th of Jair. The name which was probably, like those on either side of it, taken at random from some other dynasty, has fallen out. *Seti II.*, the real head of this dynasty, is suppressed altogether.

ζ'. (Gen. lxvi.) Κήρως ἔτη κ'. *Certos*, A.M. 4187+20=4207, to the end of the 6th of the 18 of the Servitude to the Ammonites, Jair having only 20 instead of his 22 years. The name *Certos* has already done duty as interpolated among the Shepherds.

η'. (Gen. lxvii.) Ράμψις ἔτη με'. *Rampsis*, A.M. 4207+45=4252, to the end of the (12 Ammonites+6 Jephthah+7 Ibzan+10 Elon+8 Abdon+2 Philistines=45) 2nd of the Servitude to the Philistines. The name should be from *Rapsakes*, written *Rampses* by Eusebius, the 2nd name of Manetho's Dyn. XIX, but there also out of place, as has been shown above at p. 225.

[Ομοῦ τῶν η' γενεῶν ἔτη ρλδ'. A.M. 4058+194=4252. So that in its sum of years this dynasty is exactly equal to Dyn. XIX of the Chronicle and of Eusebius, though it has viii generations instead of v: and Anianus is short of the Chronicle by the same number of years, viz. 42, as he was at the end of Dyn. XVIII.]

[Δυναστεία Κ' Διοσπολιτῶν, γενεῶν ζ'.]

α'. (Gen. lxviii.) Αμενῆς ὁ καὶ Ἀμμενέμης, ἔτη κς'. *Amenses* or *Ammenemes*, A.M. 4252+26=4278, to the end of the 28th of the Philistines. The name may be from *Amenephthis*, the 3rd king of Dyn. XIX.

β'. (Gen. lxix.) Ὀχυράς ἔτη ιδ'. *Ochyryus*, A.M. 4278+14=4292, to the end of the 2nd of Samson. The name seems to be Greek, as if it were meant to look like a translation.

γ'. (Gen. lxx.) Ἀμενδής ἔτη κζ'. *Amendes*, A.M. 4292+27=4319, to the end of the 9th of the "interregnum or anarchy." Probably the same as *Amenemes*, the last name but one of Dyn. XIX of Manetho.

δ'. (Gen. lxxi.) Θούρις ἔτη ν'. *Thouris*, A.M. 4319+50=4369, to the end of (31+19=50) the 19th of Eli. This is really the last king of Manetho's Dyn. XIX; and accordingly he has the note attached, "Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ Πόλυβος Ἀλκάνδρας ἀνὴρ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ φερόμενος, παρ'

ὅ φησὶ τὸν Μενέλαον σὺν τῇ Ἑλένῃ μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν Τροίας κατῆχθαι πλανώμενον." His reign, lying for Anianus between Aug. 29 at the head of his B.C. (5501—4319=)1182 and Aug. 29 in B.C. 1132, virtually identical with the same dates B.C. according to the vulgar era, begins just one year too low to include Eratosthenes's date for the *actual capture* of Troy; and on this account probably it is that Anianus has omitted the words "ἐφ' οὗ τὸ Ἴλιον ἔαλω," and speaks only of the arrival of Menelaus *afterwards*, "μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν." Between the flight of Danaus and the taking of Troy, supposing it to be put one year above the accession of Thoooris at the date of Eratosthenes, Anianus has exhibited (194+66=) 260 years, affording only $32\frac{6}{12}$ instead of $33\frac{4}{12}$ years to each of the 8 Argive generations; or, if only 7 of these generations are allowed to be *full*, giving $26\frac{8}{12}$ years instead of 18 only to the last imperfect generation of Agamemnon.

ε'. (Gen. lxxii.) Αθωθις ὁ καὶ Φουσάνος· ἐφ' οὗ σεισμοὶ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐγένοντο, μηδέπω γεγονότες ἐν αὐτῇ πρὸ τούτου· ἔτη κη'. *Athothis* or *Phousanos*, A.M. 4369+28=4397, to the end of the (1 of Eli+20 of Samuel+7=28) 7th of Saul. The name *Athothis* is that of the first successor of Menes, who above has been changed by Anianus into *Kourodes*. The alias, *Phousanos*, is perhaps from *Psousenes*, a name which occurs twice in Dyn. XXI of Africanus. The notice of the earthquake is probably transposed, like that of the deification of Apis above, from Dyn. II of Africanus, that it might not be altogether omitted.

ς'. (Gen. lxxiii.) Κενκένης ἔτη λβ'. *Kenkenes*, A.M. 4397+39=4436, to the end of the 6th of David. This name and the next are properly the 3rd and the 4th of Dyn. I of Africanus.

ζ'. (Gen. lxxiv.) Οὐέννεφίς ἔτη μβ'. *Ouennephis*, A.M. 4436+42=4478, to the end of the 8th of Solomon.

[Ομοῦ τῶν ζ' γενεῶν ἔτη σκς'. A.M. 4252+226=4478. This sum being 2 short of 228, the sum of the Old Chronicle for its own Dyn. XX, and Anianus having before been short of the Chronicle by 42 years, he is now short by 44.]

[Δυναστεία ΚΑ' Ταυιῶν, γενεῶν ζ'.]

α'. (Gen. lxxv.) Σουσακεῖμ ἔτη λδ'. *Sousakeim*, A.M. 4478+34=4512, to the end of the 2nd of Rehoboam. So that the synchronism of the *fifth* year of Rehoboam is not exhibited. Syncellus, however, has the following note: "Σουσακεῖμ Αἰβνας καὶ Αἰθίοπας καὶ Τρωγλοδύτας παρέλαβε πρὸ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ." Eusebius had only marked the Biblical name and synchronism of "*Sousakeim*" opposite to that Egyptian king, *Smendis*, who seemed to come parallel in his own scheme. But Anianus, in consequence of his having looked chiefly to the sums of the dynasties of the Chronicle, approaches here somewhat nearer to the truth. The notice of the other conquests of Sousakeim seems to be based upon a passage of Josephus, who, being willing to magnify all that relates to his own people, ascribes to Sousakeim the conqueror of Jerusalem the exploits of Sesostris.

β'. (Gen. lxxvi.) Ψούενος ἔτη κέ'. *Psouenos*, A.M. 4512+25=4537, to the end of the (15+3+7=25) 7th of Asa. The name is probably from *Psousenes*, the 2nd king of Dyn. XXI of Africanus and Eusebius, *Sousakeim* having been substituted for his predecessor *Smendes*.

γ'. (Gen. lxxvii.) Ἀμμενῶφης ἔτη θ'. *Ammenophis*, A.M. 4537+9=4546, to the end of the 16th of Asa. The name and the length of the reign are those of the 4th king of Dyn. XXI of Africanus and Eusebius.

δ'. (Gen. lxxviii.) Νεφεχέρης ἔτη ε'. *Nephercheres*, A.M. 4546+6=4552, to the end of the 22nd of Asa. The name is that of the 3rd king of Dyn. XXI of Africanus and Eusebius.

ε'. (Gen. lxxix.) Σαίτης ἔτη ιε'. *Saites*, A.M. 4552+15=4567, to the end of the 37th of Asa. The name is that of the 1st Shepherd king of Dyn. XV of Africanus or XVII of Eusebius. Why it was preferred to that of *Osochor*, which offered itself next in Dyn. XXI of Eusebius, is hard to guess, unless it were desired by varying so many of the names to make the whole series look more like an independent list.

ς'. (Gen. lxxx.) Ψινάχης ἔτη θ'. *Psinaches*, A.M. 4567+9=4576, to the end of the 5th of Jehoshaphat. Anianus here returns to Dyn. XXI of Eusebius, this being the name and reign of its 6th king.

ζ'. (Gen. lxxxi.) Πετουβάστης ἔτη μδ'. *Petubast*, A.M. 4576+44=4620, to the end of the (20+8 of Jehoram+1 of Ahaziah+7 of Athaliah+8=44) 8th of Joash. This name is transposed from the head of Dyn. XXIII of Eusebius, in order that the two remaining names may be left alone with their 19 years to parallel Dyn. XXIII of the Chronicle. But *Psusennes*, the seventh and last name of Dyn. XXI of Africanus and Eusebius is suppressed. For Anianus *Petubast* reigns from his B.C. (5501-4576=) 925 to B.C. 881: nor were there any misgivings at so placing him on account of his former connection with the First Olympiad, which had already been dropped by Eusebius.

[Ὁμοῦ ἔτη τῶν ζ' γενεῶν ρμβ'. A.M. 4478+142=4620. This excess of (142-121=) 21 years over the sum of Dyn. XXI of the Chronicle leaves Anianus now only (44-21=) 23 years short.]

[Δυναστεία ΚΒ' Διοσπολιτῶν, γενεῶν β'.]

α'. (Gen. lxxxi.) Ὁσῶρθων ἔτη θ'. *Osorthon*, A.M. 4620+9=4629, to the end of the 17th of Joash. This is *Osorthon II.*, the apparent successor of *Petubast* and the 2nd king in Dyn. XXII of Eusebius.

β'. (Gen. lxxxiii.) Ψάμμος ἔτη ι'. *Psammus*, A.M. 4629+10=4639, to the end of the 27th of Joash. *Psammus* is the 3rd and last king in Dyn. XXIII of Eusebius, and is intended there also, in conjunction with his predecessor *Osorthon II.*, to represent Dyn. XXIII of the Old Chronicle.

[Ὁμοῦ ἔτη ιθ'. A.M. 4620+19=4639. The dynasty is one with Dyn. XXIII of the Chronicle, only transposed.]

[Δυναστεία ΚΓ' Ταυιτῶν, γενεῶν γ'.]

α'. (Gen. lxxxiv.) Κόγχαρης ἔτη κα'. *Concharis*, A.M. 4639+21=4660, to the end of the (13+8=21) 8th of Amaziah. The name has occurred above for the king in or after whose 5th year the Shepherds are said to have come into Egypt. Here perhaps the name is only a substitute for Σίσογχις or Σισόγχωσις, the head of Dyn. XXII of Eusebius, since the reign of 21 years is clearly the same; and it is used together with the next two following by Anianus, as by Eusebius, to exhibit Dynasty XXII of the Old Chronicle.

β'. (Gen. lxxxv.) Ὁσόρθων ἔτη ιε'. *Osorthon*, A.M. 4660+15=4675, to the end of the 23rd of Amaziah. The 2nd name of Eusebius's Dyn. XXII, as cut down from Dyn. XXII of Africanus.

γ'. (Gen. lxxxvi.) Τακαλωφίς ἔτη ιγ'. *Takeloth*, A.M. 4675+13=4688, to the end of the (6+7=13) 7th of Uzziah. This is the single remaining name and reign of Eusebius's Dyn. XXII, the six anonymous kings of Africanus, whose names are now all known from recent discoveries, being suppressed by Eusebius, and by Anianus after him, in order to make the Dynasty look like Dyn. XXII, whereas it really is Dyn. XXI, of the Chronicle. Anianus, too, in getting rid of Petubast from Dyn. XXIII of Eusebius, thought it better to slip him up into the last place of Dyn. XXI, as if identical with *Psousennes II.*, whose name had occurred before, and whose reign differed by only 5 years, than to make him supplant *Takelothis* the last name of Dyn. XXII of Eusebius, which stood immediately above him, and whose reign of only 13 years could not well be changed. For this reason it was, no doubt, that in his representation of them he transposed the two dynasties XXII and XXIII of the Chronicle. And this he did deliberately. That he also transposed at the same time Dyn. XXI of the Chronicle, and improved upon the chronology, or rather the confusion, of Eusebius, as Eusebius himself had improved upon the dislocations of Manetho, was an accident, of which he was unconscious. So far as the truth of history is concerned Petubast alone ought to have been transposed and *put down* so as to become the first king of Dyn. XXIV, instead of being *put up* so as to become the last either of Dyn. XXII or of Dyn. XXI.

[Ὅμοῦ ἔτη μθ'. A.M. 4639+49=4688. Here Anianus is only (23-1=) 22 years short of the Chronicle.]

[Δυναστεία ΚΔ' Σαίτου ἐνός.]

α'. (Gen. lxxxvii.) Βόκχωρις ἔτη μδ'. Βόκχωρις Αἰγυπτίους ἐνομοθέτει· ἐφ' οὗ λόγος ἀρτίον φεγγασθαι· *Bocchoris*, A.M. 4688+44=4732, to the end of the 51st of Uzziah. Here Anianus agrees with Eusebius and with the Chronicle in the sum of 44 years, but with Eusebius only and with Manetho in making *one* generation instead of *three*. He is still, however, equal in the number of his generations of kings to all the *merely human* generations of the Chronicle (the xv "of the Cycle" being taken in) since he has made in his preceding dynasties of kings (xv+viii)+(iv+iii)+xiv+viii+vii+vii+ii+iii+i, in all that is lxxxvii generations, while the Chronicle, beginning from the xv generations of the Cycle, had made xv+viii+iv[+iv]+xiv+v+viii+vi+iii+ii+iii, amounting in all to the same number of lxxxvii. And Anianus has still in reserve vii out of the xxii *divine* generations of the Chronicle which he has not yet paralleled.

[Σὺν τοῖς προτεταγμένοις δ' ἄλλοι γίνονται ἔτη τοῦ κόσμου ς' ψλβ'. A.M. 4688+44=4732.]

[Δυναστεία ΚΕ' Αἰλιόπων, γενεῶν γ'.]

α'. (Gen. lxxxviii.) Σαβάκων ἔτη ιβ'. Οὗτος τὸν Βόκχωριν αἰχμάλωτον λαβὼν ζῶντα ἔκασεν. *Sabakon*, A.M. 4732+12=4744, to the end of the 11th year of the reign of Jotham.

β'. (Gen. lxxxix.) Σεβήχων ἔτη ιβ' · *Sevichon*, A.M. 4744+12=4756, to the end of the 7th of Ahaz, in B.C. of Anianus 745, scarcely lower than the true date for Sabaco's conquest, and quite too high for any synchronism with years of Hoshea and of Hezekiah. But Eusebius had already disregarded this inconvenience, and had set the capture of Samaria at the end of the 11th year of Ahaz.

γ'. (Gen. xc.) Ταράκης ἔτη κ' · *Tarakes*, A.M. 4756+20=4776, to the end of the 11th of Hezekiah in B.C. 722 of Anianus's reckoning, too high by 3 years to admit the synchronism of Sennacherib and the 14th year of Hezekiah.

[Ομοῦ ἔτη μδ'. A.M. 4732+44=4776. The dynasty agrees with Dyn. XXV of the Chronicle. The subdivision of the reigns is from Eusebius.]

[Δυναστεία ΚΣΤ' Σαῦτῶν, γενεῶν θ'.]

α'. (Gen. xci.) Ἀμαῖς ἔτη λη' · *Amaes*, A.M. 4776+38=4814, to the end of the 20th of Manasseh. The name is from Eusebius, corrupted from Ἀμμερις, the qualification "Αἰθιοψ," which Anianus might think somewhat out of place in a Saite dynasty, being omitted. The reign, too, is altered from 12 to 38 years, and for no intelligible reason, since the 24 years added are all deducted again from the reign of Psammitichus I. a little below.

β'. (Gen. xcii.) Στεφινάθης ἔτη κζ' · *Stephinathis*, A.M. 4814+27=4841, to the end of the 47th of Manasseh. Here again 20 years are added to the 7 of Africanus and Eusebius, and of these too 6 are deducted below from the 44 given by Eusebius to Psammitichus I.: 10 more may be regarded as a clumsy restoration of the 10 years cut off from Psammitichus I. by Eusebius, who properly should have had 54 not 44 years. The 4 still remaining of Africanus's addition to this reign are the restoration of 4 out of 6 years really wanting in the list of Eusebius between the end of Dyn. XXV and the accession of Psammitichus I.; since that list has only 33 years to its first 4 reigns in Dyn. XXVI, whereas the true length of the interval was 39 years.

γ'. (Gen. xciii.) Νεχεψός ἔτη ιγ' · *Nechepsos*, A.M. 4841+13=4854, to the end of the (8+2 of Amon+3=13) 3rd of Josiah. Again 7 years are added to the 6 of Eusebius; and these, after supplying the two still really wanted, would depress the accession of Psammitichus I. by 5 years, if Anianus had begun to parallel the 1881 years of the Chronicle from the same date with it, and had not fallen short in any of the preceding dynasties. But, as when he began Dyn. XXVI he was short by 22 years, his addition of the 5 years just mentioned merely lessens his deficit, and leaves him still short by 17 years.

δ'. (Gen. xciv.) Νεχάω ἔτη η' · *Nechao*, A.M. 4854+8=4862, to the end of the 11th of Josiah. Here the reign is that of Eusebius unaltered.

ε'. (Gen. xcvi.) Ψαμμήτιχος ἔτη ιδ' · *Psammitichus*, A.M. 4862+14=4876, from B.C. of Anianus 639 to B.C. 625. If the additions to the first two reigns were made first, wantonly and thoughtlessly, one can see a reason for now cutting down the reign of Psammitichus I., viz. that so it may end a little before the defeat and death of Josiah. In fact now it is made to end with the 25th year of that king.

ε'. (Gen. xcvi.) Νεχαώ β', Φαραώ, ἔτη θ' · *Nechao II.*, A.M. 4876+9=4885, to the end of the 3rd of Jehoiakim. The title "*Pharao*" is added, because he is so named in the Scripture, in allusion to the synchronism of the last year of Josiah. (That of the 4th of Jehoiakim is barely touched.) Perhaps, also, there is here an allusion to a childish fable of the Jews respecting the use and disuse of this title. The reign lies for Anianus between his B.C. 625 and B.C. 614. It is lengthened from the 6 years of Eusebius to 9 because, if it had had only 6, it would have ended 3 years before the 4th of Jehoiakim began.

ζ'. (Gen. xcvi.) Ψαμουθής ἕτερος, ὁ καὶ Ψαμμήτιχος, ἔτη ιζ' · *Psammouthes* or *Psammitichus II.*, A.M. 4885+17=4902, to the end of the 9th year of Zedekiah in B.C. of Anianus 599. The reign is that of Eusebius unchanged.

η'. (Gen. xcvi.) Οὐαφρις ἔτη λδ' · *Ouaphris*, A.M. 4902+34=4936, to the end of the 32nd of the Captivity. The reign is lengthened by 9 years from the 25 of Eusebius; and it lies for Anianus between his B.C. 599 and B.C. 565, so that its 3rd year is paralleled by him with the 1st of the Captivity. This *ought to have been* the eleventh of Zedekiah; but Anianus, like Eusebius, made the Captivity to begin only with the year following the 11th of Zedekiah. At the same time he made it to end at the last or Median accession of Cyrus, as if that were 70 years later, whereas it was really only (B.C. 588—536=) 52 years below the true commencement of the Captivity. But, as he reckoned 9 years too few to the Persians below the Median accession of Cyrus, his excess above it is reduced by compensation from 18 to 9 years, being 6 more than the excess of Eusebius for the same interval.

θ'. (Gen. xcix.) Ἀμοσις ἔτη ν' · *Amosis*, A.M. 4936+50=4986, B.C. of Anianus 568 to B.C. 515, to the end of the 12th year after the end of the Captivity, which should be also the *sixth* of Cambyses (depressed by 9 years into the place of the 7th of Darius Hystaspes). And hence, perhaps, may have originated that variant in the present text of the Canon of Eusebius, which parallels the *sixth* of Cambyses with the last year of Amasis. The idea of giving 50 years to Amasis may have been taken from Diodorus Siculus, who gives him 56, the odd units being neglected. The true length of the reign was 44 years; and Eusebius gave to it only 42. But Anianus had to fill up the space between the end of the 35th year of the Captivity and the Egyptian accession of Cambyses which could not be put higher than the commencement of his *fifth* Persian year, and which had been put, most probably, by Eusebius at the commencement of his *sixth*. Why Anianus should have put it one year lower still, as he has done by giving 50 years to Amasis, and omitting 9 years of the Persians below, is not easy to guess, unless either that reading of Eusebius which parallels the *sixth* of Cambyses with the last of Amasis were already in existence, or unless it were that he thought the 56 years of Diodorus gave more countenance to a variant of 50 years than they would to 49.

[Ὅμοῦ ἔτη σί' · A.M. 4776+210=4986. Dyn. XXVI of the Chronicle having 177 years, and Anianus having been only 21 years short at its commencement, he wanted only (177+22=) 199 years in order to end this dynasty together with the Chronicle; and his sum of 210 years makes him now to be 11 years in advance.]

Syncellus, after ending Dyn. XXVI, adds the following notice : —“ Ἐως τοῦ ὀβσ' χρόνου ἢ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεία διαρκέσασα ἀπὸ τοῦ ββσ' κοσμικοῦ ἔτους ἐν δυναστείαις ι', βασιλευσὶ δὲ πς', ἔτεσι βσια', κατεστρέφθη ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν.” In this passage the particular statements are all Syncellus's own, and need all of them to be corrected before they can suit the scheme of Anianus from which he had varied. Syncellus made the monarchy to begin from A.M. 2776, and sometimes, as here, though not uniformly, from the beginning of A.M. 2776, which, according to his more usual manner of reckoning, he would call *in* or from A.M. 2775. Syncellus, too, made 86 kings and 2210 or 2211 years. But Anianus began the monarchy 72 years later, from A.M. (2776 + 72 =) 2848, and made only 84 kings with (2210 — 72 =) 2138 years to the end of Dyn. XXVI. Syncellus, too, not understanding exactly how Anianus had made his Manetho to dispose the xxx dynasties, thought that one designation, viz. that of “years of the Cynic Cycle,” was enough for the first 628, or (as he had taken in the 72) the first 700 years after the Dispersion. And, without attending to the fact that these “years of the Cycle” were also called “Dynasty XVI,” he counted those other dynasties which followed, and found that there were ten of them between the first separate series of 700 years and the Persian conquest. But for Anianus we must translate and alter the passage thus : —“ The Egyptian monarchy, having lasted from A.M. (2776 + 72 =) 2848 in *eleven* dynasties under *eighty-four* generations of kings, through a space of (4986 — 2848 =) 2138 years, to the end of A.M. 4986, was now overthrown by the Persians.”

[Δυναστεία ΚΖ' Περσῶν, γενεῶν σ'.]

α'. (Gen. c.) Καμβύσης [ὃς ἔτει σ' τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας Περσῶν κατεστρέψατο τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν αὐτῆς] ἔτη β' · *Cambyses*, A.M. 4986 + 2 = 4988, to Aug. 29 in B.C. 513 for Anianus, the 8th of Cambyses being drawn down by his omission of 9 years below into the place of the 9th of Darius.

β'. (Gen. ci.) Μάγοι ἔτος α' · *The Magi*, A.M. 4988 + 1 = 4989, this year representing here, as with Eusebius, the 1st of Darius drawn down into the place of his 10th, and ending for Anianus in his B.C. 512.

γ'. (Gen. cii.) Δαρεῖος Ὑστάσπου ἔτη λς' · *Darius Hystaspes*, A.M. 4989 + 36 = 5025, ending for Anianus in B.C. 476, the year in which the 9th of Xerxes really ended. The year of the Magi being understood

to represent the 1st of Darius, his 36th here, as with Eusebius, represents the 1st of Xerxes, and the 21st of Xerxes in turn represents the short reign of Artabanus.

δ. (Gen. ciii.) Ξέρξης ὁ μέγας ἔτη κα΄. *Xerxes*, A.M. 5025+21=5046, ending for Anianus in B.C. 455, at the true point for the ending of the 9th of Artaxerxes.

ε. (Gen. civ.) Ἀρταξέρξης ἔτη μ΄. *Artaxerxes*, A.M. 5046+40=5086, ending for Anianus in B.C. 415, at the true point for the ending of the 9th of Nothus.

ς. (Gen. cv.) Δαρεῖος Ξέρξου Νόθος ἐβασίλευσε τὰ πάντα ἔτη ιθ', τῆς δὲ Αἰγύπτου ἔτη ιγ'. A.M. 5086+13=5099, ending for Anianus in B.C. 402, the true point for the ending of the 3rd of Artaxerxes Mnemon; so that thus the Persian Dyn. XXVII of Anianus ends at the same point chronologically with the Persian Dyn. XXVIII of the Old Chronicle.

[Ομοῦ ἔτη ριγ'. A.M. 4986+113=5099. Between the beginning of the 5th of Cambyses, the 1st year of Dyn. XXVIII of the Chronicle, and the end of the 3rd of Artaxerxes Mnemon, which is its last, there are really 124 years. And Anianus having been 11 years in advance of the Chronicle at the beginning of his corresponding Dyn. XXVII, and having in this dynasty itself 113, has now exhibited or paralleled within their true limits, though not under their true designations, the same 124 years of the Chronicle.]

[Δυναστεία ΚΗ' Σαῖτου ἐνός.]

α. (Gen. cvi.) [Τῷ γ' ἔτει Δαρείου Νόθου βασιλείας Περσῶν] Ἀμυρταῖος ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου ἔτη ς'. *Amyrtaeus*, A.M. 5099+6=5105, ending for Anianus in B.C. 396, with the 19th of Nothus depressed into the place of the 9th of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Having consolidated Dyn. XXVII of the Chronicle with its Dyn. XVII in his vii Shepherds above, Anianus had made room for this substitute of Manetho's introducing in lieu of Dyn. XXVII of the Chronicle below, and was under no necessity of varying the numeration of the intervening dynasties. The 6 years given to this Dyn. XXVIII leave only (57-6=) 51 years of the 1881 of the Chronicle to be still accounted for. And, as regards the generations, Anianus, having already placed in Dyn. XXVI two, in XXVII one, and here again in XXVIII one more generation unknown to the Chronicle, has still remaining of those seven which he held in reserve three unplaced; and these, as well as four others belonging to Dynasties XXIX and XXX of the Chronicle, he has still to place.

[Δυναστεία ΚΘ' Μενδησίων γενεῶν δ'.]

α. (Gen. cvii.) Νεφερίτης ἔτη ς'. *Nepherites*, A.M. 5105+6=5111, ending for Anianus in his B.C. 390.

β. (Gen. cviii.) Ἀχωρίς ἔτη ιβ'. *Achoris*, A.M. 5111+12=5123, ending for Anianus in his B.C. 378. Hence perhaps the present variant of only 12 years for Achoris in the Canon of Eusebius.

γ. (Gen. cix.) Ψαμμουθῆς ἔτος α'. *Psammouthis*, A.M. 5123+1=5124, ending for Anianus in his B.C. 377.

δ. (Gen. cx.) Νεφερίτης ἔτος α'. *Nepherites*, A.M. 5124+1=5125, ending for Anianus in his B.C. 376.

[Ομοῦ τῶν δ' γενεῶν ἔτη κ' · A.M. 5105 + 20 = 5125 ; leaving still (51 — 20 =) 31 years of the 1881 and .iii generations of the cxiii of the Chronicle to be accounted for.]

[Δυναστεία Α' Σεβεννυτῶν, γενεῶν γ'.]

α'. (Gen. cxi.) Νεκτανέβης ἔτη η' · A.M. 5125 + 8 = 5133, ending for Anianus in his B.C. 368.

β'. (Gen. cxii.) Τέως ἔτη β' · A.M. 5133 + 2 = 5135, ending for Anianus in his B.C. 366.

γ'. (Gen. cxiii.) Νεκτανέβης β' ἔτη ε' · A.M. 5135 + 6 = 5141, ending for Anianus in his B.C. 360.

[Ομοῦ ἔτη ιε' · A.M. 5125 + 16 = 5141, that is, to the end of A.M. 5141, or to Aug. 28 in B.C. 360 of Anianus, and (when his suppression of 8 years before A.D. 284 is rectified) in B.C. 360 also of the vulgar era.]

The remaining 15 of the 1881 years of the regal dynasties of the Chronicle are cut off and transferred from the native Egyptian kings of Dyn. XXX to the Persians, in order that Nectanebo II. may fly from Egypt in time to become the father of Alexander. And between B.C. 360, where we now are, and B.C. 336, the date for the Macedonian accession of Alexander, the interval is 24 years, being two or three more than were absolutely needed. And so, if the Manetho of Anianus had exhibited a thirty-first dynasty, which he did not, his Dyn. XXXI, instead of the 16 years of Eusebius (and they were one too many) would have had (16 + 14 =) 30 years, the Egyptian reign of Ochus being made to begin with that year which was really the 6th from his first Persian accession as associated with his father, and the last, that is the 46th, of his father's whole life and reign. But, as Anianus cut down the whole reign of Artaxerxes from 46 to 40 years, and suppressed between him and Ochus 9 years in all, the 1st year of Ochus in Egypt would be for him the 37th of Artaxerxes, and Ochus would appear to have reduced Egypt 4 years before the death of his father. And after 21 (or nominally only 20) years of Ochus, and 3 (or nominally 4) years of Arses, and 6 of Darius Codomannus, the "cosmocracy" of Alexander would commence for Anianus after the end of his A.M. 5141 + 30 = 5171 in his B.C. 330, which is in fact the true date.

The Egyptian scheme of Anianus has now been exhibited; and it has been shown how he contrived, by his methods of

reduction, to make the 36,525 mixed and nominal years of the Old Chronicle agree with his own chronology. For, if we recapitulate, his own first 1058 are given as equivalent to 12,696 of the years of the Chronicle: his next 968 years and 208 days, reckoned as 969 years, are made, by a peculiar artifice, to account for 11,984: the 215 years still remaining to his epoch of the Flood (or in strictness 214 of them and 6 months) represent 2574 more: and below the Flood his 534 years to the Dispersion having absorbed ($6349 + 59 =$) 6408, the whole sum of years of the Chronicle reduced by him amounts to ($12,696 + 11,984 + 2574 + 6408 =$) 33,662. And when these are deducted from the 36,525 of the ἀποκατάστασις, there remain still 2863 of the years of the Chronicle to be accounted for. Of these 72 having been allowed for the interval between the settlement of Egypt and Menes, and 427 more having been given to kings before coming to those 1881 which are reckoned to the monarchy in the last xv dynasties of the Chronicle, and lastly these 1881 also having been paralleled (though the last 15 of them are transferred from the native Egyptians to the Persians), these sums together make ($72 + 427 + 1881 =$) 2380 years; and there remain only ($36,525 - 33,662 = 2863 - 2380 =$) 483 years. And these are the same 483 which in the Chronicle were thrown up, 40 of them to the times of the Gods, and 443, under a separate designation of “xv generations of the Cycle,” to a place between the Demigods and Menes; but which for Anianus, by the mere fact that they are left to the end of his Egyptian scheme, and are alone not accounted for before, are restored to their true place, beginning from that point where the last of his years above enumerated ends, and ending consequently themselves with *his* 2nd year of Antoninus Pius, which contained the Sothic epoch, whether ostensibly depressed or understood at its true astronomical and historical place, so as to end (*for him*) with Aug. 28 in A.D. 139 of the vulgar era.

It remains only to compare the Egyptian reckoning of full but vague years underlying the xxv nominal cycles of the Old Chronicle, and in one way or other underlying all the six purely Egyptian schemes which have been examined

in this work, with the sum of fixed Alexandrian years equal to Julian made out by Anianus.

The whole sum of full but vague years underlying the 36,525 nominal years of the Chronicle was 5844, or *four* Sothic cycles, equal in length to 5840 fixed Alexandrian or Julian or Canicular years, beginning with July 20 in the anticipated and uncorrected Julian year B.C. ($1322 + 1460 + 1460 + 1460 =$) 5702, which is 341 vague years before the Egyptian epoch of Cronus or Adam, and ending with July 19 in A.D. 139 of the vulgar era. To have agreed then not in pretence only but in truth with the Egyptian chronology of human time, Anianus or any other author ought to have had a reckoning of $(5840 - 341 =)$ 5499 fixed Alexandrian years from Aug. 29 in B.C. ($5702 - 341 =$) 5361 to Aug. 28 in A.D. 139 of the vulgar era, or of 5500 from Aug. 29 in B.C. 5362, since the Egyptians cut off 7 or 8 months reckoned by the Hebrews at the commencement of true human time in order to make time begin with Thoth 1 of their own movable year, which about their epoch of the Creation (B.C. 5362 and 5361) was not in the autumn but in April. It is certainly remarkable that 5500 Canicular or anticipated Julian years, the sum made by several Christian writers, and by means of various erroneous reckonings, to the Nativity, should have been meanwhile the true sum underlying the Egyptian Chronicles, though ending in truth not at the time of the Nativity, but (according to the vulgar era) 138 years later.

Instead, however, of 5500 years to Aug. 29 in A.D. 139, or at least after *his* 2nd year of Antoninus Pius, or $(5500 - 138 =)$ 5362 to Aug. 28 ending his 43rd year of Augustus, Anianus made 5639 to Aug. 28 ending his 2nd year of Antoninus and 5501 to Aug. 28 ending his 43rd year of Augustus containing the Nativity. So according to Egyptian tradition at least, and according to the reckoning of Josephus and the Scriptures as harmonised above in this work, he made just $(5501 - 5362 =)$ 139 fixed Alexandrian years too many between the Creation and the end of the 43rd of Augustus or the end of *his* 2nd of Antoninus Pius; though, as either below or above this epoch the dropped 8 years, the Coptic and Abyssinian Churches, which still follow his reckoning, exceed

upon the whole not by 139 but only by 131 years, making that year of theirs which commenced with their Aug. 30 in A.D. 1859 to be A.M. $(5501 + 1850 =)$ 7352. But according to the reckoning of the Egyptian Chronicles, and with the 7 or 8 months cut off by them restored, the year which began with Aug. 30 or Sept. 1 in A.D. 1859 is the year of the world 7221 now current.

The true reduction of the nominal and mixed years of the Chronicle, of which Anianus seems to have had no idea, was not by any means a simple operation, but required several distinct processes. First, it was necessary to distinguish and to eject and put down to their true place the $(40 + 443 =)$ 483 full but vague years of the last cycle of the Chronicle which in it were thrown up above Menes. And this Anianus has certainly done. Then there were the 341 full but fictitious or cosmical years added in all such Egyptian schemes as were cyclical in order to make time seem to have begun from the Sothic epoch of July 20 B.C. 5702: and these ought to have been simply ejected and suppressed, as we find them to be in those of the Egyptian schemes (viz. that preserved by Diogenes Laertius and that of the original Manetho) which were not cyclical. But Anianus retains and accounts for all these years, reducing 59 of them as months of 30 days each, and reckoning all the rest, being 282 in number, as full years. Thirdly, it was necessary to know not only that the great bulk, viz. $(30,681 + 2922 =)$ 33,603 of the $(36,525 - 483 = 36,042 - 341 =)$ 35,701 years of the Chronicle still remaining had been *originally* months of 30 days, 12 of which (the *epagomenæ* being understood to go with them) made one full vague year, but also that in the scheme of the Chronicle the 33,603 nominal years in question had *ceased to be* months. In the older hieratic scheme, indeed, when there were not 33,603 only, but 35,064 of them, nothing was needed but to divide by 12 in order to obtain their value in full years. But after 1461, or one nominal cycle of them, had been suppressed by the author of the Chronicle in order to make room for the current cycle of full historical years which had been growing since the Sothic epoch of B.C. 1322, without changing the

number of XXV cycles previously connected with the idea of an ἀποκατάστασις, the 33,603 nominal years still retained in the Chronicle represented no longer only one month each of 30 days (irrespective of the epagomenæ) but one month and $\frac{1}{2 \cdot 3}$ rd of a month. And to reduce them to full vague years the simplest method would have been to restore that portion, viz. $\frac{1}{2 \cdot 3}$ rd of the 33,603 of the Chronicle, or $\frac{1}{2 \cdot 4}$ th of the original sum of 35,064 of the older hieratic scheme, by the abstraction of which the 33,603 had ceased to be really months. For if one adds to 33,603 one 23rd part, viz. 1461, and then divides $(33,603 + 1461 =) 35,064$ by 12, the quotient 2922 is the true value of the 33,603 nominal years of the Chronicle. And these, with 217 of the Demigods, 1881 of kings from Menes to the flight of Nectanebo, and 483 of the Cycle begun in B.C. 1322 which were still to run out after the conquest of Ochus, make together a sum of 5503 full but vague years ending with July 19 in A.D. 139, just after the 1st year of Antoninus Pius. The next step is to reduce these vague years to terms of the year employed by the reducer, which for us has been the anticipated but uncorrected Julian, as being equivalent to the Canicular or natural year of the old Egyptians. For Anianus it would have been the fixed Alexandrian year. And in either case there would be 4 years fewer to be reckoned in fixed than in vague years, viz. 5499 instead of 5503, beginning whether with July 20 or Aug. 29 in B.C. $(5499 - 138 =) 5361$ of the anticipated and uncorrected Julian year B.C. of the vulgar era, and ending whether with July 19 or Aug. 28 in or with *his* 2nd of Antoninus Pius, that is, in A.D. 139 of the vulgar era. Lastly, since the original reckoning of the Egyptians or of their forefathers, and that of Adam himself, could not be supposed to have begun exactly with the first day of the movable Egyptian Thoth, any more than it could be supposed to have begun exactly from the year of a Sothic epoch, and the sacred Scriptures and the Hebrew and Christian tradition began their earlier reckoning not from April but from September, and made 7 or 8 months more at the head of human time than did the Egyptian reckoning expressed in terms of the movable year and of the Sothic Cycle, which began with

April 26 in B.C. 5361, it would have been proper to restore and prefix these 7 or 8 months cut off by the Egyptians. And so, by these processes, the 36,525 mixed and nominal, or 5844 full but vague, and in part fictitious, years of the Chronicle would have been reduced *legitimately*, and would have been found to indicate the sum of 5500 fixed Alexandrian years ending with Aug. 28 in A.D. 139 or of 5362 ending with Aug. 28 in A.D. 1 of the vulgar era.

The extent to which Anianus exceeds the true reckoning has been already noticed in describing his sacred chronology; and now that the Egyptian scheme of the Chronicle, on being compared with his reduction of it, has indicated the number of 139 years as needing retrenchment in his chronography, it may not be superfluous to repeat the items of which the excess noticed in his sacred scheme was made up. First, there were the 130 years of the second Cainan, reduced by compensation to 110 by a deficiency of 20 on the 2262 years before the Flood. Then 2 improperly added to Joshua, and 8 to the Elders who outlived him, made 120: and 8 too many given to Samuel, reduced to 6 by compensation by the cutting off of 2 from Jair, increased the excess to 126. The 4 surplus years of the kings brought it up to 130. And lastly, 18 years too many being reckoned between the commencement of the Captivity and the last or Median accession of Cyrus, and only half of these being compensated by the suppression of 9 years between Artaxerxes Mnemon and Ochus below, the total excess was shown to amount to 139 years. And this is the same number by which the Egyptian reckoning of human time really underlying the Old Chronicle has now been found to fall short of that obtained from it in appearance by Anianus by his proffered scheme of reduction.

A HARMONY OF SACRED AND EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

* For reckoning in fixed Alexandrian or other like years beginning 3 or 4 months earlier than these Tables, from the Creation itself, add one unit in Col. A.M. for every event *later*, and in Col. B.C. for every event *earlier* than Aug. 29. Also note that the letters b. and e. stand for "begin" and "end" within the year A.M. and B.C. with which they are connected.

A. M. = B. C. beginning from Jan. 1.*		SACRED HISTORY.	Egyptian movable yr.	EGYPTIAN CHRONICLES.	Begins from	
1	5361	2nd of Adam begins in Autumn. (Hence 2261 to end of Flood.)	1	342nd of Cycle I., Dyn. II. of Cro- nus (XIII Gods in 2922 years) b.	Apr. 26.	β'
1120	4242	161st of Jared begins in Sept.	1121	1st of Cycle II. begins	July 20.	α'
1662	3700	1st of Noah (600+350), b. in Sept.	1663	543rd of Cycle II. b.	Feb. 7.	
2262	3100	600th of Noah ends in Sept.	2264	1144th of Cycle II. b.	Oct. 8.	
[The 35,064 months of the Egyptians are divided after 27,162, equal to 2263 movable years and 6 months, or 2262 fixed years, which end at Apr. 5 in the movable A.M. 2264, but in the fixed A.M. 2263, B.C. 2999; that is, they end half a year too low, because they began also, with the Egyptian movable year 1, half a year or more too low.]						
2263	3099	1st Arphaxad (135) begins in the Spring or Summer.	2265	1145th b.	Oct. 8.	
2398	2064	1st Salah (130) b. in Spring.	2400	1280th b.	Sept. 4.	
2528	2834	1st Eber (134) b.	2530	1410th b.	Aug. 2.	
2580	2782	53rd Eber b.	2582	1st of Cycle III. begins	July 20.	α'
2662	2700	1st Peleg (130) b. in Spring.	2664	83rd b.	June 30.	
2762	2600	101st Peleg b. in Spring: 600th Shem ends in Sept.	2764	183rd b.	June 5.	
2792	2570	1st Reu (132) b. in Spring.	2794	213th b.	May 28	
2921	2441	130th Reu b.	2923	312nd of Cycle III. (The last 7902 months end). Dyn. XV of VIII Demigods (217 years) begins.	Apr. 26.	β'
2921	2438	1st Serug (130) b.	2926	345th of Cycle, 4th of Demigods.	Apr. 25	
3054	2308	1st Nahor (79) b.	3056	475th of Cycle, 34th of Demigods.	Mar. 24.	γ'
3133	2229	1st Terah (70) b.	3135	554th of Cycle, 113th of Demigods.	Mar. 4.	
3138	2224	6th Terah b.	3140	559th of Cycle III., 1st of Menes; Dyn. XVI, VIII Tanites (190) b.	Mar. 3.	
3203	2159	1st Abraham (75+130 or 100) b.	3205	66th of Tanites.	Feb. 15.	δ'
3217	2145	15th begins about the season of Easter.	3219	80th of Tanites. 1st of Dyn. X Man. III Afr. of ix Memphites (214).	Feb. 11.	
3230	2132	28th of Abraham b.	3232	93rd of Tanites. 1st of Dyn. XIII Man. VI Afr. of vi Central Memphites (181).	Feb. 8.	
3235	2127	33rd of Abraham, b.	3237	98th of Tanites. 1st of Dyn. XIV Man. XI of Afr. of xvi Diospo- lites (380 ?)	Feb. 7.	
3278	2084	76th of Abraham b. The Call.	3280	141st of Tanites.	Jan. 27.	γ'
3289	2073	87th Abr. 1st of Ishmael b. in Spring.	3291	152nd of Tanites = 2nd of life of Papa Maire (100).	Jan. 24.	
3302	2060	100th Abr. b. Sodom destroyed.	3304	164th of Tanites.	Jan. 21.	
3303	2059	1st of Isaac (60) b.	3305	165th of Tanites.	Jan. 21.	

HARMONY OF SACRED AND EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY. 897

A.M. = B.C. beginning from Jan. 1.		SACRED HISTORY.	Egyptian moveable yr.	EGYPTIAN CHRONICLES.	Begins from
3328	2034	26th of Isaac begins in Spring.	3330	1st of Dyn. XVII. of iv Memphite generations (103). Sakhoura (17). See p. 312.	Jan. 14.
3345	2017	43rd.	3347	1st of Snefrou (22).	Jan. 10 ⁴ .
3355	2007	53rd.	3357	9th of Snefrou. [About March 6	Jan. 8.
in this year, the Shepherds of Dyn. XVII of Man. (XV of Afric.) settle in the Delta, and remain 259 years 10m.]					
3363	1999	1st of Jacob (121) b.	3365	17th of Snefrou.	Jan. 6.
3367	1995	5th.	3369	1st of Papa Maire (21).	Jan. 5.
3374	1988	12th. [Abraham aged 175 died in B.C. 1984.]	3376	1st of Dyn. XV of Man. (XIIAfric.) viii Diospolites (191).	Jan. 3.
3383	1979	21st of Jacob b.	3386	804th of Cycle III. } begin both in	Jan. 1. δ'.
3383	1979	21st of Jacob is current.	3387	805th of Cycle III. } same fixed yr.	Dec. 31. α'.
3387	1975	25th.	3390	1 yr. of Meranre begins.	Dec. 30.
3388	1974	26th.	3391	1st of Sesortasen I. (42) b.	Dec. 30.
3430	1932	68th.	3433	1st of Dyn. XXVII of the Shepherds after taking Memphis. Also 1st of Dyn. XI of Manetho (IV Africanus), of viii tributary Memphites (with 178 yrs.), and of Dyn. XII of Manetho (V Afric.) of ix "Elephantinites" (Heliopolites) with 183 ? yrs.; perhaps the 23rd yr. of the (xxxvi in Man., lxxvi in Afric. cxliiii + xix = clxii in Papyr.) Nubian and Heracleopolite commandant kings of Dyn. XVI of Manetho. (XIV of Afric.) This same year is then the 14th of the Shepherd Apachnas who reigned (13+23=) 36 years, and the 1st of Amenemhe II. who reigned in the Thebaid 23 years.]	Dec. 20.
3453	1909	91st of Jacob b.	3456	1st of Apophis (61) and 1st of Sesortasen II. in the Thebaid (19) b.	Dec. 14.
3454	1908	92nd Jac. and 1st of Joseph (110) b.	3457	2nd of Apophis b.	Dec. 14.
3471	1891	109th Jacob and 18th of Joseph. b.	3474	18th of Apophis b.	Dec. 10.
3473	1889	111th Jacob and 20th of Joseph b.	3476	20th of Apophis, and 1st of Sesortasen III. (36) b.	Dec. 9.
3481	1881	119th Jacob and 28th of Joseph b. [Isaac aged 180 dies in B.C. 1879.]	3484	28th of Apophis, and 9th of Sesort. (aft. Nubian vict. in his 8th) b.	Dec. 7.
3484	1878	122nd Jac. and 31st of Joseph, the 1st yr. of Joseph's government (80) b.	3487	31st of Apophis (Jos. now viceroy), and 12th of Sesortasen III. in the Thebaid begin.	Dec. 6.
3493	1869	40th Jos. (131st Jac.) 3rd of fam. b	3496	40th of Apophis and 21st of Sesortasen III. who now becomes the vassal of Apophis. 63rd year of Dyn. XI of Manetho, (IV of Afric.) The Great Pyramid of Cheops is now building.	Dec. 4.
3509	1853	56th of Joseph (147th Jacob) b.	3512	56th Apophis; 1st Amenemhe III. (43) who builds the Labyrinth b	Nov. 30. β'.
3515	1847	62nd.	3518	1st of Janias (50); 7th Amen. III. b	Nov. 29.
3552	1810	99th.	3555	38th Janias; 1st Amen. IV. (8) b	Nov. 20.
3560	1802	107th.	3563	46th Janias; 1st Scemiophris (4) b	Nov. 18.
3564	1798	1st after death of Joseph (144) b.	3567	50th Janias.	Nov. 16.
3565	1797	2nd.	3568	1st of Aseth (50).	Nov. 16.
3582	1780	19th. [Pachon 1 = Solstice, July 10.]	3575	18th. Calendar and seasons agree.	Nov. 12.
3614	1748	51st. [2nd of Apophis II. at Avaris (5) b.].	3617	1st of Dyn. XVIII (348) Amosis, from his coronation at Memphis 24.4m? (technically 24) b.	Nov. 4.
3628	1734	65th from death of Joseph and 1st of Moses (120) b.	3631	15th of Amosis b.	Oct. 31. α'.
3638	1724	11th of Moses b.	3641	1st of Amenoph I. (13) b.	Oct. 29.
3651	1711	24th.	3654	1st Thothmes I. Chebron 7.7m(7) b	Oct. 26.
3658	1704	31st.	3661	1st of Aahmes, widow of Thothmes I. as regent for Hatasu and Thothmes III. 5.1m ? + 16.8m ? of Hatasu = 21.9m The (6) yrs. of Aahmes are antedated technically by 11m.	Oct. 24.

A.M. = B.C. beginning from Jan. 1.		SACRED HISTORY.	Egyptian move- able yr.	EGYPTIAN CHRONICLES.	Begins from
3664	1698	37th of Moses begins in Spring.	3667	1st of Hatasu (Ramakar) with Thothmes II. 16.8m? (16).	Oct. 22.
3668	1694	41st b. Flight of Moses.	3671	4th.	Oct. 21.
3680	1682	53rd.	3683	1st of Thothmes III. alone 21.9m. +12+12.9m = 47.6m. (26) b.	Oct. 18.
3706	1656	79th.	3709	1st Amenoph II. 25.10m. (26) b.	Oct. 12.
3708	1654	81st begins. The Exodus, Apr. 5.	3711	3rd.	Oct. 11.
3732	1630	105th.	3735	1st of Thothmes IV. 9.8m. (10) b.	Oct. 5.
3741	1621	114th.	3744	1st Amenoph III. { Memnon (37) b. 30.10m + 6 yrs.?	Oct. 3.
3748	1614	1st of Joshua (25) b.	3751	8th.	Oct. 1.
3773	1589	1st of Elders (10) b.	3776	33rd.	Sept. 25. β' .
3778	1584	6th.	3781	1st of Chousan-Atin 15.3m? (16) b.	Sept. 24.
3783	1579	1st of Servitude to Chushan (8) b.	3786	6th.	Sept. 23.
3794	1568	4th of Othniel (40) b.	3797	1st of Horus 36.5m (31 ? including some yrs. of Amon-Anchut; or 36.5m, including also the last 5 or 6 yrs of Chousan?) b.	Sept. 20.
3825	1537	35th of Othniel b.	3828	1st of Q. Achenchre 12.1m. (12) b.	Sept. 12.
3831	1531	1st of Servitude to Eglon (18) b.	3834	7th.	Sept. 11.
3837	1525	7th.	3840	1st of Rathotis (9) b.	Sept. 9.
3846	1516	16th.	3849	1st of Achenchres I. 12.5m. (12) b.	Sept. 7.
3849	1513	1st of Ehud and Shamgar (80) b.	3852	4th.	Sept. 6.
3858	1504	10th.	3861	1st of Achenchres II. 12.3m. (13) b.	Sept. 4.
3871	1491	23rd.	3874	1st of Armais [Ramessou] 4.1m (4) b.	Sept. 1.
3875	1487	27th.	3878	1st of Rameses [Seti I.] 1.4m. (1) b.	Aug. 31. δ' .
3876	1486	28th.	3879	1st of Armeses Miammous [Rame- ses II.] 66.2m. (66) b.	Aug. 30.
3929	1433	1st of Servitude to Jabin (20) b.	3932	54th.	Aug. 17.
3942	1420	14th.	3945	1st of Amenoph { [Merienphtha] 19.6m. (20) b.	Aug. 14.
3949	1413	1st of Deborah (40) b.	3952	8th.	Aug. 12.
3962	1400	14th.	3965	1st of Dyn. XIX. (194). Seti II. (59, including Amon-Meses and Siphthah) b.	Aug. 9.
3989	1373	1st of Servitude to Midian (7) b.	3992	28th.	Aug. 2.
3996	1366	1st of Gideon (40) b.	3999	35th.	July 31. α' .
4021	1341	26th.	4024	1st of Amen-Necht (20) b.	July 25.
4036	1326	1st of Abimelech (3) b.	4039	16th.	July 21.
4039	1323	1st of Tola (23) b.	4042	19th.	July 21.
4040	1322	2nd.	4043	20th. 1st of Cycle IV. b.	July 20. α' .
4041	1321	3rd.	4044	1st Rameses III. (46). See p. 223.	July 20.
4062	1300	1st of Jair (22) b.	4065	22nd.	July 15.
4084	1278	1st of Servitude to Ammon (18) b.	4087	44th.	July 9.
4087	1275	4th.	4090	1st of v sons of Rameses III. (52). See p. 225.	July 9.
4102	1260	1st of Jephthah (6) b.	4105	16th.	July 5.
4108	1254	1st of Ibzan (7) b.	4111	22nd.	July 3.
4115	1247	1st of Elon (10) b.	4118	29th.	July 2. β' .
4125	1237	1st of Abdon (8) b.	4128	39th.	June 29.
4133	1229	1st of Philistines (40, including 20 of Samson) b. [Assyrian Empire begins acc. to Herodotus and lasts 520 yrs.]	4136	47th.	June 27.
4139	1223	7th of Philistines b.	4142	1st of Rameses X. (17, of which the first 7 conjointly with Rameses IX. Siphthah). See p. 227.	June 26.
4150	1212	18th. [Troy acc. to Dicæarchus and Manetho περί Παλῦβου ἢ Νεῖλου.] 11th b.			June 23.

HARMONY OF SACRED AND EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY. 899

A.M. = B.C. beginning from Jan. 1.		SACRED HISTORY.		Egyptian moveable yr.	EGYPTIAN CHRONICLES.	Begins from
4156	1206	24th of Philistines b.		4159	1st of Dyn. XX (228) Rameses XI. XII. XIII. in ii generat. (49?)	June 21.
4173	1189	1st of Eli (40) b.		4176	18th.	June 17.
4205	1157	33rd.		4208	1st of Rameses XIV. (34 ?) b.	June 9.
4213	1149	1st of Ark at Kiriath-Jearim(20)b.		4216	9th.	June 7.
4230	1132	18th.		4233	26th. [Ark of Chons sent to Bakh- [tan?]	June 3.
4233	1129	1st of Samuel (32) b.		4236	29th.	June 2.
4239	1123	7th.		4242	1st of Rameses XV? and Her-Hor Si-amon, Gener. iv (15 ?) b.	June 1.
4254	1108	22nd.		4257	1st of Gen. v. Her-Hor and his son Pianch, and perhaps a Rameses (37?) b.	May 28. γ'.
4265	1097	1st of Saul (20+20=40) b.		4268	12th.	May 25.
4285	1077	21st, or 1st of Saul alone(hence 490 yrs. to the Captivity) b.		4288	32nd.	May 20.
4291	1071	27th.		4294	1st yr. of 3 more gener. of descend- ants of Her-Hor, viz. Pinetem I, Ra-men-cheper, and Pinetem II.(93 yrs.?). See p. 238.	May 19.
4305	1057	1st of David b.		4308	15th.	May 15.
4345	1017	1st of Solomon b.		4348	55th.	May 5.
4348	1014	4th. Temple founded.		4351	58th.	May 4.
4355	1007	11th. Temple completed.		4358	65th.	May 3.
4384	978	40th.		4387	1st of Dyn. XXI.vi Tanite-Bubas- tites (121). Shishonk I. (21) b.	April 25. α'.
4385	977	1st Rehoboam (17)	1st Jeroboam (22).	4388	2nd.	April 25.
4402	960	1st Abijah (3) b.	18th.	4405	15th.	April 21.
4405	957	1st Asa (41) b.	21st.	4408	1st of Osorthon (15) b.	April 20.
4406	956	2nd.	1st Nadab (2) b.	4409	2nd.	April 20.
4407	955	3rd.	1st Baasha (24) b.	4410	3rd.	April 20.
4419	943	15th b. In 3rd m.	spoils offered.]	4422	15th.	April 17.
4430	932	26th.	1st Elah (2) b.	4433	47th of Dyn. XXI b. See p. 244.	April 14.
4431	931	27th.	1st Omri (12) b.	4434	48th.	April 14.
4435	927	31st.	5th b. Samaria fd.	4438	52nd.	April 13.
4442	920	38th.	1st Ahab (22) b.	4445	59th.	April 11.
4446	916	1st Jehosaphat (25)	4th e. and 5th b.	4449	63rd.	April 10.
4464	898	19th.	1st Ahaziah (2).	4467	81st.	April 5.
4466	896	21st.	1st Joram (12).	4469	83rd.	April 5.
4470	892	25. 1st Jehoram (8)	4th e. and 5th b.	4473	87th.	April 4.
4477	885	1st Ahaziah (1) b.	12th [93rd yr.] b.	4480	94th.	April 2.
4478	884	1st Athaliah (6) b.	1st Jehu (28) b.	4481	95th.	April 2.
4484	878	1st Joash (40) b.	7th.	4487	101st.	Mar. 31. α'.
4505	857	22nd.	28th.	4508	1st of Dyn. XXII (48) b. iii Tanite generations. See p. 244.	Mar. 26.
4506	856	23rd.	1st Jehoahaz (17)	4509	2nd.	Mar. 26.
4522	840	39th.	1st Jehoash (16).	4525	18th.	Mar. 22.
4524	838	1 & 2 Amaziah (29).	3rd.	4527	20th.	Mar. 21.
4538	824	15th.	1st Jerobo. II (41).	4541	34th.	Mar. 18.
4553	809	1 & 2 Uzziah (52).	16th.	4556	1st of Dyn. XXIII (19) ii Diospol. generat. Osorchon IV. (9) b.	Mar. 14.
4562	800	10th.	25th.	4565	1st of Psammis (10) b. See p. 246.	Mar. 12.
4572	790	20th.	35th.	4575	1st of Dyn. XXIV (44) iii Saite generations, Petubast, Zet, Bocchoris. See p. 246.	Mar. 9.

A.M. = B.C. beginning from Jan. 1.		SACRED HISTORY.		Egyptian move- able yr.	EGYPTIAN CHRONICLES.	Begins from
4579	783	27th of Uzziab b.	1st of Interregn. (1 yrs.) b. July 1.]	4582	8th.	Mar. 8
4586	776	34th [Olymp. 1.		4589	15th of Petubast b.	Mar. 6.
4590	772	38th.	Zechariah 6m.	4593	19th.	Mar. 5.
4591	771	39th.[Menahem is vassal to Pul.]	Shallum 1m. Me- nahem 10 yrs.	4594	20th.	Mar. 5.
4602	760	50th.	1st Pekaiah (2).	4605	31st.	Mar. 2.
4604	758	52nd.	1st Pekah (20).	4607	33rd.	Mar. 1.
4605	757	1st of Jotham (15.6m ?)]		4608	34th.	Mar. 1.
4609	753	5th. [Rome founded April 21].		4612	38th.	Feb. 28. β'
4615	747	11th. [Era of Nabonassar].		4618	44th.	Feb. 26.
4616	746	12th.	13th.	4619	1st of Dyn. XXV (44) iii Ethio- pian generations. See p. 580.	Feb. 26.
4621	741	1st Ahaz (15.6m?)	18th[TiglathPil.]	4624	6th of Sabaco (18).	Feb. 25.
4624	738	4th.	1st Interregnum (9 yrs. imperf.)	4627	9th.	Feb. 24.
4634	728	14th.	2nd Hosea (9) b.	4637	1st of Sevechus (14).	Feb. 22.
4636	726	1st Hezekiah(29).	5th.	4639	3rd. [In 5th Hosea v. Salmanezer.]	Feb. 21.
4641	721	6th b.	Samaria taken (after 256 yrs).	4644	8th.	Feb. 20.
4648	714	13th.		5651	1st of Tirhakah (12+19 = 31 ?).	Feb. 18.
4649	713	14th. Sickness of Hezekiah.		5652	2nd.	Feb. 18.
4660	702	25th.		5663	13th. 1st of Dyn. XXVI (177), vii Saite generations. See p. 584.	Feb. 15.
4665	697	1st of Manasseh (55) b.		5668	18th 6th of Kasto in Thebaid(19?)	Feb. 17.
4679	683	15th.		5682	1st of Ammeris and Piankh (20 ?).	Feb. 11.
4699	663	35th.		5702	1st Psammitichus I. (54).	Feb. 6.
4720	642	1st of Amon (2) b.		4723	22nd.	Jan. 31. α'
4722	640	1st of Josiah (31) b.		4725	24th.	Jan. 31.
4753	609	31st e. Jehoahaz 3m. 10 ^d to Oct. 16? Jehoiakim 11 [10.5m ?]		5756	1st of Necho (15).	Jan. 23.
4756	606	3rd e. [Nineveh taken. From Sept. 1 in this yr. to about July 23, A.D. 637, are 1260 years of 360 days each, i.e. perhaps from the first association of Nebuchadnezzar.]				Jan. 22.
4757	605	4th e. 70 yrs. of Daniel's Captivity b.	1st of Nebuch. in Syria (44). Carchemish.			Jan. 22.
4758	604	5th e. 1st of Nebuchadnezzar from death of his father. Canon Astron. (43) b.				Jan. 22.
4764	598	Jeconias 3m. 1st Zedekiah (11) b.	4767	12th.		Jan. 20.
4768	594	5th b. on 5th of 4th month, June 21.	4771	1st of Psammitichus II. (6).		Jan. 19.
4774	588	11th b. June 21.	4777	1st of Apries (19).		Jan. 18.
4775	587	11th e. 490 yrs. of neglect end, and 70 yrs. of captivity and <i>desolation</i> b.] 2nd.				Jan. 18.
4780	582	In 5th after burning of the Temple	Nebuch. besieges Tyre 13 yrs.] 7th.			Jan. 16.
4792	570	Tyre taken after 13 yrs.	4795	19th. [Nebuch. conquers Egypt.]		Jan. 13.
4793	569	19th of Captivity b.	4796	1st of Amasis (44).		Jan. 13.
4801	561	27th. 1st of Evil Merodach (2) b. Jeconias has already begun.	On 27th of 11th month (Adar) 37th of			Jan. 11.
4803	559	29th. 1st of Neriglissar (4). 1st of Cyrus in Persia (31).	4086	11th.		Jan. 11.
4807	555	33rd. 1st of Nabonadius (17). 5th of Cyrus.	4810	15th.		Jan. 10.
4815	547	41st. Sardis taken by Cyrus.	4818	23rd.		Jan. 8.
4824	538	50th. 1st of Cyrus and Darius at Babylon (3).	4827	32nd.		Jan. 5.
4827	535	53rd. 1st of Cyrus alone (6) b. Daniel's 70 yrs. end.	4830	35th.		Jan. 9.
4833	529	59th. 1st of Cambyes (8) b.	4836	41st.	[byes (4).	Jan. 3.
4837	525	63rd. 5th of Cambyes b.	4840	1st of Dyn. XXVIII (124). Cam-		Jan. 2.

HARMONY OF SACRED AND EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY. 901

A.M. = B.C. beginning from Jan. 1.		SACRED HISTORY.	Egyptian move- able yr.	EGYPTIAN CHRONICLES.	Begins from	
4841	521	67th of Captivity and desolation b.	4844	1st of Darius Hyst. (36).	Jan. 1.	
4843	519	69th b.	4846	3rd. 804th of Cycle IV. } both b. in	Jan. 1.	δ'.
4843	519	69th b.	4847	4th. 805th of Cycle IV. } fixed yr.	Dec. 31.	α'.
4844	518	70th b.	4848	5th.	Dec. 31.	
4845	517	70th ends Nisan 1.	4849	6th.	Dec. 31.	
4876	486	102nd fr.d. of Seraiah (484) b. Sept.	4880	1st of Xerxes (21) b.	Dec. 23.	
4897	465	123rd.	4901	1st of Artaxerxes Long. (41) b.	Dec. 18.	
4904	458	130th. Ezra sent in 7th Art. Nisan 1.	4908	8th.	Dec. 16.	
4917	445	143rd. Nehe. (12) in 20th. Art. Nis.	4921	21st.	Dec. 13.	
4929	433	155th. Nehemiah returns in 32nd.	4933	33rd.	Dec. 10.	
4938	424	164th. 41st Art. e. & 1st Nothus b.	4942	1st of Darius Nothus (19) b.	Dec. 8.	
4948	414	174th. 10th Nothus e.	4952	11th. [1st of Amyrtæus ? (6)] b.	Dec. 5.	
4954	408	180th. 16th Nothus e.	4958	17th [1st of Pausiris ? (4 ?)] b.	Dec. 4.	
4957	405	183rd. 19th e. and 1st Art. (46) b	4961	1st of Artaxerxes Mnem. (3) b.	Dec. 3.	
4960	402	186th. 3rd Artax. e. [In B.C. 398 Ctesias ends Περσικά.]	4964	1st of Dyn. XXX (39) iii Tanite generations. Nephertites (6) b.	Dec. 2.	
4963	399	189th 6th Artax. e.	4967	4th. [Plato aged 30 in Egypt ?]	Dec. 2.	
4966	396	192nd. 9th Artax. e.	4970	1st of Hakoris (13) b.	Dec. 1.	
4979	383	205th. 22nd Artax. e.	4983	1st of Psammouthis (2 imp.?) b.	Nov. 28.	δ'.
4980	382	206th. 23rd Artax. e.	4984	1st of Nephertites II. 4m. (1) b.	Nov. 27.	
4981	381	207th. 24th Artax. e.	4985	1st of Nectanebo I. (18) b.	Nov. 27.	
4999	363	225th. 42nd Art.e. [B.C. 365, 41st Art. and 1st Ochus (26) b. Nov. 23.]	5003	1st Dyn. XXX (18), i Tanite gen. Nectane. II. (18, incl. 2 of Teos.)	Nov. 23.	
5001	361	227th. [Agesilaus called in by Teos against Persia, supports Nectanebo.] 2ndb.	5007	5th.	Nov. 22.	
5003	359	229th. 46th e. 1st of Ochus sole (20) b.	5010	8th.	Nov. 21.	
5006	356	232nd. [Ol. 106 α'. Alexander the Great born in July.]	5021	1st of Ochus in Egypt (6) b.	Nov. 18.	
5017	345	243rd. 20th of Ochus from his association ends, 21st b.	5027	1st of Arses (3) b.	Nov. 17.	
5023	339	249th. 26th Ochus e. 1st Arses b.	5030	1st of Darius Codom. (6) b.	Nov. 16.	
5026	336	255th. Maced. acc. of Alex. (12).	5032	3rd. Diodorus reckons to this yr.	Nov. 15.	
5028	334	254th. 3rd Alex. passage into Asia.	5034	5th. Egypt. accession of Alex.	Nov. 15.	
5030	332	256th. 5th Alex. b.	5035	6th. [Its beginning is marked as an epoch by Manetho.]	Nov. 15.	
5031	331	257th. 6th Alex. b.	5036	1st of Cosmocracy of Alex. (6) b.	Nov. 14.	
5032	330	258th. 7th Alex. b. [The High Priest Jaddua d. 263 are 151 [152] yrs. to d. of Onias.]	5042	1st of Philip Aridæus (7) b.	Nov. 13.	
5038	324	8th from d. of Jaddua and Alex. b.	5049	1st of Alex. Ægus (12) b.	Nov. 11.	
5045	317	13th b. Era Seleucid. And 1st of Seleucus Nicator (32) b. Nov. 10.	5054	6th.	Nov. 10.	
5050	312	20th fr. d. of Jaddua b. in winter.	5061	1st of Ptol. Lagi as king (20 or 22) b. (Date of the Old Chronicle.)	Nov. 8.	
5073	289	36th b.	5077	17th b. Dicæarchus is still living.	Nov. 4.	
5077	285	40th b.	5081	1st of Ptol. Philadelph. (38 or 36) b.	Nov. 3.	
5082	280	45th. 1st of Ant. Sot. (19) b. in Jan.	5086	6th. [Berosus now writes ?]	Nov. 2.	
5087	275	50th b.	5091	11th. Pachons 1 = Solstice, June 29.	Nov. 1.	
5094	268	57th b.	5098	18th. Manetho now writes ?	Oct. 30.	γ'.
5098	264	61st. [1st Punic war 29 yrs. b.]	5102	22nd.	Oct. 29.	
5101	261	64th. 1st of Antioch. Σεός (15) b. from Jan.	5105	25th.	Oct. 28.	
5115	247	78th fr. d. of Jaddua b. in winter.	5119	1st of Ptol. Euergetes (25) b.	Oct. 25.	

A.M. = B.C. beginning from Jan. 1.		SACRED HISTORY.	Egypt- ian move- able yr.	EGYPTIAN CHRONICLES.	Begins from
5116	246	79th. [1st of Seleuc. Callinic. (20) b. from Jan.]	5120	2nd of Ptol. Euerg. b.	Oct. 24.
5122	240	85th from d. of Jaddua b.	5126	8th. On d. of Zenodotus Erato- sthenes, aged 35, is made Li- brarian. He died aged 80 or 82	Oct. 23.
5136	226	99th. [1st Seleuc. Cer. (3) b. in Aug.]	5140	22nd b.	Oct. 19.
5139	223	102nd. [1st of Antiochus the Great (36) b. from Aug.]	5143	25th b.	Oct. 19.
5146	222	103rd.	5144	1st of Ptol. Philopat. (17) b.	Oct. 18.
5143	219	106th. [Saguntum tak. 2d Pun. war.]	5147	4th.	Oct. 18.
5157	205	120th.	5161	1st of Ptol. Epiphan. (24) b.	Oct. 15.
5160	202	123rd. [Zama. Peace in B.C. 201 after 17 years.]	5164	4th.	Oct. 13.
5162	200	125th. [War with Philip. b. It ended in B.C. 197.]	5166	6th.	Oct. 13.
5168	194	131st.	5172	12th. Apollonius Rhod. succeeds Eratosthenes as Librarian	Oct. 11.
5170	192	133rd. [Antioch. winters in Greece.	War ended in B.C. 188.]		Oct. 11.
5175	187	138th. [Seleuc. Philop. (12) b. Oct.	5179	19th.	Oct. 10.
5181	181	144th.	5185	1st of Ptol. Philomet. (35) b.	Oct. 8.
5187	175	150th. [Ant. Epiph. (11) b. Aug.]	5191	7th.	Oct. 7.
5190	172	152nd ends. (263+152 = 415 from d. of Seraiah in Autumn of B.C. 587 to d. of Onias at Antioch in winter of B.C. 172.]			Oct. 6.
5191	171	154th. [Ant. routs Egy. on frontier.]	5195	11th.	Oct. 5.
5192	170	155th. [2nd Egyp. campaign. Temple spoiled by Antiochus.]			Oct. 5.
5194	168	157th. [Pydna June 22. Popilius in Egypt. Antiochus pollutes the Tem- ple about the end of December.]			Oct. 5.
5196	166	159th. Judas Macc. (6) succeeds Mattathias.	5200	16th.	Oct. 4.
5197	165	160th. Tem. cleansed, end of Dec.	5201	17th.	Oct. 4.
5198	164	161st. [1st of Antioch. Eupat. (2) b. from Dec.]	5202	18th.	Oct. 4.
5200	162	163rd. Pact of Judas with Ant. and Lysias in A.S. Hence Asmoneans 126 years. [1st of Demetrius Soter (12) b. from November.]			Oct. 3.
5201	161	164th. 1st of Jonathan (19), if antedated, or else in the following Spring.]			Oct. 3.
5212	150	175th. 12th of Jon. [Alex. Bala (5) from Aug.]	5216	32nd. Onias builds his Temple.	Sept. 30. α'.
5214	148	177th. 14th of Jon. [Demetr. Nicat. comes from Crete.]	5218	34th.	Sept. 30.
5216	146	179th. 16th of Jon.	5220	1st of Ptol. Euerg. II. (29) b.	Sept. 29.
5218	144	181st. 18th of Jon.	5222	3rd. Apollodorus of Athens ends his <i>Xρονικά</i> .	Sept. 29.
5220	142	183rd. 1st of Simon (8) b.	5224	5th.	Sept. 28.
5224	138	187th. 5th [Demetr. Nic. a captive in Nov. Antioch. Sidetes (9) from B.C. 137.]			Sept. 27.
5228	134	191st. 1st of J. Hyrcanus (31) b. [Ant. Sid. wars on Jerusalem in 1st of Hyr- canus, OI. 161, β'.]			Sept. 26.
5234	128	197th. 7th of John Hyrc. b. [Demetr. Nic. again (4) b. from Feb.]	5238	19th.	Sept. 25.
5235	127	198th. [Hipparchus observes, Paoni 17=July 7, 620 Egyp. yrs. and 286 days from E. Nab. Feb. 26 in B.C. 747. Hence 78 days and 265 Egyp. yrs. to Sothic Epoch July 20 A.D. 139, and to Observations of Ptolemy.]			Sept. 25.
5237	125	200th. 10th. [A. Gryp. (11) b. Aug.]	5241	22nd.	Sept. 24.

HARMONY OF SACRED AND EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY. 903

A.M. = B.C. beginning from Jan. 1.		SACRED HISTORY.	Egyptian moveable yr.	EGYPTIAN CHRONICLES.	Begins from.
5239	123	202nd. 12th of John Hyr. b. [Ant. Gryp. (11) from Nov.]	5243	24th of Ptol. Euerg. 11. b.	Sept. 24.
5245	117	208th. 18th of John Hyr.	5249	1st of Ptol. Soter II. (36) b.	Sept. 22.
5250	112	213th. 22nd. [Ant. Cyzic. alone 1 yr.]	5254	6th.	Sept. 21.
5251	111	214th. 23rd. [Ant. Gryp. and Cyz. jointly (15).]	5255	7th.	Sept. 21.
5259	103	263+221=484 yrs. end. 1st of Aristobulus as king b. in Autumn.	5263	15th.	Sept. 19.
5260	102	1st of Jannæus Alex. (27) b.	5264	16th. Manetho of Mendes, i.e. Ptolemy, writes ?	Sept. 18.
5266	96	7th. [Ant. Cyzic. alone (1) b.]	5270	22nd.	Sept. 17.
5267	95	8th. [Ant. Euseb. and Philippus.]	5271	23rd.	Sept. 17.
5279	83	20th. [1st of Tigranes (14) b.]	5283	35th.	Sept. 14.
5281	81	22nd.	5285	1st of Ptol. Dionysus (29) b.	Sept. 13.
5287	75	1st of Alexandra (9) b.	5291	7th.	Sept. 12.
5293	69	7th. [1st of Ant. Asiat. (4) to B.C. 65 b.]	5297	13th.	Sept. 10.
5296	66	1st of Aristobulus (3. 3m.) b.	5300	16th.	Sept. 9.
5299	63	1st Hyrcanus (Pompey) 24 imperf.	5303	19th.	Sept. 9.
5300	62	2nd. [Pompey settles Syria.]	5304	20th.	Sept. 8.
5304	58	6th.	5308	24th. Diodorus Sic. in Egypt.	Sept. 7.
5310	52	12th.	5314	1st of Cleopatra (22) b.	Sept. 6.
5313	49	15th. [Era of Liberty at Antioch, and 1st of Julius Cæsar there (5) b. Oct. 1.]			Sept. 5.
5314	48	16th. Pharsalia June 1st Jul. C. (5) b.	5318	5th.	Sept. 5.
5317	45	19th. [1st of reformed Jul. Calend.]	5321	8th.	Sept. 4.
5319	43	21st. [1st of Augustus (56), or 2nd (57, or 57.5.4), b. Aug. 19.]	5323	10th.	Sept. 4.
5322	40	24th b. Herod in Autumn made king at Rome (36 imperf.) Antigonus (3. 3m.)			Sept. 3.
5325	37	126th of Asmoneans ends. Herod and Sosius take Jerusalem in Autumn. Hence Herod reigns 33 years imperfect.			Sept. 2.
5326	36	127th year ends. Antigonus slain in this Summer by order of Antony.]			Sept. 2.
5332	30	11th of Herod b. late.	5336	1st of Augustus in Egypt. (43) b.	Aug. 31. <i>α'.</i>
5336	26	15th b.	5340	5th. 1st fixed Alexandrian yr. b.	Aug. 30.
5357	5	36th b. Nativity, Dec. 25.	5361	26th b.	Aug. 25.
5358	4	Herod dies after the passover. 1st of Archelaus (9, or 10 imperf.) b.			Aug. 25.
5359	3	Nativity "in 42nd of Augustus" according to Africanus.]			Aug. 25.
5360	2	Nativity "in 42nd of Augustus" (56.6m. or 56) after A. ABR. 2015 according to Eusebius, who drops 1 year.]	5364	29th b.	Aug. 24.
5361	1	43rd or 44th Augustus b. Nativity in 43rd acc. to Anianus (in his A.M. 5501) <i>virtually</i> acc. to Panodorus (in his A.M. 5493) and acc. to Syncellus (in his A.M. 5501) <i>distinctly</i> in agreement with the vulgar era. For Syncellus the <i>Incarnation</i> is at the end of his A.M. 5500, March 25, B.C. 1.			Aug. 24.
A.M. = A.D.					
5367	6	49th b. Judæa reduced to a province in 37th from Actium.	5371	36th at Alex. b. Aug. 29.	Aug. 22.
5372	11	54th. 1st of Tiberius, as associated in the Imperial provinces (25) b.			Aug. 21.
5375	14	1st Tiberius (22.6.26) fr. Aug. 19.	5379	1st of Tib. (2nd for Panodorus) b.	Aug. 21.
5380	19	6th.	5384	6th. (Germanicus in Egypt.)	Aug. 19.
5386	26	13th or 16th b. [From March 24 B.C. 453 in 7th Artax. 483 yrs. of 365½ days end March 24, but 490 yrs. of 360 days each end Feb. 6 in this yr. A.D. 26.]			Aug. 18.
5386	26	434 yrs. = 62 weeks fr. B.C. 409 e.	5390	13th begins in Eg. fr. Aug. 18 ?	Aug. 18.
5389	28	15th b. from Aug. 19.		15th b.	Aug. 17.
5390	29	16th b. from Aug. 19. Consulship of the two Gemini.			Aug. 17.

A.M. = A.D. beginning from Jan. 1.		SACRED HISTORY.	Egyptian moveable yr.	EGYPTIAN CHRONICLES.	Begins from
5391	30	17th. Crucifixion in 16th of Tib.	To it, from autumn of B.C. 458, the 7th		Aug. 17.
		of Artaxerxes, are in years of 365½ days 69½ weeks.			
5397	36	22nd. Conversion of St. Paul, Jan. 25.	5401		Aug. 15.
5398	37	1st Caligula (3.10.8) fr. March 25.	5402	Tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias given to Agrippa by Calig. (7) b.	Aug. 15.
5400	39	3rd. Herod Antipas, in his 43rd year, banished, and his dominions given to Agrippa who died in A.D. 44.			Aug. 14.
5401	40	4th. Baptism of Cornelius. Hence 25 years of St. Peter for the Italians, from Jan. 18 ? or later ? in A.D. 40 to June 29 in A.D. 65.			Aug. 14.
5402	41	1st Claudius (13.8.18) fr. Jan. 24.	5406	Agrippa made king of Judæa (3).	Aug. 14.
5409	48	8th. Agrippa jun. in Galilee (35 ?) b. Nov. ?]			Aug. 12.
5414	53	13th. In Feb. Agrippa gets also the Tetrarchy of Philip, Abil. and Trach.			Aug. 11.
5415	54	1st Nero (13.7.28) b. from Oct. 12.	5419		Aug. 11.
5425	64	11th. Fire at Rome, July 19.	5429		Aug. 8.
5426	65	12th. SS. Peter and Paul MM. June 29.	5430		Aug. 8.
5427	66	13th. Jewish war b., Cestius Gallus defeated in 12th of Nero, Vespasian sent from Achaia.			Aug. 8.
5429	68	14th. Nero dies, June 9. Galba, (7m 6d)	5433		Aug. 7.
5430	69	Galba slain, Jan. 15, Otho 3m 2d, Vitellius 11m 20d. (or 8m 5d) to Dec. 22. Vespasian from July 1 (19 years all but 7 days)			Aug. 7.
5431	70	2nd. Titus burns the Temple,	5435		Aug. 7.
5435	74	Oneion in Egypt closed, 243 years from flight of Onias in B.C. 170 ?			Aug. 6.
5440	79	1st Titus (2.2.22) from June 23.	5444	[Plutarch fl. about A.D. 93.]	Aug. 6.
5454	93	13th Domitian (15.0.5) fr. Sept. 13.	5458	Josephus aged 56 ends his Antiq.	Aug. 4.
5457	96	1st Nerva (1.4.8) from Sept. 18.	5461	Justus' Hist. e. with d. of Agrippa?	July 31. β'.
5459	98	1st Trajan (19.6.15) from Jan. 26.	5463		July 31.
5485	124	8th Hadrian (20.11.0) fr. Jan. 26.	5489	Philo Byblius now aged 78.	July 24.
5491	130	14th. In this year, Nov. 20,	5495	Athyr 24, Hadrian was at Thebes.	July 23.
5493	132	16th. Jewish war begins, and ends in A.D. 135.			July 22.
5499	138	1st Antonin. Pius (22.7.26), fr. July 10 to March 7, A.D. 161. [in Can. 23] 2nd b.			July 21.
5500	139	2nd begins July 10.	5503	3rd in Egypt b. at Sothic epoch.	July 20.
5840 Canic. or antic. Jul. years from July 20 B.C. 5702 = 5844 vague Egyptian years (or IV Sothic Cycles) ending July 20 A.D. 139.					
5500	139	2nd of Antoninus P. from July 10.	5504	3rd begins from July 20. Claudius Ptolemy takes an observation in 3rd year of Antoninus (which began at Alexandria, July 20), Sept. 26. He lived to the reign of Marc. Aurel.	July 20.
5508	147	10th. July 20 in this year his 18th of Anton. P. seems the cyclical epoch for Anianus owing to his omission of 8 years. Probably he, like Sync., had only (22+3+13+13+9+2+12+1=) 75 yrs. instead of 83.5m, between the accessions of Tiberius and Trajan, the last being only in his A.D. 90 in- stead of A.D. 98.			July 18
5512	151	14th. Justin M. Apol. I, 150 yrs. fr. Nativ. (15+14+121=Dec. 25 A.D. 151.)			
5522	161	1st of Marc. Aurel. (19.0.11) b. March 7.			
5534	173	13th.	Tatian fl.		
5541	180	1st of Commodus (12.9.15) b. March 17. S. Theophilus 6th Bp. of Antioch writes Ad Autolycom. Chryseros ends his Chronicle.			
5553	192	13th. Euseb. Arm. rightly has A. ABR. "2208=13 Commodi." b. Oct. 1.			
5554	193	Pertinax (2m. 28d.) fr. Jan. 1; Did. Julian. (2m. 5d.); Severus (17.3.4.) fr. June 1. After death of the emperor Commodus Clemens Al. writes.			

HARMONY OF SACRED AND EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY. 905

A.M. = A.D. beginning from Jan. 1.		ROMAN HISTORY.	EGYPTIAN REFERENCES.	Yr. of Em- peror be- ginning at Alexan- dria from Aug. 29.
5568	207	15th of Severus.	Tertullian adv. Marcion.	
5572	211	1st of Caracalla (6.2.4.) b. Feb. 4.		2nd
5578	217	Macrinus (1.1.28.) b. Apr. 11.		2nd
5579	218	1st of Elagabalus (3.7.24) b. June 8.		2nd
5582	221	4th. Africanus ends his Chronography at Ol. 250.		
5583	222	1st of Alex. Severus 13.0.9. b. March 11.	Hippolytus's Chronicon ends.	2nd
5596	235	1st of Maximin (3.3.0) b. Feb. 10.		2nd
5599	238	1st of Gordian (5.9.0) b. June 15.	Censorinus De Die Nat.	2nd
5605	244	1st of Philip (5.6 ^m or 5.7 ^m .) b. March.		2nd
5610	249	1st of Decius (2 2 ^m .) b. after Aug. 29.		1st
5612	251	1st of the two Galli and Æmilian. (2.4 ^m + 3 ^m) b. Nov.		1st
5614	253	1st of Valerian. and Gallien. (7 + 7.6 ^m) b. in Autumn.		1st
5629	268	1st of Claudius (2 2 ^m .) b. March.	Porphyry goes from Rome to Sicily.	2nd
5631	270	1st of Aurelian. (5 + 6 ^m interr.) b. May ?		2nd
5637	276	6 ^m . of Tacitus e. March 25. Florian 2 ^m . 20 ^d . Probus (6.5 ^m) b. in April.		2nd
5640	279	4th of Probus b. April. But Euseb. Arm. has 1st of Probus = A. ABR. 2295 begin- ning from Oct. 1 in A.D. 283 (see above, A.D. 192). Jerome has rightly A. ABR. 2292 omitting Pertinax 1 = A. ABR. 2209, the 7th Caracalla = A. ABR. 2234, and the 6th Aurelian = A. ABR. 2294. Euseb. gives also a 7th to Probus which Jerome likewise omits. So Euseb. after Probus has 4 yrs. too many.		5th
5640	279	4th b. Apr. Anatolius Bp. of Laodic. writes his Paschal Chronicle.		5th
5643	282	Carus Carinus and Numerian. (1.11 ^m) b. after Aug. 29.		1st
5645	284	1st Diocletian (20.7.14) b. early in Sept. Porphyry outlived Diocletian. Euseb. Arm. has 1st Diocl. = A. ABR. 2304, beginning Oct. 1 in A.D. 288, an excess of 4 years. Jerome too has 1st Diocl. = A. ABR. 2301, beginning in A.D. 285, and so is 1 yr. in excess, as he gives a 3rd yr. to Carus and his sons.		1st
5666	305	1st of Constantius (1.2.24) b. May 1.		2nd
5670	309	4th of Constantine (30.9.25) b. July 25. Jamblichus fl.		5th
5673	312	7th. The Indictions (a cycle of 15 yrs.) begin from Sept. 1.		8th
5686	325	20th. (Vicennalia) b. July 25. Council of Nice. Vernal equinox fixed to March 21.		21st
5721	360	24th of Constantius II. (24 5.12) b. May 22. The 11th and last Paschal period of 532 yrs. of Anianus and his A.M. 5852 end Aug. 29.		25th
5724	363	Julian (1.7.24) slain June 27. Jovian (7 ^m . 21.		
5725	364	1st of Valentinian (11.8.24) b. Feb. 26, and Valens (14.4.13) b. March 28.		2nd
5728	367	1st of Gratian (16.0.2) b. Aug. 24 with Valentinian.		5th
5736	375	1st of Valentinian II. (16.4.23) b. Nov. 24.		1st
5739	378	The Chronicon of Jerome ends at d. of Valens with "A.U.C. (240 of Kings + 464 of Coss. + 424 of Emperors =) 1131;" "anno 2394" (i.e. his own A. ABR. 2394 having then begun). Valens was slain Aug. 10.		
5741	380	2nd of Theodosius (15.11.30) b. Jan. 19. Pappus, and Theon of Alex. now fl. and Horapollon is at Constantinople. Theophilus (who on d. of Timotheus on Sunday Epiphi 26, July 20 in A.D. 385 became Bp. of Alex.) inscribed to Theo- dosius his Paschalion made out for 100 years and beginning from his Con- sulship of A.D. 380.		3rd
5750	389	11th of Theodos. 4th of Theophilus Bp. of Alexandria. The Serapeum and other heathen temples are now destroyed.		2th
5756	395	1st of Arcadius in E. (13.3.15) and Honorius in W. (28.7.11) b. Jan. 17.		2nd
5762	401	7th. Theophili Epist. 1. Pasch. Easter on Pharmuthi 19 = April 14.		8th
5764	403	9th. Epiphanius died, having been Bp. in Cyprus 36 years.		10th
5771	410	16th. Alaric deposes Attalus, and sacks Rome Aug. 24 or 26.		

A.M.=A.D. beginning from Jan. 1.		ROMAN HISTORY.	EGYPTIAN REFERENCES.	Yr. of Em- peror be- ginning at Alexan- dria from Aug. 29.
5773	412	18th of Hon. 5th of Theodos. II. in E. (42.2.28) b. May 1. Nonnus Panopol. fl. Panodorus ends his Chronography with his own (and Anianus's) A.M. 5493 + 411 (Anianus's 5501 + 100 + 303) = 5904 Aug. 29, before the d. of Theophilus, who died Oct. 15, S. Cyril his nephew succeeding him.		6th
5786	425	18th. of Theod. 1st of Valentinian III. in W. (29.4.22) b. Oct. 23.		19th
5811	450	26th. of Valent. 1st of Marcian in E. (6.5m. ?) b. Aug. 25.		
5816	455	6th. of Marcian. Maximus in W. (2m. 27.) b. March 17. Genserici plunders Rome. Avitus (1.1m.) b. Aug 30 ?		
5818	457	1st. of the two Leos in E. (16.11.28) b. Feb. 1. 1st of Majorian in W. (4.4.2.) b. April 1.		2nd
5826	465	9th of Leo. 5th of Severus in W. (3 11.27) b. Nov. 19.		10th
5833	472	16th of Leo. Anthemius in W. (5.3.0) slain July 11. Olybrius 6m. Nepos (1.7.0) b. in October.		17th
5836	475	2nd of Zeno assoc. by Leo jun. in E. (17.2.0) b. Feb. Romulus in W.		3rd
5837	476	3rd of Zeno, A.D.C. 1229. Odoacer (16.6.12) ends the Western Empire Aug. 22.		4th
5852	491	1st of Anastasius in E. (27.2.29) b. April 11. Theophanes says, "This yr. of Zeno's d. is acc. to the Romans A.M. 5999, but acc. to the Alexandrians and the truth A.M. 5983, from the accession of Diocletian the 207th" [the true number], "from the Incarnation the 483rd" [that is, with Anianus's omission of 8 years, probably between Augustus and Trajan, since Syncellus has Trajan's accession at A.M. 5590=A.D. 90 instead of A.D. 98], "Indict. 14." [The Ind. is right.]		2nd
5987	626	13th of Heraclius. Era of the Hegira July 26 in Julian year 667.		13th
5998	637	28th of Heraclius (30.4.6) b. Oct. 5. The Caliph Omar enters Jerusalem (if about July 23) 1260 years of 360 days each after the first association of Nebuchadnezzar (if put at Sept. 1 in B.C. 606; or both dates may be 142 days later, from Jan. 22 B.C. 605 to Feb. 24 A.D. 638 ?		28th
5999	638	29th. Abou Obeidah enters Antioch Tuesday Aug. 21 (July 21 ?) Hej. 17, and Amrou takes Casarea (Constantine having left) in July Hej. 17. Hence 1260 lunar yrs. of the Arabs from b. of Hej. 17=Jan. 23 A.D. 638 end with Hej. 1276, July 7 A.D. 1860. In A.D. 639 Amrou invades Egypt, and in A.D. 640 takes Alexandria, the Copts being then about 6 millions.		29th
6169	808	G. Syncellus writes, in his own "A.M. 6300," but "in Indict. 1," which requires this year, ending Aug. 31. But 5500 [+ 8 dropped between Augustus and Trajan] + 800 = 6308 complete at March 25.		
6900	1539	Term. Pasch. April 5, as at the Exodus in B.C. 1654, after six complete periods of 532 years each. Easter day April 6.		
6960	1599	Cycle VI and A.M. (7306-341=) 6965 of Egyptian reckoning would begin July 20.		
7240	1879	From the entry of Omar into Jerusalem, set at July 23 A.D. 637, and first accession of Nebuchadnezzar set at Sept. 1 B.C. 606, 1260 and 2520 yrs. of 360 days end Feb. 1; or from dates for conquest of Palestine and access. of Nebuchadnezzar 142 days later they may end about June 23.		
7259	1898	From the entry of Omar into Jerusalem 1260 Gregorian yrs. end July 23, or from the completion of the conquest of Syria later. But <i>when</i> precisely these periods begin and end, if they are rightly thought to mean <i>years</i> as well as <i>days</i> , and to refer to the Mahometans at Jerusalem, and to the times of the Gentiles in the West, the event only can show.		

The Greek numerals α' , β' , γ' , δ' , set against the beginning of certain Egyptian years, show which year it is out of the four during which the movable Thoth coincided with the same day of the anticipated Julian calendar.

Also at the Phœnix epochs of B.C. 1780, and B.C. 275, note that the day of the Solstice and Pachons 1 is given in terms of the *uncorrected* Julian calendar.

APPENDIX.

ON BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES.

IT would have been an important supplement to the present work if one could have shown *exactly* how far the schemes of Berosus and Manetho were similar in their construction, and how far the true or esoteric chronology of the Chaldæans coincided with that of the Egyptians. That the two chronologies either absolutely agreed or differed only by a very few years is *probable*; though Syncellus's statement (p. 30, ed. Dind.) that Berosus and Manetho had "had the impudence even to deduce their incredible histories from one and the same year," viz. from after A.M. 1058, is not to be admitted in evidence, as this refers only to the pseudo-Manetho of Anianus. But unfortunately there is a break in the notices preserved respecting the earlier reckonings of Berosus: and thus it is impossible to make out the whole outline of his scheme with certainty.

The sources of all those lists and reckonings bearing on Chaldæan history and chronology which are still extant may be reduced, to speak broadly, to two, viz. the writings of Ctesias, and those of Berosus.

OF CTESIAS AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

First there are the lists of Ctesias of Cnidos, who, having been taken prisoner by the Persians, was kept for 17 years (B.C. 401 to B.C. 384) as physician at the Court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, and who brought down his "*Persian Histories*," or "*Antiquities*," composed in xxiii books, to the Archonship of Ithycles, that is, to B.C. 398. Diodorus

Siculus mentions him at this date as follows:—"Κτησίας ὁ συγγραφεὺς τὴν τῶν Περσικῶν ἱστορίαν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατέστρεφεν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμεως." (*Diod. Sic.* xiv. 46, ap. *Clinton F. H.*, ad ann. A. C. 398.) The earliest allusion to his work is made by his contemporary Plato, who adopts from it the assertion that Troy, in the time of Priam, belonged to the empire of Teutamus. But Aristotle, more cautious, charges Ctesias with falsehood (*Gen. Anim.* ii. 2), and uses such language as this:—"εἰ δὲ πιστεῦσαι Κτησίαν," and "Κτησίας, οὐκ ὢν ἀξιόπιστος" (*Hist. Anim.* iii. fin. ii. 3, 10. and viii. 27, 3). Plutarch, too (in *Vit. Artax.* c. 13), speaks strongly of his bad faith and want of veracity. And Lucian, as Clinton adds (*Conscrib. Hist.* tom. iv. p. 202, Bipont.), accuses him of having falsified history to ingratiate himself with Artaxerxes. But, however untrustworthy he might be, being the first writer in the field, he was extensively followed.

He began, as has been already mentioned, with Ninus and Semiramis, and after devoting six books to Assyrian and Median history, he made seventeen more for the Persian, and appended at the end of his twenty-third and last book a list of kings from Ninus to Artaxerxes. "Ninus," so we may abridge from Diodorus, "having made a league with Ariæus, king of the Arabs, first subdued the unwarlike Babylonians. Babylon was not yet built: but they had in their country other cities which were considerable. And he took their king prisoner, and put him to death. Next he invaded Armenia, where the king Barzanes, after some losses, submitted himself, and obtained very favourable terms, and so was allowed to reign on as a tributary. Ninus then attacked Pharnus, king of Media, and after a great victory took him prisoner and caused him to be impaled. Lifted up by this constant success, he formed the project of conquering all Asia from the Tanais to the Nile. And having established a trusty adherent as satrap in Media, he set forth, and in the course of seventeen years subdued all the peoples of this part of the world, except the Bactrians and the Indians. He subdued Egypt, Phœnicia, Cœlesyria, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, Phrygia, Mysia, and Lydia; also

the Troad, Phrygia on the Hellespont, the coasts of the Propontis, and those of Bithynia and Cappadocia, and those of the barbarous nations on the Euxine to the Tanais. He conquered the countries of the Cadusians, and the Tapyres, and the Hyrcanians, the Drangians, the Derbices, the Carmanians, the Choromeans, the Borcanians, and the Parthians. He then penetrated into Persia and Susiana [towards the south], and the countries bordering on the Caspian, where are the 'Caspian Gates' [on the north]. Besides, he reduced a multitude of less important peoples, to enumerate all of whom would take too long. But in Bactria he found the country itself so difficult, and the inhabitants so warlike, that after several unsuccessful attacks, he postponed that war to some better opportunity; and leading back all his forces into Syria [i. e. Assyria], he there made choice of a convenient site on which to found a great capital." (*Diod. ii. c. 1, 2.*) Last of all, he reduced Bactria also, the king of which was Zoroaster. So then, according to Ctesias, the empire had been founded, and even extended to the utmost limits afterwards reached under the Persians, before as yet either Nineveh or Babylon existed. But the purpose of this fable is plain; namely, to turn the tables upon the Egyptians, and to match their Sesostris, or rather their Thothmeses and Rameseses, by an Asiatic conqueror of equal achievements and higher antiquity. Not content with one conquest of Egypt, Ctesias made Semiramis also, besides unsuccessfully warring against India, to conquer Egypt over again; and she left there a garrison which built the Egyptian Babylon. So this city was nearly of the same age with Babylon of Chaldæa, since it too had Semiramis for its foundress, a story the falsehood of which was afterwards noticed by Berosus. In all Ctesias named, according to the present text of Diodorus, a series of xxxiii kings (lib. ii. 1—31), or rather xxxvi, for Diodorus writes inconsistently; and xxxvi is the number quoted from him by Eusebius (*Chron. i. p. 39*), and it agrees better with the extant lists. And these kings Ctesias made to end after 1306 years with the effeminate Sardanapalus, "who, when Nineveh was taken by Arbaces the Mede and Belesis the Babylonian, burned

himself together with his palace." The date of this event, when, according to him, the empire and the monarchy and the city itself of Nineveh all ended together, is fixed by implication to B.C. $(560 + 320 =)$ 880, and the accession of Ninus to B.C. $(880 + 1306 =)$ 2186; that is, if no account be taken of the difference between vague and fixed years: else, the 1306 years should end one year later, in the Julian B.C. $(559 + 320 =)$ 879, and begin two years later, in the Julian B.C. $(879 + 1306 \text{ vague} =)$ 2184. "After the death of Semiramis," Diodorus writes (lib. ii. c. 21), "Ninyas, her son by Ninus, and the kings who reigned after him in direct succession from father to son during 30 generations, were faineants down to Sardanapalus. Under this last the empire of Assyria passed to the Medes, after having lasted *more than* 1306 years, as Ctesias of Cnidus relates in his *Second Book*." So, out of his six introductory books, Ctesias, as it seems, allowed only two to Assyria; but twice that number, viz. four, to Media, and more than four times four, viz, seventeen, which made the body of his work, to the affairs of Persia. "It is not at all necessary," Diodorus continues (c. 22), "to insert here the names of all these kings, or to mark the length of their reigns, since they did nothing worthy of remembrance. The only thing deserving of record is the fact that the Assyrians sent an auxiliary force to aid the Trojans. Teutamus, the 20th successor of Ninyas, son of Semiramis, reigned in Asia at the time when Agamemnon led the Greeks against Troy; and the empire of Asia had been for 1000 years *and more* (ἔτη πλείω τῶν χιλίων) with the Assyrians, when Priam, who was king in the Troad, pressed by the dangers of the war, sent an embassy to seek for aid from the king of Assyria, as being his vassal." The present text of Diodorus here names Teutamus as the "20th after Ninyas;" but he stands 23rd from Ninyas (26th in all) in the list; and Eusebius and Syncellus, in quoting from Diodorus, name him "the 26th." The same reckoning is also confirmed by a passage quoted from Cephalion. So Memnon the son of Tithonus was sent by Teutamus in command of 10,000 Ethiopians and as many more *Susianians* to Troy, to increase the glory of the

Greeks. Cephalion even gave — and probably this also was from Ctesias — the letter of Priam written after the loss of his son Hector. The “1000 years and more” here mentioned by Diodorus rest probably only on an inference of his own, because Ctesias’s epoch for Ninus, being apparently at B.C. (560 or $559 + 320 + 1306 =$) 2186 or 2185, was just 1003 or 1002 years above Eratosthenes’s and Diodorus’s own date for Troy in B.C. 1183. Diodorus writes, indeed, “when Agamemnon led the Greeks to the war,” but his allusion is nevertheless to the date of the capture. The number of “1306 years *and more*” mentioned by him for Ctesias is illustrated by a statement quoted from Æmilius Sura (ap. *Velleium*, i. b. 6; *Clinton*, *F. H.* vol. i. p. 264), that “between Ninus and the establishment of Roman supremacy by the overthrow of Philip and Antiochus, soon after the second Punic war, there were 1995 years.” But from B.C. 190, when the two Scipios defeated Antiochus, 1995 years take us back to B.C. ($559 + 320 + 1306 =$) 2185, two years higher than B.C. 2183, and so just “*above 1000*” years before Diodorus’s date for Troy. Agathias too, who wrote in the 6th century, naming “Ctesias and Diodorus,” says that *they* gave to the Assyrian empire from Ninus 1306 years, or a few more (*ἢ καὶ ὀλίγοι πλεονόντων*), though it was an inaccuracy in Diodorus to speak as if the 1306 years might receive an addition of two or three more. The uncertainty regarded not those years but the duration of the Median empire, and especially the reign of its last king Astyages, to whom Ctesias (and he is followed by Eusebius, Anianus, and Syncellus) gave 38 years, whereas Herodotus gave him only 35. With 35 years only to Astyages and 317 to the Median empire, the accession of Ninus would *not* have risen *more* than 1000 years above Troy, even though that of Cyrus were put in the autumn of B.C. 560, a little above its true date, as it was by many writers. Ctesias’s own date for Troy was probably earlier than that of Eratosthenes, and more like that of Herodotus, so as to fall within the reign of Teutamius, who may have seemed to reign according to his list from B.C. 1262 to B.C. 1230, so that his accession was only ($2186 - 1262 =$) 924 years below that

of Ninus. From B.C. 880 Ctesias continued with a list of ix Median kings (favouring, as has been already noticed, Median history as more akin to the Persian, and lengthening it at the expense of the Assyrian) to the defeat of Astyages by Cyrus in B.C. 560, or more correctly 559. The ix names are these: "*Arbaces*, who reigned 28 years, + *Mandauces* 50 + *Sosarmus* 30 + *Artycas* 50 + *Arbianes* 22 + *Artæus* 40 + *Artynes* 22 (these being the 22 years of Phraortes) + *Astybaras* 40 (being the 40 of Cyaxares) + *Aspadas* or *Astyages*," no doubt with 38 years, making in all 320 years (not 317) of Median empire from the destruction of Nineveh by Arbaces in B.C. 880 or 879 to the accession and victory of Cyrus in B.C. 560 or 559.

The accounts of Ctesias, to borrow the words of Clinton from whom we are here abridging, "are followed with little variation by many writers, as Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Nicolaus Damascenus, Æmilius Sura, and Velleius." But those who, after and besides Diodorus, require our notice on account of their variations are Abydenus, Castor of Rhodes, the Auctor Barbarus of Scaliger, and Cephalion; and, lastly, the Ecclesiastical chronographers, Africanus, Eusebius (who is followed by St. Jerome and St. Augustine), and Syncellus (who represents also Anianus and Panodorus).

ABYDENUS.

Abydenus, who wrote later than Alexander Polyhistor (B.C. 83), and seemingly before Castor (B.C. 61–56), copied not only from Ctesias, but also sometimes from Berosus and Polyhistor, and adopted from them statements irreconcilable with what he gave elsewhere from Ctesias. Eusebius (*Chron.* I. 12, p. 36) quotes from him thus: "*Abydeni de regno Assyriorum. 'Chaldæi regionis suæ reges ab Aloro usque ad Alexandrum hoc pacto enumerant. Nini quidem et Semiramidis nullam rationem habent.'*" This is in allusion to Berosus and Polyhistor, from whom also he gave the list of the antediluvian kings, and the accounts of the Flood and of the Tower of Babel, of the confusion of tongues, "from which *Babylon* was named," and of the War of the

Gods and Titans: "His autem dictis, ita historiam suam exorditur: 'Fuit *Ninus, Arbeli, Chaali, Arbeli, Anebi, Babii, Beli*, regis Assyriorum.' Deinde *accuratè reges enumerat a Nino et a Semiramide ad Sardanapallum*, qui *omnium extremus* fuit: a quo ad primam Olympiadem 67 anni putantur. De Assyriorum regno hâc diligentîâ scripsit Abydenus. Nihilominus et Castor lib. i. Summarii Chronicorum *eadem planè ad litteram* narrat de regno Assyriorum." Here Eusebius, by saying that Castor agrees word for word with Abydenus, seems to imply that Abydenus was the earlier writer of the two: and, if so, he may probably be the channel through which certain additional names and certain other variations from Ctesias were derived from Berosus to Castor and later authors. It seems to be asserted by Eusebius both that Abydenus ended his whole series 67 years before Olymp. 1, that is, in B.C. 843, and also that the last of all his kings was Sardanapalus: and further that Castor agreed with or copied from him word for word. And in the list of the Auctor Barbarus (printed by Scaliger) who is supposed to have copied very much from Castor, the series is expressly said to end "67 years before Olymp. 1." But, on the other hand, neither that list nor Castor's own list, nor the list of Abydenus, made the series to end with Sardanapalus, but with another king added after him, and named *Saracus*, or *Ninus II.* This we learn from Castor and Abydenus themselves. It may be then that Abydenus both first appended the name of *Saracus* or *Ninus II.* after Sardanapalus, and also first inserted in his list those two female names of *Tratres* and *Badossa* or *Semiramis II.* which occur after the 18th king, the one with 17 the other with 7 years, in Eusebius's lib. i. and ii. One of the two names (but with 23 years, which looks like a consolidation of two reigns of 17 and 7 years) appears also in the list of Barbarus in the 19th place. At any rate, two names, *Dercetades* and *Beleoun*, quoted by Polyhistor from Berosus as preceding that of *Balator*, seem to be omitted in this place in the lists derived from Ctesias. With these additions, and with the genealogy of six names as of kings, though without years, prefixed to Ninus, Abydenus would have in all xlv names instead of the xxxvi of

Ctesias. And for his sum of years, if he ended his series in B.C. 843, and gave the same number of years to his three new reigns as belong to them in the lists of the Auctor Barbarus and Eusebius, viz. 19 and $(17 + 7 =)$ 24 or 23, retaining for the xxxvi reigns of Ctesias his sum of 1306 or 1305 years—the latter variant occurs in St. Augustine—he would have had in all a sum of $1306 + 42 = 1348$ years beginning from B.C. $(843 + 1348 =)$ 2191. But it may be suspected that he made 20 years more, and began as if from B.C. 2211, since the Auctor Barbarus, whose list is plainly derived from those of Abydenus and Castor, names as his sum—a sum certainly not that of Castor, nor, as the list stands, made out by the reigns—"1430 years." From this if we deduct 62 years of Belus, to whom neither Abydenus nor Castor gave any, there remain 1368, which reckoned up from B.C. 843 would seem to have commenced in B.C. 2211. And if this, as is probable, was in truth the reckoning of Abydenus, it results, as will appear below, that Abydenus carried back the commencement of his chronology precisely to the Babylonian epoch of Berosus, of which the epoch of Ctesias, connected rather, if it was in any sense historical, with Nineveh, was 25 years short.

But elsewhere Abydenus, in a passage extracted by Eusebius, following Alexander Polyhistor and Berosus and not Ctesias, names "Sennacherib," who "reduced Babylon and the coast of Syria," as "the 25th king of Assyria," and Nergilus, and Adrameles, and Axerdis, as his successors. *These*, he says, were followed by Sardanapalus [who so should be the 29th], and lastly by Saracus [or Ninus II.] who burned himself in his palace when Nineveh was taken by Busalussor [Nabopolassar] the father of Nebuchadnezzar, the same king having previously betrothed his son Nebuchadnezzar to the daughter of Astyages [really of Cyaxares] king of Media. *Abydeni de Senecherimo*: "His temporibus quintus denique et vigesimus rex fuit Senecheribus qui Babylonem sibi subdidit, et in Cilicii maris littore classem Græcorum profligatam disjecit. Hic etiam templum Atheniensium struxit, ærea quoque signa facienda curavit in quibus sua facinora traditur inscripsisse. Tarsum denique eâ formâ quâ Babylon utitur

condidit. Proximus huic regnavit *Nergilus*, quem Adrameles filius occidit. Rursus hunc frater suus *Axerdis* interfecit patre eodem aliâ tamen matre genitus; atque *Byzantium* usque ejus exercitum persecutus est quem antea mercede conduxerat auxiliarem. In hoc miles erat Pythagoras quidam, Chaldææ sapientiæ assecla. Ægyptum præterea, partesque interiores Syriæ, acquirebat Axerdis. Hinc *Sardanapallus* exortus est. Post quem *Saracus* imperitabat Assyriis, qui quidem certior factus turmarum vulgi collectitiarum quæ a mari adversus se adventarent, continuò *Busalussorum* militiæ ducem Babylonem mittebat. Sed enim hic capto rebellandi consilio Amuhiam *Asdahagis* Medorum principis filiam nato suo Nabuchodrossoro, moxque raptim contra Ninum seu Nineven urbem impetum faciebat. Re omni cognitâ rex Saracus regiam Evoritam inflammabat. Tum vero *Nabuchodrossorus* summæ rerum potitus firmis mœnibus Babylonem cingebat." (*Eus. Chron.* i. 9, p. 25; and *Sync.* p. 210, ap. *Clinton, F. H.* vol. i. p. 271.) Eusebius gives also a long extract from Polyhistor, from the latter part of which, or from the same source in Berossus, this passage of Abydenus is taken; and in places it is almost word for word. Polyhistor, as it hence appears, named Pythagoras in connection with Axerdis the predecessor of Sardanapalus; and he named Saracus the successor of Sardanapalus as the last king, in whose time Nineveh was taken by "Nabopolassar;" and he fixed upon Saracus the burning of the palace called Evorita. But in the extract alluded to he does not call Sennacherib "the 25th king," nor make any allusion to the list or to the writings of Ctesias. On the contrary he adheres, with whatever mistakes or confusion, to Berossus, while Abydenus, who had elsewhere made Ninus II. to end "67 years before Olymp. 1," now, in the account just mentioned, brings down Ninus II. two or three reigns below the time of Pythagoras, and the capture of Nineveh below the date of the marriage of Nebuchadnezzar to a daughter of Astyages, who is named erroneously instead of Cyaxares. Yet he actually attempts to present the two accounts of Ctesias and Polyhistor as one. As regards his calling Sennacherib the 25th king, and giving him only 5

more successors, so making only xxix kings in all to Sardanapalus, or xxx to Ninus II., this peculiarity and inconsistency may perhaps be connected with a similar inconsistency in Diodorus; for he also speaks of xxx kings, thinking of xxxiii in all, or xxx after Ninyas, instead of xxxiii after Ninyas. It is certainly not from Ctesias; and it is worthy of some attention. It is not *impossible* that its source may lie with Polyhistor and with Berossus. For, in the first place, there is a passage in Agathias, and a similar one in Syncellus, in which it is distinctly said from Polyhistor and Berossus that the line of kings from the commencement to the end of the Assyrian *empire* were not (as Ctesias had pretended) all of the same lineage, descending in unbroken succession from Ninus and Semiramis. On the contrary the succession of Ninus came to an end with *Beleoun, the son of Dercetades*. “For one Balator” [this name appears as the 19th in the lists derived from Ctesias], “who was over the palace gardens, by a wonderful fortune made himself master of the crown, and left it to his own family, as is related by Bion and Alexander Polyhistor: and they reigned to the time of Sardanapalus, when, *as they say*, the empire having gone to decay, Arbaces the Mede and Belesis the Babylonian dispossessed the Assyrians of it and took the power to themselves, *having deposed the king*.” [So the king was not then slain, nor Nineveh taken, nor the palace burned, but only Media and Babylonia threw off their allegiance.] The names Arbaces and Belesis may be only from Ctesias. “Νῖνος τε πρότερον φαίνεται καὶ βασιλείαν ἐνταῦθα βεβαίαν καταστησάμενος, Σεμίραμις τε αὖ μετ’ ἐκείνουν, καὶ ἐξῆς ἅπαντες οἱ τούτων ἀπόγονοι μέχρι καὶ ἐς Βελεοῦν τὸν Δερκετάδου. Ἐς τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ τὸν Βελεοῦν τῆς τοῦ Σεμιραμείου φύλου διαδοχῆς παυσαμένης, Βελητάρας τις ὄνομα, φυτουργὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις κήπων μελεδωνὸς καὶ ἐπιστάτης, ἐκαρπώσατο παραλόγως τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ τῷ οἰκείῳ ἐνεφύτευσε γένει, ὡς Βίωνι γέγραπται καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Πολύστορι ἕως ἐς Σαρδανάπαλλον, ὡς ἐκείνοί φασι, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπομαρανθείσης, Ἀρβάκης ὁ Μῆδος καὶ Βέλευς ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἀφῆρηται αὐτὴν τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, καθελόντες τὸν βασιλεῖα.” (Agathias, ii. 25, p. 119, ap. Clinton, *F. H.* vol. i. p. 269, and Sync. p. 676, ed.

Dind.) But if the kings of Nineveh and Assyria after the termination of the Assyrian empire were still reckoned by Berosus or by Polyhistor from Balator, as is *possible*, though probability may be the other way, then, since the place of Balator in the list of Berosus and Polyhistor is uncertain, it is possible that Beleoun was named in it as the 15th, not the 18th, from Ninus, and that the Sennacherib of Abydenus was the 25th from Balator; and Abydenus may have found him named as such by Polyhistor or by Berosus, though not in the same extract from Polyhistor which we have in Eusebius. Else, as Abydenus himself, in other places, and Castor too, had certainly no *fewer* than the xxxvi kings of Ctesias, besides Ninus II. (and the list of Barbarus specifies the number of xxxix), Abydenus, instead of calling his Sennacherib the 25th, ought to have called him the $(36 - 5 =)$ 31st or the $(39 - 5 =)$ 34th. Or, if he were for that time taking the number of the kings after Ninus from Polyhistor or Berosus, only drawing down their end too low, then, since this number was—as will appear below—xlv, he should have named his Sennacherib as confounded with the 6th from the end the $(45 - 5 =)$ 39th king. Another explanation is proposed by Clinton, namely, that Abydenus was here really following Berosus, who gave somewhere xxx as the true number of the kings from Ninus to the destruction of Nineveh. “Of these xxiv only would belong to the 526 years of the Assyrian *empire*, and the remaining 6 to the continuance of the monarchy during its last 105 years from B.C. 711 to B.C. 606.” If this view be correct, it follows that xxiv only out of the xxx kings of Assyria are included among those xlv Chaldæans to whom Berosus assigned his 526 years of Assyrian empire; and that the remaining xxi are the associate or dependent kings who reigned at Babylon during the same time with their suzerains of Nineveh. Thus, Clinton observes, if there were xxiv kings in the 526 years, they would reign about 22 years each, which is a probable average. But on the other hand, as Berosus no doubt gave the years of each king, one would have expected him either to distinguish two concurrent lines, making out by the reigns given for

each one and the same sum of 526 years, or else, if he threw the kings of both lines together, the sum of their collective reigns should have been 1052, or twice the chronological space which they jointly covered. Besides this, we have in the *Astronomical Canon* an authentic list of the *Babylonian* kings from Nabonassar to the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus; and this list gives 21 names of kings, besides two interregna of 2 and 8 years respectively, in a space of only 209 years, the interregna included. So these kings reigned one with another not quite 10 years each, an average even below that which is given by Berosus to the xlv kings of the Assyrian empire from Ninus: for these in 526 years would have $11\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{5}$, or within 3 months of 12 years, each. It would, therefore, be very unsafe to double this average upon a mere conjecture. But perhaps it is most probable that the reckoning of 30 kings in all, and the naming of that Sennacherib as 25th, who seemed to be last but five before the destruction of Nineveh, was only an inconsistency in Abydenus, the source perhaps of the similar inconsistency of Diodorus.

CASTOR OF RHODES.

Castor, son-in-law to King Deiotarus of Armenia, who brought down his chronography to B.C. 56, is quoted by Eusebius in the following words:—“*E Castoris Summario de regno Assyriorum*: ‘Belus erat,’ inquit, ‘Assyriorum rex, et sub eo Cyclopes. . . . Jovi cum Titanis prælianti opem ferebant. Reges quoque Titanorum eo tempore cognoscebantur’ [an allusion seemingly to Abydenus, and to the antediluvian kings of Berosus from Alorus], ‘quorum e numero erat *Ogyges* rex’ [an allusion to Xisuthrus and to the Flood]. . . Mox, paucis interjectis, subdit Gigantes Diis bellum intulisse, atque occidione esse cæsos: strenuos Deorum adjutores fuisse Herculem et Bacchum, qui et ipsi erant Titani: Belum, de quo antea diximus, mortem obiisse, *qui etiam deus existimatus sit*: *Post hunc* Assyriis dominatum esse *Ninum* annis 52, qui uxorem duxit Semiramidem: Post eum Semiramidem rexisse imperium annis 42: Zamem, qui et Ninyas, successisse. Deinde Assyriorum qui consecuti

sunt reges singillatim ordinatimque numerat *usque ad Sardanapallum*, nominatim quemque compellans; quorum etiam nos paullo post nomina et tempora ponemus." (*Chron.* i. 13, p. 36.) Here it is to be remarked, that Belus, though he stands alone, without the intermediate five names of Abydenus, as the father of Ninus, is confessedly the antediluvian deified ancestor, who is brought down, while all the mythological interval, described more at length by Abydenus from Berosus and Polyhistor, is compendiously alluded to. Also, that Eusebius here, just as in the case of Abydenus, makes Castor bring down his series "to Sardanapalus," whereas in another passage, which he gives shortly afterwards, Castor himself declares that he ended *not* with Sardanapalus, but "with Ninus II., who succeeded Sardanapalus." One must suppose, therefore, that Eusebius took no notice of Ninus II., because in his own list, which he announces his intention of copying from Castor, and which he did, in fact, so copy, but with some curtailment, making only as he says "1240," really only 1238, instead of 1280 years, he purposed to omit Ninus II. as a supernumerary unknown to Ctesias. "Profecto et ille," so Eusebius continues of Castor, "in eo quem digessit canone sic de his loquitur: 'Primo Assyriorum reges disposuimus, exordiumque a Belo duximus; et quoniam *haud traditum est quot hic annis regnaverit*,' [we have seen that Belus and five others were given as a genealogy by Abydenus without years, and the reason is manifest,] '*nihil præter nomen adscripsimus*. A Nino autem *principium chronologiæ fecimus*, et in alterum Ninum qui Sardanapali sedem usurpaverit' [succeeded, διαδεξάμενον in the Greek] '*desivimus*; prorsus ut perspicuè definitèque sua cuique regi tempora tribuerentur. Porro annorum 1280 summa exsurgit.'" So then Castor ending, as is implied by Eusebius, together with Abydenus and with Barbarus, "67 years before Olymp. 1," in B.C. 843, though he had certainly one additional reign derived from Abydenus, and probably two or three, and so made xxxviii or xxxix in all, instead of the xxxvi of Ctesias, yet made in all a sum of only 1280 years, being 26 fewer than Ctesias gave to only xxxvi kings. And this is probably a variation

not derived from Abydenus, but introduced by himself, and for the same reason for which he is known to have curtailed the years of other lines of kings besides the Assyrian. For the xxxvi kings of Ctesias would seem in 1306 years to have reigned $36\frac{10}{36}$, or 36 years and over 4 months each, which is considerably over Herodotus's average even for life generations. But xxxviii or xxxix in 1280 years would reign only $33\frac{2}{3}\frac{6}{8}$, or $32\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{9}$, that is, a little over $33\frac{1}{3}$, or a little under 33 years each. Probably it was on account of the reduction already made by Castor that Eusebius preferred to make Castor's list the basis of his own; and probably it was owing to the same causes that no one of those forms of the same list which have reached us exhibit in conjunction with the xxxvi reigns of Ctesias his sum of 1306 years.

THE "AUCTOR BARBARUS" OF SCALIGER.

Of the Auctor Barbarus thus much only need be said here, that his Assyrian list is connected with that of Abydenus and that of Castor at once by its ending with Ninus II., by its ending "67 years before Olymp. 1," and by its prefixing the name of Belus to that of Ninus. By prefixing the name of Belus only, without the other five names of Abydenus, it is connected rather with Castor: but by the sum of "1430 years," which it subjoins, it is disconnected from him: and by giving to Belus, at the head of all, a reign of 62 years it is distinguished as a variation from both. When these 62 years, however, are subtracted, what remains of the sum given, viz. $(1430 - 62 =) 1368$ years, if reckoned up from B.C. 843, sets the epoch of Ninus and the Assyrian empire at B.C. 2211, which is exactly the epoch of Berosus, not indeed for Ninus, but for the commencement of his historical series from the Median capture of Babylon. And this event was capable of being identified in fable with the commencement of a Medo-Assyrian empire. For Ninus also, according to Ctesias, began by the reduction of Babylonia. It may be supposed, therefore, that the bases of the list and sum of Barbarus (without the 62 years of Belus) are, in fact, the list and sum of Abydenus, who purposely

made his series to begin 25 years higher than Thoth 1 in B.C. 2186, where it had been made to begin by Ctesias, in order to coincide with the epoch of Berosus. It is further to be remarked that, as the list stands, the sums given, "xxxix kings and 1430 years," are not actually made out, there being only xxxviii kings and 1344 years, even when Belus and his 62 years are included. So two kings and 86 years are wanting. On the other hand, the sum which is actually exhibited below Belus, being 1284, exceeds by only 4 that which would have suited for Castor. And without the 42 years of the reigns of Semiramis II. and Ninus II., which were unknown to Ctesias, and which are dropped also by Eusebius, the remaining sum of 1240, though there is a difference in particular reigns, exceeds by only two the sum named by Eusebius as that "of the most accurate writers." One of the reigns, that of Macchaleus or Aschalius, which should be the 12th, with 30 or 28 years, is easy to restore from the other lists. The other is less certain. It may be that the name Sethos, which in the list of Syncellus stands 10th, with 50 years, instead of Altadas with 32 or 38, was *added* in the list of Barbarus, or the name of Tratres, given by Eusebius with 17 years, is improperly consolidated with Semiramis II., or Atossa; that is, if there were in all xxxix, and all these, and not only xxxviii of them, were below Belus.

Assuming that for the last 12 names and reigns in the list of Barbarus the text needs no correction, one finds the fall of Troy attached by a note to the last year of Teutamus, written Tautelus, $(67 + 389 =)$ 456 years above Olymp. 1, that is, at B.C. 1232, which might perhaps suit for Ctesias; and in the same list, if we reckon up as if for Ctesias $(389 - 19 =)$ 370 years (without the 19 of Ninus II.) from B.C. 880, the last year of Teutamus would end in B.C. 1250. Sardanapalus, however, has 30 years in no other list except that of Barbarus; and with the figures of Ctesias himself, the last year of Teutamus would end in B.C. 1230, having begun in B.C. 1262. The 1000 years, too, "or more," before Troy, which are named by Diodorus, might have been found by him in the list of Abydenus, if that list commenced as if in B.C. 2211, and the synchronism were attached to the

last year, not of Teutamus the 26th king, as it had been by Ctesias, but to the last year of Teutæus his successor, 40 years later, so as to suit Eratosthenes's date and his own. As the list of Barbarus stands, the last year of Teutamus, the 25th from *after* Ninus in the list of Ctesias, appears to end in B.C. ($776 + 67 + 389 =$) 1232, or after 1041 years from Belus. But in no case could the 1000 years have been made out from *Ninus* to *Teutamus*, between whose last year and the accession of Ninus, even with Abydenus's sum of 1368 years, ending in B.C. 843 (equivalent to 1331 years ending in B.C. 880), there would be at most ($2211 - 1216 =$) 995 years.

CEPHALION.

Another author, Cephalion, who wrote in the time of the Emperor Hadrian, is also quoted by Eusebius and Syncellus, and he belongs to the same family with the preceding, since besides Hellanicus of Lesbos and Herodotus he names prominently as his chief authority Ctesias. He too began the Assyrian reigns from Ninus "*the son of Belus.*" "He writes," says Syncellus, "thus: 'In the oldest time ($\tau\acute{o}$ $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\acute{o}\nu$) the Assyrians had the lordship over Asia, being themselves governed by Ninus the son of Belus.' Then he introduces [an account of] the origin of Semiramis and of Zoroaster the Mage in the 52nd year of the reign of Ninus" ["of the reign of Ninus, which lasted 52 years, and of his death" in Euseb. Arm.]. 'After whom,' he says, 'Semiramis walled Babylon, as has been related by Ctesias, Zeno, Herodotus, and many others after them.' He relates too that she made an expedition against the Indians, but was defeated; that she slew her own sons; and that she was herself slain by Ninus [Ninyas] one of her sons, who succeeded her in the throne," [Eusebius adds "when she had reigned 42 years. And of this her successor it is said that he did nothing worthy of mention."] Syncellus proceeds: "And further on [he says the same] of the rest, 'who reigned for the space of 1000 years, all in direct succession from father to son; and no one of them reigned less than 20 years. For their unwarlike, unenterprising, and effeminate habits kept them out of danger.

For they remained always shut up in the palace, and so did nothing; nor were they visible to any except the concubines and the eunuchs. Of these kings, if any one wishes to know the names, Ctesias gives them, twenty, I think, and three. But for me, what should I gain either towards improving my own work or pleasing the reader by the insertion of a mere string of names of barbarian tyrants who were all cowardly and effeminate?' After which he makes mention of their years. 'When about 640 years had passed from Ninus, *Belimus* (anno 640°, rege Belimo) reigned over the Assyrians. And there came to his dominions Perseus the son of Danae with 100 ships; for Perseus was flying from Dionysus the son of Semele.' And further on: 'In a later generation (ὁστέρῃ δὲ γενεῇ), in the reign of *Panyas*, the expedition of the Argonauts sailed to the Phasis and to Medea of Colchis, and Hercules wandered from the ship after Hylas towards Cappadocia,' &c. And again: 'If one reckons 1000 years from Semiramis to the reign of *Mithræus*, that was the time when the Colchian Medea daughter of Ægeus eloped, of whom was born *Medus*; and from him are descended the *Medes*, and from him their country was named *Media*.' Then he says that 'Mithræus was succeeded by *Tautanus*' [the same variant as in the list of Barbarus, but the Armenian version has Teutamus], 'who lived like the rest according to the habits and institutions of the Assyrians. Nor was there anything else of note done in his time more than under the rest. But then it was that Agamemnon and Menelaus of Mycenæ went with the Argives and the rest of the Achæans to war against Troy the city of Priam in Phrygia.' Then he gives Priam's letter to Teutamus, asking for succour after Hector had been slain." Eusebius concludes (p. 44), "Ait postea disertè Sardanapallum anno 1013 Assyriorum regem esse creatum, cujus et exitium memorat. Tum, sublato Sardanapallo, Assyriorum imperium a Varbace extinctum et ad Medos esse translatum. Hæc omnia Cephalion." "So Cephalion would seem to have omitted all the reigns between Teutamus and Sardanapalus, whom he places 13 years after the Trojan war; an omission for which he is censured by Syncellus, p. 168 β'." [More than this, he had already reckoned 1000 years, and that too from Semiramis,

before coming to the *accession* of Teutamus.] “The account of Cephalion will place the rise of the Median empire about B.C. 1150, and the rise of the Assyrian about B.C. 2184, which he reckons to be 640 years before Perseus and Bacchus. From Cephalion, however, we learn that Teutamus was made by Ctesias the 25th [26th?] king, and not the 20th, as Diodorus [erroneously] expresses it. For Ctesias according to Cephalion enumerated 23 kings” [meaning probably to Teutamus and Troy, after the 1000 years, not as Clinton takes it to the end of his whole series], “of whom Teutamus was the 22nd [23rd] after Ninus, Semiramis, and Ninyas. These three reigns being added, Teutamus will be the 25th [26th] king.” (*Clinton, F. H.* vol. i. p. 265.)

THE CHRISTIAN CHRONOGRAPHERS.

Of these Africanus, according to Syncellus, placed the commencement of the Assyrian empire 200 years before Inachus, that is in B.C. $1906 + 200 = 2106$ (see above, p. 716), which was for him 194 years below the birth of the patriarch Abraham, at the commencement of the 35th year of Jacob. Hence it would seem that Africanus for his Assyrian reckoning adopted the list of Castor, since Castor’s sum of 1280 years reckoned from B.C. 2106 would end in B.C. 826, where Syncellus also ended (and Eusebius varied by only 6 years from the same ending). And from B.C. 826 Africanus must have had 266 years of 8 Median reigns to the Persian accession of Cyrus, which he rightly (according to his manner of reckoning) put in the autumn of B.C. 560, and it may be 17, 21, or 24 years more during which Cyaxares II. reigned together with Cyrus.

Eusebius, finding the list of Castor and Africanus a little too long for his own scheme, made it to end 6 years lower, in B.C. 820, instead of 826, omitted the last reign of Ninus II. with 19 years, and shortened the other reigns besides by 21 years, so as to make 1238 only in all in his Canon, instead of 1280. These 1238 reckoned upwards from B.C. 820, 43, or in round numbers “40,” years before Olymp. 1, find their commencement in B.C. $(820 + 1238 =)$ 2058, which is for him $(2058 - 2016 =)$ 42 years before the birth of

Abraham, so that Ninus the first king is for the last 10 years of his reign contemporary with Abraham. Below B.C. 820 he made 260 years of 8 Median reigns to the defeat of Astyages by Cyrus in B.C. 560.

Syncellus, and probably Anianus before him, both for other reasons and in order to avoid exhibiting the Assyrian monarchy as commencing long after Abraham (an incongruity for which they blamed Africanus), made out a list of xli kings from Belus, assigning *years* to 5 out of the 6 *names* prefixed to Ninus by Abydenus, yet so that Belus alone with 55 years appeared to precede Ninus, the other 4 names with 162 years being inserted much lower down in the list, after Teutamius and Teutæus. They adhered, too, to Africanus and Eusebius in ending with Sardanapalus. Thus their list had 1460 years in all, exceeding the sum of 1368 which may be collected from Barbarus for Abydenus by 92 years, but beginning only $92 - 17 = 75$ years before Abydenus, in B.C. ($826 + 1460 =$) 2286, just 160 years above the beginning of Ctesias. What the purpose of this arrangement was will appear below. And from B.C. 826, where their Assyrian list ends with that of Africanus, 6 years above that of Eusebius, Anianus and Syncellus continued with only viii Median reigns, instead of the ix of Ctesias, but giving to them 283 years, instead of 266 like Africanus, so as to end in B.C. 543, 17 years below the true date for the accession of Cyrus.

For the four last names of their viii Medes Eusebius and Syncellus follow not Ctesias or Castor, but Herodotus. And according to Syncellus Astyages is at once "Nabonadius," who reigned 17 years (the last of his 38) after killing Neriglissar, and "Darius the Mede," the patron of Daniel and uncle of Cyrus, and the king "Ahasuerus," who made Esther his queen.

HERODOTUS AND HOLY SCRIPTURE.

After having thus noticed the different lists, we may return to Ctesias, from whom they are all alike derived. His accounts are plainly irreconcilable with those of Herodotus, and of the Sacred Scriptures. For from Herodotus and the Scriptures we learn that the Median *empire* lasted only 128 years, including 28 during which the Scythians

were masters of Asia; that there were only 150 years in all between the defection of the Medes and the Babylonians from Nineveh (which is so referred to B.C. 709), and the Persian accession of Cyrus, and only *four* kings in all who ruled over Media as an independent kingdom; and that Nineveh, so far from being destroyed in B.C. 880, was not destroyed when it really lost its empire in B.C. 709, nor till 103 years later, that is, till B.C. 606, when it was taken, not by Arbaces and Belesis, but by Cyaxares and Nabopolassar (*Nabo-Belessar*). Herodotus, too, expressly assigns for the duration of the Assyrian empire over *upper Asia* from its establishment (which he indirectly ascribes to Ninus) to its cessation through the loss of Media and Babylon, no more than 520 years. He adds, that even after being stripped of its chief dependencies, the city and kingdom of the Assyrians of Nineveh, as a particular state, was still flourishing and powerful. And with this account of Herodotus the notices contained in Holy Scripture and the monumental records of Egypt agree. In the time of the Patriarch Abraham no great empire is spoken of with either Nineveh or Babylon for its capital, though both those cities had long existed, but a confederacy of four kings, named as “Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goim, made war upon Bera king of Sodom, Birsha king of Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, Shemeber king of Zeboim, and the king of Bela or Zoar,” “*four* kings against five.” And of this confederacy Chedorlaomer the king of *Elam* was the head. And after a battle in the valley of the Jordan, where is now the Dead Sea, the five kings of the cities of the plain submitted, and became subject to Chedorlaomer 12 years; but in the 13th year they rebelled. And in the 14th year Chedorlaomer and the other three kings, his confederates, returned, and after smiting the neighbouring peoples, fought another battle in the vale of Siddim, and were again victorious. And having slain the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, they spoiled those cities, and carried away Lot, the nephew of Abraham; whereupon Abraham, with 318 men of his own servants, and his friends Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, pursued after them to

Dan, and coming upon them by night, smote them, and pursued them to Hobah, on the left of Damascus, and recovered all the spoil, and the captives, and Lot. Now in this account, though the small number of Abraham's band goes for nothing, and though the greater the invading force, which must have been considerable, the better it suits the spirit of the narrative, and though a fixed league of three kings under a fourth indicates something like a suzerainty or empire vested in the fourth, it is impossible to connect this incipient and, perhaps, only personal and temporary empire of a king of Elam with Assyria, or with either of the Chaldean cities of Nineveh or Babylon. There was no Assyrian *empire* then in existence, we may safely infer, during the interval between the Call of Abraham and the birth of Isaac B.C. 2084 — 2059, though a spirit of aggression and conquest tending to the creation of an Elamitic empire was already manifested, and coming into conflict, accidentally as it were, with Christ, as yet unborn, was nipped in the bud. Still less is there room for any Assyrian empire during those five centuries or more which intervened between the rise of the great Theban Dynasty XVIII in Egypt and the deaths of Rameses III. and of his sons who reigned after him, that is from B.C. 1748 till after the middle of the 13th century before Christ. For we find Thothmes III. (B.C. 1682 to B.C. 1655) setting up his trophies or stelæ in "Nineveh," and naming "Babylon" also among his conquests or dependencies; and the campaigns and victories of Rameses II. (B.C. 1486 to B.C. 1421) and Rameses III. (B.C. 1321 to B.C. 1275) in Mesopotamia are now well known. Indeed it appears from the Egyptian monuments that down to the time of Rameses XIV. (B.C. 1157 to B.C. 1123?) who was contemporary with Eli and Samuel, and even as late as the reign of Her-Hor Si-amon (B.C. 1108 to B.C. 1071?) the kings of Egypt still retained some hold over the peoples of Mesopotamia and the neighbouring countries, and received from their rulers tributes and presents: though already in the time of Rameses XIV. there are signs that such hold as the Egyptian suzerain still retained was kept up rather by politic management, by friendly intercourse, and by intermarriages,

than by terror of arms or coercion. But if we come down to the date of Herodotus it may be true—and thus far there may be something historical under the fables of Ctesias—that in B.C. $(709 + 520 =)$ 1229, 23 years before the end of the Theban Dyn. XIX, a king of Nineveh and Athuria or Assyria named Ninus, who was the founder of a line, in the 7th year of his reign, casting off whatever still remained of dependence on Egypt, and having previously made a league with Ariæus, king of the Arabs, or Shasou, subjected to himself Babylonia and Babylon (not yet *so* built, as it was built afterwards by Nebuchadnezzar and Nitocris); that soon afterwards, upon his attacking the Armenians, the king, Barzanes, obtained peace on easy conditions, and became his tributary; but that it cost him a great battle to subdue Media, the king of which country, Pharnus, he took prisoner, and put him to death, as he had taken and slain the king of Babylonia; and that he set up in Babylonia and Media new rulers of his own. Some such acts and successes must naturally have been the beginnings of the *empire* of Nineveh. And hence one can understand that at this point of time Berosus may have passed from his more ancient series of *Babylonian* kings and dynasties to the kings of Nineveh and Assyria. All this then, which Ctesias according to Diodorus (lib. ii. c. 1) related of Ninus, may be admitted, though perhaps even already he has ascribed too much to a single reign. Nor has anything been discovered from Egyptian inscriptions to *require* that the date of this commencement of the Assyrian empire should be put lower than it is put by Herodotus. It may be admitted too that the vigorous reign of Ninus was followed by a second of a similar character; that Ninus (or some one of his successors) warred twice with the Bactrians; that the first time he was defeated, but at the last was victorious; and that this was the last exploit of a long reign, during which he had built himself a palace in Nineveh, and enlarged and strengthened that city. That his successor Semiramis invaded India need not be denied, since it is confessed that she was defeated: but it is probable that this story, as well as the former, covers an allusion to events much later: that Bactria, after having

been unsuccessfully invaded before, was at length brought to submission, and that this was the latest acquisition not of Ninus but of the Assyrian empire : that after this reduction of Bactria, there was a war with some of the peoples of the north-west part of India, in which the Assyrians were defeated in battle, and made no territorial conquests. Still, as it appears, they were sufficiently formidable to obtain a treaty by which it was stipulated that they should receive presents, or tributes, as elephants, rhinoceroses, monkeys, ivory, and other products of the country ; since these offerings, together with the two-humped Bactrian camel (to be connected in like manner with the Bactrian war of Ninus), appear on a small black obelisk of one of the Assyrian kings which is now in the British museum. The fable of Ninus's more extensive conquests has been noticed and accounted for above ; but the conquest of Egypt both by him, and again by Semiramis, may cover and disguise an allusion to the fact that in times past, previously to those two reigns, the peoples and cities of Mesopotamia and their rulers had paid homage to the Egyptian Pharaohs. But after the two first reigns we *need* the confession of Ctesias that the third king Ninyas and others of his successors were *unwarlike*. And this admission occurs very opportunely, so as to make room for the reappearance of Egyptian influence in Mesopotamia and the neighbouring countries during a century or two longer, though in a milder form. So we collect that it was not till long afterwards that the kings of Assyria showed themselves again warlike and energetic like Ninus, and succeeded in reducing Bactria, and in obtaining gifts as the price of amity from the nearest of the Indians. And if we turn again from the Egyptian monuments to the Scriptures, we find that in the reign of David, in the latter half of the 11th century before Christ, the Ammonites are spoken of as *hiring* the Syrians of Bethrehob and the Syrians of Zobah and of king Maachah and of Ishtob against David. And, when these Syrians were defeated, "*Hadarezer* sent and brought out the Syrians that were *beyond the Euphrates* ; and they came to Helam ; and Shobach the captain of the host *of Hadarezer* went before them. And David defeated these also, and slew [the men of]

700 chariots of the Syrians, and 40,000 horsemen, and smote Shobach the captain of their host, who died there. And when all *the kings who were servants to Hadarezer* saw that they were smitten before Israel, they made peace with Israel, and *served* them. So the Syrians feared to help the children of Ammon any more." (2 Kings, x.) In all this narrative, though the Syrians from beyond the Euphrates are brought in, there is no allusion to any great empire of Assyria. Under Solomon "all the kings of the Hittites" are mentioned again as independent, or as his own tributaries, rather than as subjects of any other power beyond the Euphrates; so that we are reminded of the frequent mention of the "*Khita*" of the north of Syria in the wars of the Egyptian kings. Indeed the very fact of the kingdom of Israel growing to such power and wealth, and extending itself so much under David and Solomon, is a sign that at that time there was no very powerful empire either to the south in Egypt or to the north in Assyria. Else, if they had had any such neighbours, they could scarcely have failed to excite their jealousy, and to come into collision. And the terms in which the history of this time is alluded to after an examination of the public records under Cambyzes, or the Magian usurper, are such as to imply that David and Solomon were thought to have been superior in power to any empire existing in their day in the neighbouring countries. "There have been mighty kings also over Jerusalem, which have ruled over all beyond the river, and toll, tribute, and custom was paid to them." (Ezra, iv. 30.) And still later, in the time of Shishonk I. (B.C. 978 to B.C. 957), it seems that the kings of Nineveh looked on from a distance, as not themselves concerned, while he was subduing in detail the numerous states and cities of Syria. The points of time, and the occasions through which the kingdoms of Damascus, Samaria, and Judah at length came into contact with the Assyrians, are marked clearly enough in the Scriptures. Heathen writers add similar particulars respecting Tyre; and the dates are all as late as the middle of the 8th century before Christ. We may therefore understand the true reason for which all the kings after Ninus and Semiramis were said to have been *faineants* to be this, that though towards the end

of the 13th century before Christ power was certainly obtained by the kings of Nineveh over some of the neighbouring reigns, as over Babylonia and Media, and perhaps also Armenia, this was no more than a limited and variable hegemony. And some Greek writers, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for instance, who rightly followed Herodotus rather than Ctesias, seem to have been aware that the Assyrian empire, even when it had reached its full growth, ruled in truth only a certain limited part of "the Upper Asia":—
 "Ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχή, παλαιὰ τις οὔσα καὶ εἰς μυθικοὺς ἀναγομένη χρόνους, ὀλίγου τινὸς ἐπεκράτησε τῆς Ἀσίας μέρους· ἡ δὲ Μηδική, καθελοῦσα τὴν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ μείζονα δυναστείαν περιβαλομένη, χρόνον οὐ πολὺν κατέσχευεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης κατελύθη γενεᾶς." (*Dion. Hal. Ant.*, i. p. 5, ap. *Clinton, F. H.*, i. p. 283.)

But if we were to accept the accounts of Ctesias, it would follow that, after Ninus and Semiramis had conquered in a manner the Asiatic world, the rest of his xxxvi kings their successors, all of them faineants, retained peaceable possession of it during 1306 years, reigning in unbroken succession from father to son, and, one with another, above 36 years apiece, an average far above the highest on which Manetho ventured in his partiality to the first six dynasties of Lower Egypt. This, then, alone and apart from other signs of falsehood, is enough to show that the reigns of Ctesias, as he gave them, were not historical.

BEROSUS.

But Berosus, a native Babylonian, and priest of the god Belus, a man every way qualified, writing a century later than Ctesias, about B.C. 280, and like him in Greek, not to impose upon strangers at a distance, but for the information of his own Syro-Macedonian sovereign, to whom his work was dedicated, knew no doubt all that Ctesias had written, as well as Manetho knew the Second Book of Herodotus. Tatian, in the second century after Christ, being himself a native of Assyria, mentions Berosus thus:—
 "Βηρωσσὸς, ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, ἱερεὺς τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Βήλου, κατὰ Ἀλέξαν-

δρου γεγονὼς, Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν τρίτῳ" [that is, seemingly, to Antiochus Soter, whose accession was in B.C. 280; but Eusebius and others understand Antiochus Θεός], "τὴν Χαλδαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν ἐν τρισὶ βιβλίοις κατατάξας" (p. 126). And in such notices of Berosus as have been preserved (chiefly from Alexander Polyhistor, who was a freedman of Sylla, and wrote about B.C. 83, and from Abydenus, who wrote somewhat later), we have "an account of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings which differs altogether from that of Ctesias," and is much more in accord with the statements of Herodotus and of the Scriptures. For below the cessation of the Assyrian *empire*, through the revolt of Media and Babylon, we find that he continued the line of the kings of Nineveh, naming Pul, and again (which, if this Pul were the contemporary of Menahem, would be after an interval), Sennacherib, and his son Esarhaddon, mentioning, too, the temporary independence of Babylon under Merodach Baladan and others, and two other reigns of 21 years each, before coming to that of Nabopolassar, who reigned in Babylon, and who had a share with Cyaxares in the destruction of Nineveh. Then, above Pul, Berosus, having a Chaldæan dynasty of xlv kings with 526 years, marked about its commencement by the name Semiramis, and at or after its end by that of Pul, or Sardanapalus, agrees well with Herodotus, who writes that there had been an Assyrian empire for 520 years from Ninus; and who names also Sardanapalus. And this shows, whence and by what process the fabulous list of Ctesias was fabricated. It shows that in the lists of Ctesias the history of the *empire* was expanded and substituted for that of the kingdom or city of Nineveh, and of the whole regions of Assyria and Babylonia. And a single dynasty, or what might be presented as such on account of the connection of all its kings with the *empire*, was substituted for a series of separate dynasties. For whereas the xlv kings who really belonged to the period of the empire reigned in 526 years only $11\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{5}$, or about 11 years and 9 months each, Ctesias, or his informants, transferred to Ninus and xxxv descendants all those 975 years, shortened only by 25, which Berosus afterwards showed to have belonged to earlier kings between the

Median seizure of *Babylon*, in B.C. 2211 (or more properly 2209), and the accession of Ninus at *Nineveh*, in B.C. 1236 (or 1235). His reduction of Babylon, from which the 520 years of empire in Herodotus will begin, must be understood to have been 6 years later. Now if Ctesias had been told the full number of xlv kings, and the true date at which they ended, viz. in B.C. (560 [really 559] + 150 =) 710, he should have given them (526 + 245 + 458 + 48 + 224 =) 1501 years, so as to make them begin from B.C. 2211. Or, if he made them to end (as he did) in B.C. (560 + 150 + 170 =) 880, 170 years earlier than the true date, in order so to antedate and lengthen the Median empire, he should, after cutting off 170 years, have had a sum still remaining of (1501 - 170 =) 1331 years to give to his xxxvi Assyrian kings. But in fact, for some reason or other — perhaps because there was really some Assyrian epoch for *Nineveh* corresponding to that of the Median capture of Babylon, but 25 years later — he allowed to his xxxvi kings 25 years less, and gave them in all only (1331 - 25 =) 1306 years. He omitted too, as if in connection with the 170 years above mentioned, nine out of the xlv Assyrian kings really belonging to the empire, and gave instead five new Median kings of his own creation to stand with the same 170 years, and with 10 more, which last however belong to the 150 historical years of Median independence, and so to the reign of Deioces. So he gave both to his xxxvi Assyrian and to his ix Median reigns his average of above 36 years.

Dismissing now the fables of Ctesias and his informants, let us consider the earlier part of the scheme of Berosus as represented in quotations from Polyhistor or others.

According to Polyhistor, Berosus placed first of all in the old world of the antediluvians 1058 years anterior to the institution of any monarchy. This is stated by Syncellus from Anianus and Panodorus (see above, p. 854); and the author of the Paschal Chronicle of the 7th century (A.D. 630), mentions the same in the following words: “Πρώτον πασῶν ἀναγράφουσι τὴν τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλείαν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολύιστωρ, Βηρωσσοῦς, Ἀβυδηνὸς, καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος, οἱ πρῶτον μὲν ἰστοοῦσιν ἀβασίλευτα ἔτη, ἀνῆ’.” (ap. *Mai Vett. Scriptt.*

Nova Coll., tom. viii. p. 7). Time in the *mythological* period of Berosus was reckoned in *sari*, *neri*, and *sossi*. The *sarus* consisted (as was explained by Abydenus) of 3600 nominal years, really *days*, so that it was equivalent to 10 vague Nabonassarian years of 360 days each, its proper complement of the 5 additional days or Epagomenæ, though unnoticed, being understood to go with each year, as was the case also with the nominal years, really months, of the Egyptians. The *nerus* consisted of 600 nominal years, really days, equivalent to 20 months, or the sixth part of a *sarus*. The *sossus* consisted of 60 nominal years, really days, and was the unit in the whole series. In its origin it probably represented two lunar months (for, as the lunar months consisted not of whole days but of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days each, it would be natural to reckon them in pairs of 59 whole days each), together with that additional day which was in a manner added to every two months when the original lunar month of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days was first filled up to a civil month of 30 full days, and the original or lunar year of 354 days to a civil vague year, neither any longer lunar nor as yet solar, but an intermediate or transition year between the two, consisting of 360 days, to which afterwards as a correction, whether in Egypt first or elsewhere, the 5 epagomenæ were added. The Egyptians, we know, claimed the merit of this improvement; and there is no counter claim set up against them. But the addition, if really theirs, was at any rate made very early; and it was borrowed from them by their neighbours; since not only the Babylonian or Nabonassarian year, used also by the Persians, coincided with the Egyptian, and had the 5 epagomenæ, but another most ancient nation, that of the Armenians, had, and even has still to this day, the same year, though its use has been superseded in very recent times by a fixed Ecclesiastical year which they have associated with it for many ages. A *sossus* then being two months, this double month of 60 days multiplied by 10 ($60 \times 10 = 600$) was a *nerus*, and multiplied into itself ($60 \times 60 = 3600$) it was a *sarus*, a *sossus* of *sossi*, or double-month with double-months for its days. In terms of this reckoning Berosus's first 1058 vague years of human time would be 105 *sari*, 4 *neri*, and 8 *sossi*, expansible into ($1058 \times 12 =$) 12,696 months, or 380,880

nominal years, really days. After these he named as having reigned in the antediluvian Babylon — so widely does he differ from Ctesias — ten dynasts or kings from Alorus, the first, who in spite of the 1058 “years without monarchy” preceding must be Adam, to Xisuthrus, the tenth, who by the Flood and the Ark is identified with Noah, and who immediately after leaving the ark and sacrificing disappears, and is deified. (For the names and the text of Berosus see Vol. I. p. 46.) The ten antediluvian kings having 120 *sari*, or 14,400 months (reckoned in pairs), expansible into 432,000 day-years, and representing 1200 full Nabonasarian years, these, if added to the former 1058, make of human time to the Flood 2258 vague years. The number seems to indicate a difference of about 6 years (see Vol. I. p. 45) between the Babylonian and the Egyptian reckonings, similar to that which exists between the Alexandrian LXX. and the Greek reckoning of Josephus, since the former of these makes 2262, the latter 2256 Hebrew years to the end of the Flood. (See above, Vol. I., pp. 28 and 47.) Anianus, indeed, by availing himself of the epagomenæ, and dividing the 432,000 days of the ten kings not by 360 but by 365, obtained for them only 1183 full years, which added to the preceding 1058, made 2241, and 205 days, or within a fraction his own number of 2242 years, to the Flood. But this was by a mixture of artifice and luck; of artifice, since he uses, below the Flood, the true method of reduction, which is different; and luck, since it was certainly luck that the difference between his own reckoning of 2242 years to the Flood and the 2256 of Berosus and Josephus, was so nearly identical with that between the quotient of 432,000 divided by 360 and the quotient of the same sum divided by 365. Berosus’s whole sum to the Flood amounted to 225 *sari*, 4 *neri*, and 8 *sossi*, which *might be* expanded at will into 27,096 months, or to 812,880 nominal day-years.

Below the Flood Polyhistor, according to Anianus and Syncellus, represented Berosus as making the Babylonian monarchy to *recommence* — Babylon being *rebuilt* on its old site — after a short interval of only 146 or 162 full years. Not having the text itself of Berosus or Polyhistor we

cannot be sure which of these two numbers is the true ; but if Polyhistor, as Syncellus seems to assert, placed the recommencement of monarchy after 2404 years *of his own reckoning*, then 2258 of these would be before the Flood and only 146 below it. But it is also possible that Polyhistor only named the interval between the Flood and the recommencement of monarchy ; and Anianus finding this interval to be 162 years, may have added to it the (1058 of Polyhistor + 1184 instead of 1200 =) 2242, which were obtained only by his own method of reduction for the time before the Flood ; and so he would ascribe to Berosus a reckoning of (2242 + 162 =) 2404 instead of his true reckoning of (2258 + 162 =) 2420 years to the recommencement of monarchy. Since a choice must be made, it may be safest to suppose that Polyhistor did really reckon 2404 years ; and of these consequently below the Flood only 146, which may be described as 14 *sari*, 3 *neri*, and 6 *sossi* equivalent to 1752 months, or 52,560 days. The words of Syncellus are as follows : — “ Alexander Polyhistor will have it that from *this* year, A. M. 2405,” (that is, from after A. M. 2404) “ the monarchy of the Chaldæans *recommenced* after the Flood, fabling as before of *sari*, *neri*, and *sossi*, and of lxxxvi Chaldæan ” [the words “ and Median ” added here by Syncellus are his own alteration] “ kings who reigned 34,080 years, or 9 *sari*, 2 *neri*, and 8 *sossi*, which some of our ecclesiastical historians have without any good reason taken to represent 94 solar years and 8 [6] months ; and these, *as they say*, come down to the year of the world [2242 + 162 + 95 =] 2499.” “ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυΐστωρ ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ βυέ κοσμικοῦ ἐτοῦς βούλεται πάλιν τὴν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλείαν κατάρξασθαι, μυθολογῶν διὰ σάρων καὶ νήρων καὶ σώσσεων βεβασιλευκέναι Χαλδαίων [καὶ Μήδων] βασιλεῖς πς' ἐν τρισμυρίοις ἔτεσι καὶ δπ', τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν σάροις θ' καὶ νήροις β' καὶ σώσσοις ή', ἅπερ τινὲς τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἡμῶνι στορικῶν οὐ καλῶς ἐξελάβοντο πάλιν εἰς ἔτη ἡλιακὰ ιδ' καὶ μῆνας ή' [ς'], ἅπερ, ὡς φασιν, εἰς τὸ βυζίθ' ἔτος κοσμικὸν συντρέχει.” (*Sync. Chronogr.*, p. 147, ed. Dind.) Here then Anianus and Panodorus reduce the day-years of Berosus, not dividing as before by 365, but dividing together

with Polyhistor and Apollodorus by 360, without any express notice of the epagomenæ. For 360 in 34,080 go 94 times with 240 days over; but 365 would have gone only 93 times with 135 days over.

The restorer of the postdiluvian Babylon, or at least its first king, according to Berosus and Polyhistor, was neither Ninus nor Belus, but *Euechius* (whom therefore Anianus and Syncellus identify with Nimrod the son of Cush). He reigned 3 *neri* and 5 *sossi*, equivalent, *if* these *neri* and *sossi* also are composed of day-years, to 2100 days, which by reduction give only 5 true years and 10 months: and Syncellus, following no doubt Anianus, reckons them as 6 years.

The second king was *Chomasbelus*, a name into the formation of which *Belus* enters as a pre-existing and antediluvian deity. So the pedigree of Ninus given by Eusebius from Abydenus making Belus his sixth ancestor, and the reckoning of Castor and of Syncellus making Belus the immediate predecessor of Ninus, with or without a fixed reign in years, are neither of them from Berosus. But besides this, Belus is clearly mentioned by Berosus as the deity who both formed the antediluvian world, and foretold to Xisuthrus the Flood; and if he were ever said by the Babylonians to be the father of their first king, this was only as identified with the first ancestor of mankind, Adam or Noah. Chomasbelus reigned 4 *neri* and 5 *sossi*, equal as reduced by Anianus to 7 full years and 6 months, reckoned by him and by Syncellus as 7 years.

These two kings, Euechius and Chomasbelus, were followed in the account of Berosus by lxxxiv others, all like them "Chaldæans;" and the lxxxvi names of these Chaldæans were all transcribed by Polyhistor, and had for their collective reigns a sum, as stated from Polyhistor and Eusebius by Anianus and Syncellus, of 9 *sari*, 2 *neri*, and 8 *sossi*, making 34,080 nominal years, as is rightly read in one MS. of Syncellus, though the old Armenian version of Eusebius has a variant of 33,091. These, Syncellus thought, had improperly been reduced by the ecclesiastical historians Anianus and Panodorus, as if days, to 94 or 95 full years. And for once he was right in the letter of his criticism,

though not in the sense intended. For the principle of reduction rejected by himself and by Eusebius was sound, though the application made of it was generally inaccurate and arbitrary. But in this case it is plain even at first sight that 94 or 95 years cannot possibly represent the reigns, whether historical or fictitious, of lxxxvi kings. They are as much too few as 34,080 are too many. And besides, it appears from the terms in which Syncellus quotes Polyhistor that these lxxxvi Chaldæan kings were intended to cover the interval (whatever Berosus made it to be) between the recommencement of monarchy in the postdiluvian Babylon 146 years after the Flood and that capture of Babylon by the Medes which was the epoch of his later or historical series. This by reckoning upwards from B.C. 560, and from B.C. 710, he may be shown to have placed about B.C. $(710 + 526 + 245 + 458 + 48 + 224 =)$ 2211, if no account be taken of the difference between Nabonassarian and fixed years; or else, and more correctly, at Thoth 1 (then at Feb. 27), in B.C. 2209. But no one can suppose that between the end of his A.M. $(2258 + 146 =)$ 2404, answering to the Egyptian A.M. $(2263 + 146 =)$ 2409, in B.C. $(5361 - 2409 \text{ vague years} =)$ 2954, and the end of the Egyptian A.M. 3154, in B.C. 2209, Berosus reckoned either so few as 95 or so many as 34,080 chronological years. Either then the numbers of 9 *sari*, 2 *neri*, and 8 *sossi*, representing 34,080 nominal years, must be altogether corrupt, or some other group or groups of kings unknown to Polyhistor and to Eusebius must have followed before the Median capture of Babylon, or the method of reduction employed by Anianus must *in the case of these 34,080 years* be erroneous. If the latter alternative be admitted, one must examine next whether they may not be reducible as *months*, like the nominal years of the Egyptians. No doubt there is a *primâ facie* objection, that thus we shall be imputing to Berosus a double reckoning, not only for his antehistorical period taken as a whole, but even for that division of it which is below the Flood. For it cannot be supposed that the first 52,560 nominal years below the Flood are *also* months, seeing that *they* will not divide by 12, as the 34,080 *do*, without a remainder. Unhappily

there is nothing preserved from Berosus to fix with certainty his computation for the interval with which we are concerned. All that can be said is this, that *if*, instead of cutting off about 7 months like the Egyptians, he antedated by about 5 months his commencement of human time in order to begin with the movable Thoth, then at April 25, and differed from them by 6 years (ostensibly by only 5) before the Flood, but agreed with them below it, then, by the help of their parallel reckoning we may collect that between the re-establishment of monarchy at Babylon 146 years after the Flood and its capture by the Medes Berosus had, or understood, an interval of 745 vague years. These would be 72 *sari*, 5 *neri*, and 6 *sossi*, equivalent to 8920 months, or 267,840 days; and they are to be reckoned from Thoth 1, Feb. 27, in the Julian B.C. 2209, the date of the Median capture of Babylon and the head of the Egyptian A.M. 3155, up to Thoth 1 in B.C. 2952, the head of the Egyptian A.M. ($3155 - 745 =$) 2410, assumed to correspond to the Chaldaean A.M. ($2263 - 5 = 2258 + 146 + 1 =$) 2405. The 34,080 nominal years, however, of those lxxxvi Chaldaean kings, who by their position seem intended to cover this interval, when taken for months and divided by 12, do not produce the sum wanted of 745 vague years, nor any other at all like it. They give instead a sum of 2840 years. This is not what we were seeking; but it may nevertheless afford a clue. For 2840 years are a sum not incapable of being attached to lxxxvi reigns, to which it gives $33\frac{2}{3}$ years each, showing that time is here measured in *life-generations* rather than in historical reigns, though the lxxxvi *names* themselves may be historical. On the other hand, if we assume 745 vague years to be the true interval with which the lxxxvi names are by their position connected, and, dropping for the moment the 34,080 nominal years given to them, divide 745 by 86, the quotient is $8\frac{57}{86}$, so that these kings would seem to reign only about 8 years and a half each; an average which, for patriarchal times at least, is plainly too low. And, even if it were otherwise, the sum of 745 years would be attached to the lxxxvi names only by an inference or conjecture of our own, while that

of 34,080, reducible, it may be, to 2840, is distinctly attached to them by Berosus himself.

Whatever may be the true account of it, the sum of 2840 full years, if understood to be given, under the form of 34,080 month-years, to the lxxxvi kings, is very similar both in its amount and in its relative position in the scheme of Berosus to the $(3750 - 903 =)$ 2847 unchronological years of kings rising up above the true epoch of Menes (B.C. 2224), in the Hieratic scheme of the Egyptians. And if we compare the Egyptian sum of 2847 unchronological years, seeming to end in B.C. 2224, with the Chaldæan sum of 2840 unchronological years, seeming to end in B.C. 2209, the apparent commencement of the Chaldæan kings will be at B.C. $(2209 + 2840 =)$ 5047, just 22 years lower than the apparent epoch of Menes, which is at B.C. $(2224 + 2847 =)$ 5069, in the Hieratic scheme of the Egyptians. But in this there will be a wide difference, that while the kings of the Egyptian Hieratic list are very numerous in proportion to their years, being no fewer than $(cccxxx - xxxvii =)$ cxcxiii to the 2847 years, with an average of less than 10 years to each, and the whole list—both names and years—though presented unchronologically is manifestly historical, the Babylonian number of only lxxxvi kings to 2840 years, with reigns exceeding 33 years each, stands to the Egyptian in a relation much like that of the first six dynasties of Manetho's kings to those of the Hieratic list. Hence it would be natural to infer, that Berosus's group of lxxxvi unchronological kings, with 2840 years, was purposely arranged, from whatever materials, so as to match the Egyptians, only with much fewer names to nearly the same number of years, so as to have reigns of the most venerable length, instead of reigns of a contemptible shortness. But after it has once been perceived that the 34,080 nominal years, when reduced as months, point to 86 *generations* rather than reigns, both the sum of full years obtained, and the number of the generations, suggests the suspicion that they are meant to indicate the whole number of generations and the whole number of years of the existing world, not merely, as Eusebius understood, "from the Flood to the Median

occupation of Babylon," but from the Flood to Alexander, or to Berosus's own time. The number of generations, if it be compared with those of the Old Chronicle, suits well. For the Chronicle made cxiii in all to Nectanebo and Ochus. And if from these we deduct xiv for the sun-god Ra and the xiii antediluvian ancestors, and again the xv "of the Cycle" which are thrown up, there remain (cxiii—xxx=) lxxxiv for the postdiluvian world, to answer to the lxxxvi of Berosus, who may reckon to a point two generations later than that of the Chronicle. And for the years, if we reckon downwards 86 generations, with 2840 vague years from Thoth 1, in B.C. 3100, the head of the Egyptian A.M. 2264, and of the Chaldaean A.M. 2259, when the Flood was in truth just ended, they take us down ($146 + 745 + 1181 + 68 = 2840$) to Thoth 1, Oct. 28, in B.C. 262, that is, to the end of the last full year of Antiochus Soter, to whom Berosus is said by some to have dedicated his work, while Eusebius and others understand it to have been dedicated to Antiochus Θεός, who succeeded a few months later.

It is observable that a passage of Simplicius (*Comment. in Arist. De Cælo*, lib. ii., as referred to by Lepsius), which used to be quoted with a different reading of 1903 years, exhibits a sum of 31,000 years, or more (for it is plainly a round number), similar to the 34,080 of Berosus, and perhaps earlier than his time:—"διὰ τὸ μήπω τὰς ὑπὸ Καλλισθένους ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐκπεμφθείσας τηρήσεις ἤκειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦτο ἐπισκῆψαντος αὐτῷ, ὅς ἱστορεῖ Πορφύριος ἐτῶν εἶναι χιλίων καὶ μυριάδων τριῶν ἕως τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος σωζομένων χρόνων." Thus the Greek text is now printed in the edition of the Berlin Acad. p. 503, with a note that, instead of *μυριάδων*, Aldus in A.D. 1526, p. 123, printed *ἐννακοσίων*, which, however, was only a retranslation from the Latin. Clinton, therefore, gives up the 1903 years; but Lepsius and Bunsen still think this the true reading. And, no doubt, observations going back 1903 years are much more likely to have been obtained or sent by Callisthenes than observations going back 31,000. But it does not appear that there is anything more in the passage than this, that according to Porphyry, or at most according to the lan-

guage of exaggeration repeated by Callisthenes, the observations taken and kept at Babylon went back 31,000 years from the time of Alexander. And, if this was told to Porphyry, one may suppose that the reckoning went back to some epoch lower than Berosus's date for the Flood, such as the Median capture of Babylon, which would suit within 22 years for the reading 1903 (since B.C. 330 + 1903 = 2231 - 2209 = 22), or to some *true* date for the commencement of the monarchy, about the time of the Dispersion, or, at the highest, to the *fabulous* (*genealogical*) epoch of the restoration of Babylon after the Flood. And the sum of 31,000, like that of 34,080 (with which it should be coincident for so far as it goes back), of itself suggests the anticipation that it cannot, for the bulk of it, consist of *days* any more than of full years, but may probably consist of *months*. If we divide the whole round sum of 31,000 by 12, we shall obtain from it for the quotient $2583\frac{4}{12}$, so that the exact number of months must have been *at least* $(31,000 + 8 =) 31,008$. And reckoned back from B.C. 336, the 2584 vague years would take us up to the Julian B.C. $(336 + 2584 =) 2918$, a date which is short by only $(2954 - 2918 =) 36$ years of Berosus's fabulous epoch for the renewal of Babylon and its monarchy 146 years after the Flood. But there is nothing to fix the number of months neglected in the round sum of 31,000 to be only 8. It is more probable, then, that the true complement of this round sum is $(36 \times 12 = 432 + 8 =) 440$. And then the 2620 vague years represented by the 31,000, or more exactly 31,440 months, will take us up from B.C. 336 to B.C. $336 + 2620 =) 2954$, which is the exact epoch of Berosus. And Babylonian observations could well be pretended to Callisthenes, or collected by Porphyry, to have gone back further.

It may be that the fancy of multiplying a certain number of the earlier years into months, and calling them years, was first learned from Egypt by the Babylonians, and by Berosus himself, and that it was afterwards improved upon by multiplying months into days, and calling these days years. And if Berosus wished to insert in his work his own *chronological* reckoning for the existing world in one

distinct sum, using lxxxvi antehistorical names as vehicles for as many abstract generations, he might think it convenient to express this sum in peculiar terms of its own, and so might retain for it the Egyptian form of expansion, in order to separate it from those other years of his series which ostensibly preceded and followed it, but with which it did not really combine. So, if we have concluded on separate grounds that the 9 *sari*, 2 *neri*, and 8 *sossi* given to the lxxxvi antehistorical Chaldæan kings *cannot* consist of days or years, but *may* consist of months, and that, whether they consist of days, months, or years, they are in every case alike incapable of representing the chronological interval between Berosus's A.M. 2404, and the Median capture of Babylon in B.C. 2209, these conclusions do away with the *primâ facie* objection against an anomalous reckoning of this one sum in *sari*, *neri*, and *sossi*, of *months* instead of *days*; or, rather, they create a presumption in its favour. As for the lxxxvi kings themselves, to whom these years were ostensibly attached, but of whose historical reigns or generations they represent neither the chronological nor the collective sum, it may be that they were a mixed group, consisting in part of kings properly so called, who reigned concurrently in different cities, besides Babylon and Nineveh, whether all before, or all after, or some before and some after, the Median occupation of Babylon; and besides these, the list may have contained at its head — and probably did contain — the names of patriarchal ancestors, which justified in some sense the pretence that it began only 146 years below the Flood, or even, as Eusebius understood, from the Flood itself. For “from the Flood,” he says, “to the Median occupation of Babylon, Polyhistor gives from Berosus lxxxvi kings, and a sum of 33,091 [34,080] years.” So we find that the first two ancestors, or kings, named *Euechius* and *Chomasbelus*, have reigns attached to them not of such absurd and anomalous shortness as they seem to have by the reduction of Anianus, but of 175 and 225 years respectively, suitable to the patriarchal antiquity at which they are placed. We are told that, among other ancient Chaldæan names, Berosus mentioned that of Abraham, the ancestor of

the Hebrews, as “a wise man who was skilled in the knowledge of the heavens, who lived in the tenth generation after the Flood.” But the most important allusion and confirmation of the view which has been advanced is found in a few words of Josephus, who in his work against Apion (lib. i. 19), asserts that Berosus, “*after writing of Noah (Xisuthrus), and relating that the Ark settled upon the mountains of Armenia, gave a catalogue of the posterity of Noah, and added to the names their years ; and so, at length came down to the mention of Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadnezzar, who invaded Judæa.*” “Βηρωσσὸς ὁ Χαλδαῖος ταῖς ἀρχαιοτάταις ἐπακολουθῶν ἀναγραφαῖς περὶ τε τοῦ γενομένου κατακλυσμοῦ . . . καθάπερ Μωϋσῆς . . . καὶ περὶ τῆς λάρνακος . . . εἶτα τοὺς ἀπὸ Νώχου καταλέγων, καὶ τοὺς χρόνους αὐτοῖς προστιθεὶς, ἐπὶ Ναβοπολάσσαρον παραγίνεται τὸν Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Χαλδαίων βασιλέα,” κ. τ. λ. So this list of names of the posterity of Noah, with their years, forming the commencement of the same series which was continued down to Nabopolassar and to Alexander, cannot well be anything else than that list of lxxxvi names which was transcribed by Polyhistor, and which covered the space from the Flood to the Median capture of Babylon. And if so, since the names and years below this epoch are the continuation of the preceding, the 34,080 years of the lxxxvi kings *must* (if at all connected with them historically) be reducible, so as not to exceed the true number of full chronological years between the Flood and the capture of Babylon. Their relation, then, to the whole chronological space which they either truly or only ostensibly occupy, is analogous, and in some sense opposite, to that in which the viii Demigods of the Old Egyptian Chronicle stand to the whole chronological space which they either only ostensibly or truly occupy. For the lxxxvi Chaldæans occupy historically only a small portion, viz. 745, or at most ($146 + 745 =$) 891, of the 2840 years which their collective reigns are contrived to overshadow ; while the viii Demigods of the Egyptian Chronicle occupy ostensibly only a small part, viz. 217 of the 876 years which historically they might claim.

In the absence of Berosus's own text, or even that of

Polyhistor, without the help of that cyclical measurement and symmetry which distinguishes the Egyptian schemes, and having for the most part in the allusions of other writers only round numbers instead of the exact sums alluded to, one must be content with probable instead of certain conclusions. But if that chronological break in the reckoning by full years or by *sari*, *neri*, and *sossi*, which exists in our notices, at the point where the *anomalous* 34,080 years of the lxxxvi kings are mentioned, be filled up conjecturally from the parallel Egyptian reckoning with 745 vague years, and these are allowed to have been occupied by some or all of the lxxxvi antehistorical kings, we shall have made out for Berossus—

I. Before the Flood:—

Years.	Months.	Days.	<i>Sari.</i>	<i>Neri.</i>	<i>Sossi.</i>
1058	12,696	380,880	105	4	8
1200	14,400	432,000	120	0	0
<hr/> 2258	<hr/> 27,096	<hr/> 812,880	<hr/> 225	<hr/> 4	<hr/> 8

II. After the Flood, before the Median capture of Babylon:—

Years.	Months.	Days.	<i>Sari.</i>	<i>Neri.</i>	<i>Sossi.</i>
146	1752	52,560	14	3	6
325	3900	117,000	32	3	0
420	5040	151,200	42	0	0
<hr/> 891	<hr/> 10,692	<hr/> 320,760	<hr/> 89	<hr/> 0	<hr/> 6

Total of antehistorical years before and after the Flood:—

Years.	Months.	Days.	<i>Sari.</i>	<i>Neri.</i>	<i>Sossi.</i>
3149	37,788	1,133,640	314	5	4

III. Historical years below Thoth 1, in B.C. 2209:—

1881 to the cosmocracy of Alexander, in B.C. 330.

34 to the date of Berossus's writing, in B.C. 296?

34 to the death of Antiochus Soter, set in B.C. 262.

Total 5098 full years of human time.

But $5098 - 2258 = 2840$, these 2840 being resolvable into 34,080 months from the Flood to the end of the last full year of Antiochus Soter, in B.C. 262.

A statement is preserved by Syncellus from Alexander

Polyhistor to the effect that Berosus in the introductory part of his work professed to have had access in [the postdiluvian] Babylon to records of “about 15 myriads,” or “something over 15 myriads” of years: — “καὶ εὐρὼν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι πολλῶν ἀναγραφὰς φυλασσομένας ἐπιμελῶς, αἱ περιεῖχον ἐτῶν μυριάδας πού δεκαπέντε καὶ μικρὸν πρὸς,” κ. τ. λ.; and again: — “Βηρωσσὸς ἐν τῇ α' τῶν Βαβυλωνιακῶν φησι γενέσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου τὴν ἡλικίαν· ἀναγραφὰς δὲ πολλῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φυλάσσεσθαι μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀπὸ ἐτῶν πού ὑπὲρ μυριάδων δεκαπέντε περιεχούσας χρόνον.” (*Syne.*, pp. 25 and 50, ed. Dind.)

From this sum of “something over 15 myriads” it may be possible to recover in terms of Berosus’s own reckoning some portion at least of those 745 years which have been given to him above only on conjecture. The sum ends ostensibly at Berosus’s own date, and it matters not even if we are a little wide of the mark of guessing at this date, as the bulk of the sum manifestly consists of multiples of 360, representing years anterior to the Median capture of Babylon in B.C. 2209. At the earliest, the whole sum may be supposed to end at the Macedonian or the Persian accession of Alexander, down to which Berosus brought his narrative; at the latest, at the date when the work was completed and dedicated to the third Macedonian king after Alexander, (τῷ μετ’ αὐτὸν τρίτῳ), whether Antiochus Soter or Antiochus Θεός. Between these some intermediate date, but nearer to the last, might represent the time when he was actually writing that passage at the beginning of “his *First Book*,” in which the sum of 15 myriads was named. And since the records preserved at Babylon could not be older than the nation and the city itself, and the year 146 after the Flood, where Berosus puts the renewal of Babylon and of monarchy, is plainly too high for anything except some epoch in a genealogy of postdiluvian ancestors, we may presume that the commencement of the mythological part of the 15 myriads will be from Berosus’s truer but esoteric date for the formation of monarchies whether at Babylon or elsewhere, answering more or less closely to the date of Dispersion. Indeed we know that he gave a distinct account of the building

of the tower of Babel, quoted from Polyhistor and Abydenus by Eusebius; and from it he would pass naturally to some mention of that rise of separate nations and monarchies which soon after ensued. Thus much premised, if we set aside 412 times 360, or 148,320 day-years, ending at Thoth 1, in B.C. 2209, and beginning consequently in B.C. $(2209 + 412 =)$ 2621 (the 80th of Peleg), there will still be left included in the sum of 150,000 as many as 1680 vague historical years, taking us down to the Julian B.C. $(2209 - 1680 =)$ 530; and we know that yet more years remain to be added, not only because we are still 200 years short even of Alexander, to say nothing of Berosus's own date, but also because Syncellus expressly says that the 15 myriads were a round number with something over.

Four hundred and twelve multiples of 360 or 148,320 day-years from B.C. $(2209 + 412 =)$ 2621 to B.C. 2209, with a continuation of 1875 or 1881 full years to B.C. 336 or B.C. 330, making together 150,195 or 150,201 nominal years, are the lowest possible sums which will combine so as to make "15 myriads and something over" to a date capable of being connected with Berosus. But this minimum combined sum may be short either at top or at bottom, or at both, of the actual sum. And though the precise amount of the addition or additions needed may not be determinable for want of data, the extreme limits within which they must be included may be fixed without difficulty. For at the bottom we may, if we please, suppose the date to have been as low as the end of the last year of Antiochus Soter, and the beginning of the first of Antiochus Θεός, at Oct. 28 in B.C. 262, when Berosus, if born as he says he was in the time of Alexander, may have been from 70 to 80 years old. But we cannot well suppose it to have been later. Seventy-four years then at most from B.C. 336, or sixty-eight from B.C. 330, may need to be added at the end of our minimum sum of 150,195 or 150,201 years, which so might be increased at most to $(150,201 + 68 =)$ 150,269. But "15 myriads and a little over" being a round sum, in which myriads only are named, we cannot be sure that the "little over" is confined to units, or even to hundreds; but, to be safe, we

must think of myriads. The terms used would be improper if the excess over 150,000 were not *small* in comparison with even one myriad; but anything under — or but little over — a quarter of a myriad might in relation to such a sum as 150,000 be called “a little.” Consequently, though the nearer the sum is to 150,000 the more closely it answers to the description given of it, we must admit that some one or other out of 11 or 12 distinct additions — from that of once 360 up to that of seven or eight times 360 or $(360 \times 8 =)$ 2880 — may be needed at the top of our former sum, which so might be brought up at most to $(150,269 + 2880 =)$ 153,149. So the reckoning must be supposed to begin not higher than Thoth 1 in B.C. $(2209 + 412 + 8 =)$ 2629, which is 471 years below the Flood, in the 72nd year of Peleg, nor later than B.C. 2621; and it must end not earlier than at Thoth 1 in B.C. 336, nor much, if at all, later than at Thoth 1 in B.C. 262. Whatever be the exact number, it is to be borne in mind that it was mentioned by Berosus himself in connection with records preserved, as he pretended, in the postdiluvian Babylon.

But there is another sum so closely resembling this in amount, that the two must either entirely or for the most part coincide with one another. This is a sum of 153,075 nominal years, which is mentioned by St. Theophilus of Antioch, as reckoned by “Apollonius the Egyptian” (that is, probably, by his contemporary Apollonius Dyscolus) to the existing world since the Flood. “Apollonius,” he says, pretended “ὡς ἤδη μυριάδας ἐτῶν ἐξ ἑλληθῆναι καὶ τρισχίλια ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἱστορεῖ.” (*Ad Autolyc.* lib. iii. 16.) The sum is manifestly of Chaldaean not Egyptian origin, though it is spoken of as if it were brought down to Apollonius’s own time. It *may* then be the very sum itself named by Berosus, since that was stated by Polyhistor in round numbers as “15 myriads, and a little more;” and this, which is not in round numbers, has 15 myriads, and 3075 besides, an excess not too great to be covered by the words “a little more.” If we assume that it is the very same sum, and setting aside first 1875 full years as the *minimum* needed for the continuation from B.C. 2209 to B.C. 336, divide the rest of the sum, viz.

(153,075 – 1875 =) 151,200, by 360, the quotient is just 420, without a remainder.

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 420 \times 360 & = & 151,200 \text{ from B.C. 2629 to B.C. 2209.} \\
 1875 & = & 1875 \text{ from B.C. 2209 to B.C. 336.} \\
 \hline
 2295 & = & 153,075
 \end{array}$$

So it would appear that Berosus's esoteric epoch for the Babylonian monarchy, from which the earliest of his pretended records dated, was in B.C. (2209 + 420 =) 2629; and that the "15 myriads and something over," being in truth 153,075 nominal years, were brought down only to the Macedonian accession of Alexander; whereas one would have expected at the earliest his Persian accession, 1881 vague years from B.C. 2209, or rather (in this instance) Berosus's own date from 40 to 60 years lower. It cannot, however, be concluded with much confidence that this sum of Apollonius is simply identical with that of Polyhistor and Berosus; at least not, if it referred — as St. Theophilus understood it to refer — to the antiquity not merely of Babylonian records but of the world itself since the Flood. These two epochs — at any rate for Berosus — were distinct. And one may account for the sum of 153,075 in such a way that it may both really go back to the epoch of the Flood, and also, if that be worth while, may reach down to Apollonius's own time. For, if the sum of 2840 full years of the lxxxvi kings considered above and supposed to be Berosus's reckoning from the Flood to B.C. 262 be taken first, and to this there be added another sum of 150,235 nominal years, answering to the description of "15 myriads and a little over," the two together will make 153,075, as in the subjoined analysis: —

lxxxvi kings.	Records at Babylon.	Years from the Flood.
146		B.C. 3100 to B.C. 2954.
333		B.C. 2954 to B.C. 2621.
412	= 148,320	B.C. 2621 to B.C. 2209.
1915	= 1,915	B.C. 2209 to B.C. 296.
34	....	B.C. 296 to B.C. 262.
<hr/>		
2840	+ 150,235	= 153,075 of Apollonius.

The sum 2840, being obtained by reduction from the years of the lxxxvi antehistorical kings might easily be mixed up with other reckonings of Berosus from which it was really distinct. And if this were so, the whole of the 2840 years, except the first 146 and the last 34, would of course be reduplicated by the addition of Berosus's other sum of 150,235 (supposing this to be his) as if it were the continuation of the years of the first lxxxvi kings. The sum itself of 150,235, required on this hypothesis, is not the same as that which was preferred above, but it is one equally admissible; and it would begin not in B.C. $(2209 + 420 =)$ 2629, but in B.C. $(2209 + 412 =)$ 2621, and would end not in B.C. 336 but in B.C. 296, a date 15 years before the accession of Antiochus Soter, and earlier than seems to suit for Berosus's own date, at any rate for that of the completion of his work. But Apollonius, who lived about the middle of the 2nd century after Christ—he went to Rome in the reign of Marcus Aurelius—and who probably knew that the bulk of the 15 myriads and more of Berosus represented a sum of 420 or 412 full years, may have thought that the whole sum of 150,235, or somewhat more or fewer, according to the date of their commencement, might be appropriated by himself in the same sense, and so, being included in his sum, as if all *days*, might represent a continuation of about 417 years and 115 days, bringing down the reckoning of Berosus from B.C. 262, or any earlier date he pleased, to A.D. 156, or thereabouts, which would suit for his own time.

Whether Berosus himself expressed uniformly all his reckonings down to Thoth 1, in the Julian year B.C. 2209, in terms of *sari*, *neri*, and *sossi*, and again expanded uniformly all these into their equivalent sums of day-years, is uncertain, since no such sum as 113 myriads and more, which they would make collectively, has been imputed to him by any allusion or citation still extant. And he *may* have presented *mixed* sums, like the first 24,900 nominal years of Manetho (see above, Vol. I. p. 129), in which, though the whole belong to the antehistorical period, resolvable into month-years, only 24,000 are in fact such month-years, while the other 900 are full. But since, besides that of the

“15 myriads and something over,” or the “153,075” already noticed, one or two other great sums different from this, and larger, are also ascribed to Berosus, or to the Babylonians whom he represents, it is probable that the different sums thus mentioned are all, like the Egyptian sums of Diodorus, referable to one greater whole, by the knowledge of which only they can be explained. Thus Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* lib. vii. 56), in discussing the antiquity of the use of letters, writes:—“E diverso Epigenes apud Babylonios DCCXX [millia] annorum observationes siderum coctilibus laterculis inscriptas docet, gravis auctor in primis: qui *minimum*, Berosus et Critodemus, CCCCLXXX [CCCCXC in all the MSS. according to the editor], ex quo apparet æternum litterarum usum.” Here 720,000 years, and 480,000 or 490,000, are mentioned by Pliny as the highest and lowest Chaldæan reckonings he had heard of, not indeed since the origin of the world or of mankind, but since the first recording of written observations at Babylon: and it is remarkable that 480,000 years should here be named from Berosus, when yet it appears from Polyhistor that Berosus carried up the antiquity of written records at Babylon no higher than about 150,000 years before his own time. Africanus, too, as cited by Eusebius and Syncellus, mentions the same sum of 480,000 years as is quoted from Critodemus by Pliny:—“τὸν τῶν Χαλδαίων λῆρον, τὸν τῶν μὴ μυριάδων, τί δεῖ λέγειν;” This sum, then, of 480,000 years (in round numbers) was really mentioned, as it seems, by Berosus, and either expressly or by implication in connection with the use of letters; and it is a distinct sum from the 150,000 and more certainly *named* by him in what looks like, but cannot be exactly, the same connection. We know, in fact, that Berosus distinguished not only an antediluvian city and monarchy of Babylon, but also an antediluvian invention and use of letters there, from the same city and monarchy, with its use of letters, as renewed in the postdiluvian world. Several of his ten antediluvian kings, though reigning at Babylon, are said to have been natives of *Sippara*, or *Pantibyla*, the “City of the Writings,” a city of Babylonia. There, according to Berosus, by the special direction of

Belus, all the knowledge of the antediluvians, and the story of their Origines, or Genesis, were buried for preservation, having been inscribed on certain *stelæ*—whether of stone or of baked clay—before the Flood; and there the same were dug up for their communication to mankind after the Flood by those who founded or renewed at Babylon the postdiluvian city and monarchy. There is room, then, distinctly for two reckonings, one for the antiquity of postdiluvian, the other for that of antediluvian records, and for two sums; and if the two reckonings were made separately, there is room also for a third reckoning and a third sum, combining the two. Pliny, it seems, had either not heard of the 150,000 years, or, if he had, he named in preference the 480,000 years as the highest sum quoted from Berosus, who yet seemed to give the lowest reckoning by comparison with that of Epigenes. The true reading in the passage of Pliny for the sum quoted from Critodemus and Berosus is uncertain, but both the two (*viz.* 480,000 and 490,000) which are given, being in round myriads, suit well enough for that interval in the scheme of Berosus which extends from the first establishment of the antediluvian monarchy at Babylon—and no Babylonian records whatever could be older than this—down to the recommencement of monarchy and of writing on the same spot after the Flood (and no postdiluvian records on tiles could be older than this last date). Berosus, then, might be thought by Epigenes to *imply* that the earliest records of the postdiluvian or existing Babylon went back from his own time, if set at B.C. 280, $(1931 + 268,200 =)$ 270,131 years, i.e. up to the end of his own A.M. $(2258 + 146 =)$ 2404, though Berosus, in allusion to a truer but esoteric date for the monarchy, had named the much lower sum of something over 150,000 years. And Berosus himself reckoned back from the rise of the postdiluvian city and monarchy to that of the antediluvian (and so also, whether expressly or by implication, to its earliest records), a further space of $(52,560 + 432,000 =)$ 484,560 years. So both the 490,000 of Critodemus and Pliny (if that is the true reading) and the 480,000 of Africanus will stand very well together, being both justified by

an actual sum which may with equal propriety be filled up to the round number of 490,000 or reduced to that of 480,000. Another sum of 470,000 years, named by Cicero, must be meant for the same reckoning as the 480,000 or 490,000 of Critodemus, and the 480,000 of Africanus, since it is, like them, connected with the antiquity of letters at Babylon. It is not, however, equally defensible, but must be regarded as a slightly erroneous variation and understatement; unless, indeed, Cicero was mistaken in connecting it with the antiquity of letters, and it was really made by reckoning from the first antediluvian king Alorus ($432,000 + 146 + 34,080 + 1875 =$) 468,101, or (from A.M. 1) $1058 + 468,101 = 469,161$ mixed years to the Macedonian accession of Alexander, or something more to his Persian accession, or to any date connected with Berosus. In this case the origin of the sum, however inaccurate its composition, would be perfectly natural and intelligible. Or, again, the 470,000 years of Cicero may be identical, only in round numbers, with a different sum of 473,000 years which is named by Diodorus. The words of Cicero are these: — “Condemnemus etiam Babylonios aut stultitiæ aut imprudentiæ, qui CCCCLXX millia annorum, ut ipsi dicunt, monumentis comprehensa continent,” &c.; and again, “Nam quod aiunt quadringenta et septuaginta millia annorum in periclitandis experiundisque pueris posuisse, fallunt.” (*De Div.* i. c. 19, and ii. c. 46.)

Diodorus Siculus, in naming the sum referred to as perhaps identifiable with that of Cicero, is somewhat more particular than those who notice only myriads, as he specifies 47 myriads of years, and 3 thousands. Still, this sum also, in respect of hundreds, decads, and units, is a round number. He writes that, to the passage of Alexander into Asia, the Chaldæans reckoned [from the beginning of all, as it would seem] 473,000 years: — “Ἐτῶν γὰρ μὲν μυριάδας καὶ γ', εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου διάβασιν γεγονέναι καταριθμοῦσιν.” This epoch of the passage of Alexander is Diodorus's own, and it throws some slight doubt on his accuracy as to the sum itself. But if he found or made out either this exact sum of 473,000 years, or something more, it must have been by adding together heterogeneous reckonings, and that not

without some reduplication; as if, for instance, confining themselves to the existing world, his informants had added up together the whole sum of its day-years, viz. 320,760, from the Flood to the Median capture of Babylon, and that sum of $(153,075 - 38 =) 153,037$ perhaps which was named by Berosus for the antiquity of his records, and which included $(1915 - 38 =) 1877$ full years from the Median capture of Babylon to the passage of Alexander. For $320,760 + 153,037 = 473,797$. Such reduplications may have been prompted by an idea that the later time also, below the historical epoch, might be expressed in great sums of nominal years, like the earlier. Or, again, the sum of 473,000 years might be made thus:—The first 1058 *ἔτη ἀβασίλευτα* of the world as 380,880 *day-years* + 1200 of the ten antediluvian kings from Alorus + 146 *ἔτη ἀβασίλευτα* below the Flood as 52,560 *day-years* + the 34,080 of the lxxxvi kings or generations + 2480 really a reduplication of the preceding, and reduplicating besides all the other years below the Flood, and over-running the date in B.C. 334 aimed at + 1877 full years of continuation from the Median capture of Babylon in B.C. 2209 to the passage of Alexander into Asia, in B.C. 334 = 473,223. But in any one homogeneous reckoning, whether from the commencement of antediluvian or of postdiluvian time, or from any other epoch, the precise sum of 473,000, whether with or without something over, can scarcely be made out. But it is time to return to Pliny.

The number 720,000 of Epigenes is more difficult to trace—at least with any confidence—than the 480,000 or 490,000 of Critodemus. It cannot be made to begin *earlier* than with the foundation of the antediluvian monarchy at Babylon; and if made to begin there, being carried on beyond the epoch of the renewal of Babylon after the Flood, it must be supposed to come down *at the least* to the Macedonian accession of Alexander the Great, or *at most* to the last year of Antiochus Soter, in B.C. 262. Let it be supposed to have come down to B.C. 262. Then we ought to have had a sum of $(432,000 + 52,560 = 484,560 + 268,200 + 1875 + 6 + 68 =) 754,709$, which exceeds the sum of Epigenes by 34,000 and more. Perhaps, however, his is really

only a varied form of this same reckoning. The calculator, instead of adding only the $(1875 + 6 + 68 =)$ 1949 full years of continuation from the Median capture of Babylon, may have added the whole sum of 2848 obtainable from the 34,080 *months* of the lxxxvi antehistorical kings, subtracting at the same time, as if identical with the 2840, 34,080 of the *day-years*: just as $(3750 - 903 =)$ 2847 years of kings, which in their origin were full and historical, are identified in the Egyptian Hieratic scheme with as many of the *month-years*. So he may have made to B.C. 262

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 432,000 & = & 432,000 \quad \text{B.C. 4300 to 3100.} \\
 52,560 & = & 52,560 = 146, \text{ B.C. 3100 to 2954.} \\
 34,080 \} & \dots \dots \} & \\
 82,920 \} & = & 82,920 \} = 325, \text{ B.C. 2954 to 2629.} \\
 151,200 & = & 151,200 = 420, \text{ B.C. 2629 to 2209.} \\
 \underline{1,949} & = & \underline{\dots} = \underline{1949}, \text{ B.C. 2209 to 262.}
 \end{array}$$

$$\text{not } 754,709, \text{ but } 718,680 + 2840 = 721,520.$$

So the greater sum, the 720,000 [721,520] of Epigenes, begins from the same point with the lesser sum, the 480,000 [484,560] of Critodemus, namely, from the commencement of the *antediluvian* monarchs at Babylon, but it adds to it another sum, which begins from the commencement of the *postdiluvian* monarchy, and is the continuation and complement of the former, the whole ending either at B.C. 262, or at some other date within 74 years earlier. And if there was any apparent discrepancy, this was not, as Pliny supposed it to be, between Epigenes or his sources on the one side and Critodemus or Berosus on the other, but only between Epigenes and Critodemus, who both of them alike drew separate and incomplete statements from Berosus.

The Median capture of Babylon in B.C. 2209 answered for Berosus as the commencement of his *historical* period to the Egyptian epoch of Menes in B.C. 2224, but as his point of transition from a reckoning of nominal to a reckoning of true years it answered rather to the Egyptian epoch of the ix Demigods of the Old Chronicle in B.C. $(2224 + 217 =)$ 2441. From this point then, according to Polyhistor and

Syncellus, he continued, "now no longer reckoning as before in *sari, neri*, and *soffi*, but in ordinary years," as follows: —

I. *First* — first, that is, after his two preceding groups of x antediluvian and lxxxvi postdiluvian ancestors or kings — he placed a dynasty of "viii Median tyrants (*Euseb. Chron. i. Arm.*), who, having seized Babylon, reigned there 224 years." So these reigns would average 28 years each.

Syncellus probably found both these and the greater part of the following groups of Berosus and Polyhistor retained, though somewhat curtailed, by Anianus, since Anianus seems to have made these Median kings to take Babylon after his A.M. 2499, and so had need of materials with which to cover ($3215 - 2499 =$) 716 years before coming to the list of Ctesias, even though he expanded that list from xxxvi kings and 1306 years to xli kings and 1460 years made to end with his A.M. 4676. But Syncellus, declining to follow Anianus in allowing so high an antiquity to the Median capture of Babylon, and putting it together with the accession of Menes at his own epoch of the Dispersion — after, it should have been, but he puts it at the head of his— A.M. 2776, had need of materials for only ($4675 - 1460 = 3215 - 2776 =$) 439 years before coming to the list of Ctesias as expanded by Anianus. It is owing to these causes that he has preserved, but only in a mutilated form, two of Berosus's early groups or dynasties, of which this dynasty of the Median kings who reigned in Babylon is one. It is identified in Syncellus's Chronography both by its position, as heading the historical series, and by its sum of 224 years. But he has reduced its kings from viii to vii. And from Medes he has changed them into Chaldæans. And instead of the first three names really belonging to it he has brought down the first two of Berosus's lxxxvi Chaldæans, *Euechius* and *Chomasbelus*, the purpose of this transposition being that Euechius, whom both Anianus and Syncellus identified with Nimrod, but whom Syncellus would not place so high as he had been placed by Berosus and by Anianus, at A.M. 2404, might still, at his own A.M. 2776, stand as the founder of the Chaldæan and Babylonian monarchy. By way of compensation to the Medes, who were thus dispossessed,

Syncellus called Berossus's earlier group of lxxxvi Chaldæans "Chaldæans and Medes," the first two of them only being Chaldæans—that the antehistorical monarchy might not *begin* with strangers—and all the rest Medes. In consequence of his suppressing one reign out of eight, and giving to Euechius and Chomasbelus not the two or three Median reigns which in his scheme they supplant, but the anomalously short reigns of 6 and 7 years obtained from their own *neri* and *sossi* by Anianus, the remaining five *reigns*—the names for which may be those of the last five Medes of Berossus—are probably even in their units fictitious. However, Syncellus has preserved elsewhere the name of the first Median king, since he writes of Polyhistor that "after the lxxxvi Chaldæan and Median kings, of whom two, Euechius and Chomasbelus, were Chaldæans, and lxxxiv Medes, the same Polyhistor introduces *Zoroaster* and the seven [Median] kings of the Chaldæans his successors, with 190 solar years." "Ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου τῶν πς', δύο μὲν Χαλδαίων βασιλείων Εὐηχίου καὶ Χωμασβήλου πδ' δὲ Μήδων, Ζωροάστρην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν ζ' Χαλδαίων βασιλεῖς εἰσάγει ἔτη κρατήσαντας ἡλιακὰ ρζ' ὃ αὐτὸς Πολυΐστωρ οὐκ ἔτι διὰ σάρων καὶ νήρων καὶ σώσσεων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἀλόγου μυθικῆς ἱστορίας ἀλλὰ δι' ἡλιακῶν ἐτῶν." (*Sync.*, p. 147, ed. Dind.). But here Syncellus intermixes three different schemes, viz. that of Berossus and Polyhistor, that of Anianus, and his own. For in the early part of his Chaldæan series he did not adhere to Anianus. And on comparing the words of Polyhistor as quoted by Eusebius and Syncellus's own Chaldæan series which begins a few pages further on (at p. 169), it becomes apparent how Anianus varied from Polyhistor, and how Syncellus again varied from both, returning, however, to Berossus and Polyhistor for the *sum* (224, not "190") of the first historical dynasty. All that remains then of Berossus's Median dynasty may be exhibited as follows:—

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| 1. <i>Zoroaster</i> [average reign | B.C. 2209—2281. 28.] |
| 2. [Name lost | B.C. 2181—2153. 28.] |
| 3. [Name lost | B.C. 2153—2125. 28.] |
| 4. <i>Porus</i> [<i>Sync.</i> λξ'. | B.C. 2125—2097. 28.] |
| 5. <i>Nechoubes</i> [<i>Sync.</i> μγ'. | B.C. 2097—2069. 28.] |

In his time would be the Call, B.C. 2084, the descent of Abraham into Egypt, and his victory over the four kings, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, *Tidal* of *Goim*, *Amraphel* of *Shinar* (*Singara?*), and *Arioch* of *Ellassar*.

6. *Nabius* [Sync. $\mu\eta'$. B.C. 2069—2041. 28.]

In his time would be the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the birth of Isaac in B.C. 2059.

7. *Oniballus* [Sync. μ' . B.C. 2041—2013. 28.]

8. *Chinzirus* [Sync. $\mu\varsigma'$. B.C. 2013—1985. 28.]

Sum of the years of the viii Medes 224

And the 224 years of the viii reigns, having begun from Thoth 1, Feb. 27, in B.C. 2209, 15 years below Menes, ended at Thoth 1, Jan. 2, in B.C. 1985, together with the 49th year of Dyn. XVII of the Old Egyptian Chronicle, being the 10th of *Papa Maire* as suzerain.

II. After the viii Medes there followed “xi other kings” whose origin is not specified, and who reigned in all only 48 years, having only 4 years and $\frac{4}{11}$ ths each. These 48 years are wanting in the text of the Armenian version of Eusebius’s Chronicon, but they are inserted in the margin. They will extend from Thoth 1 in B.C. 1985 to Thoth 1, Dec. 21, in B.C. 1938, ending together with the 97th year of Dyn. XVII of the Egyptian Chronicle, which was the 36th of *Sesortasen I.* as suzerain, and in the 122nd year of the Patriarch *Isaac*. Syncellus omits these kings.

III. Next *Berosus* had a group of “xlix Chaldæans” (omitted altogether, like the preceding, by Syncellus) with 458 years, affording average reigns of $9\frac{17}{40}$ years to each, and extending from Thoth 1 in B.C. 1938, to Thoth 1, Aug. 29, in B.C. 1480. So this line of kings commenced in the 62nd year of *Jacob*, 14 years before he went to Mesopotamia; it was contemporary with the *Shepherds* of Dyn. XXVII of the Egyptian Chronicle, during their 184 years; and it had reached its 229th year when *Thothmes I.*, the 3rd king of the Egyptian Dyn. XVIII, in B.C. 1710 or B.C. 1709, in his 2nd year, made a campaign in Mesopotamia which is re-

corded by a contemporary inscription. The numerous campaigns of Thothmes III., who made himself master both of Nineveh and of Babylon (B.C. 1682 to 1656), will be included between the 256th and the 282nd years of the line of Berossus. And since he makes it to last on, it may be inferred that the rulers of Babylon, and probably those of Nineveh also, after being once conquered submitted themselves and obtained easy conditions. Unless indeed there were many changes, and the kings of this group are joined together only as having been all Chaldæans. The reign of "Chousan Rasathaim" (B.C. 1584 to 1568), "king of Mesopotamia" and "Syria" (Vulg.), who first reduced the Hebrews to bondage, and who seems also to have been lord of Egypt, would extend from the 355th to the 471st year of this line of kings of Babylon. The line or group ends at length in B.C. 1480, after the 6th year of Rameses II. (Sesostris), scarcely more than one year after the great victory gained by him in Mesopotamia over a number of confederate peoples on the 5th of Epiphi (the 11th month) in the 5th year of his reign; which was followed 4 days afterwards by negotiations, and by a treaty of peace.

IV. The next series, consisting of "ix *Arab* kings with 245 years," giving an average of $27\frac{2}{3}$ for each, probably reigned by the nomination of the Egyptian suzerain, and in settled dependence upon him, at least during the greater part of their continuance, which would be from Thoth 1, Aug. 29, in B.C. 1480 to Thoth 1, June 29, in B.C. 1235, so that they ended just 29 years before the end of Dyn. XIX of the Egyptian Chronicle. At any rate, the length of their reigns presents a striking contrast to the shortness of those of the preceding group. From some inscriptions of Rameses II. it has been collected that the war in Mesopotamia, which had been ended by the treaty of his 5th year, was renewed against the same peoples about 16 years later, in his 22nd. The designation "*Shasou*," which is often translated Arabs (and which is applicable to any shepherds or nomads), occurs repeatedly in the records of his wars. The campaigns of Rameses III., undertaken to reconquer the same countries as a century before had been rendered tributary by Rameses

II., being included within B.C. 1321 and B.C. 1275, will also fall between the 159th and 206th years of this Arab line of Berosus, which ended in B.C. 1235, 87 years after the renewal of the Sothic Cycle. The succession of these "Arab kings," or part of it, seems to be given from Anianus by Syncellus, who has cut down the ix kings to vi, and their 245 years to 215. Supposing the six names given to have been the first six of the nine, the remains of the list stand as follows:—

1. <i>Mardocentes</i> , Sync. ξτη μεί.	[25?]
2. <i>Mardacus</i> , Sync. μ'.	[20?]
3. <i>Sisimordacus</i> , Sync. κη'.	28
4. <i>Nabius</i> , Sync. λζ'.	37
5. <i>Parannus</i> , Sync. μ'.	40
6. <i>Nabounnabus</i> , Sync. κξ'.	25
7. [Name lost	20?]
8. [Name lost	19?]
9. [Name lost, perhaps <i>Ariæus</i> ,	20?]

Sum of the years of the ix Arabs 245

V. After these, beginning from a date (B.C. 1235) a little later than Herodotus's date for Troy, 29 years before the end of the Egyptian Dyn. XIX, Berosus enumerated "very distinctly xlv Chaldæan kings," whose 526 years, with the name of *Semiramis* near their commencement and that of *Pul* after their end, identify them with the kings of the Assyrian empire of 520 years in Herodotus, and with the kings of the list of Ctesias from Ninus to Sandanapalus. The whole line according to Berosus began, as we collect from other sources, in B.C. 1235 and terminated in B.C. 709, having had the short average of only $11\frac{3\frac{1}{5}}{4\frac{1}{5}}$ years to each reign. And it may be inferred that Ninus the first king (who may have been named from Nineveh, but not Nineveh from him) made himself master of Babylonia and of Babylon itself (which according to Ctesias, however, was "not yet founded") 6 years after his accession, that is, in B.C. 2229. And from this event the 520 years of Assyrian empire as distinct from the 526 given by Berosus are to be reckoned.

How far any of the acts ascribed to Ninus may have a

foundation in true history has been examined already, and we need not go a second time over the same ground. But it will be in place here to observe that the first circumstance mentioned by Ctesias of Ninus, namely that he "made a league with the king of the Arabs, Ariæus," may be connected with the fact that according to Berosus Ninus of Nineveh, when he became master of Babylon, became also the successor of a line of ix *Arab* kings, the last of whom must have been therefore his own contemporary. It may seem probable then that the king of the Arabs, Ariæus, with whom Ninus allied himself, was no other than the last of the Arab kings of Babylon, whose daughter Ninus may have married; and in her right, on the death of his father-in-law, he may have claimed the succession. This too would make it probable that any rival claimant whom he defeated and took prisoner was really put to death, as Ctesias related, and that Babylon, having thus been annexed to Nineveh, and Media too, were governed thenceforth by satraps rather than kings. At any rate Berosus, who down to this point of time seems to have kept close to Babylon, passed at this point to a dynasty which certainly reigned in Nineveh. Another point worthy of attention is the average length of the reigns, which, for Berosus's numbers of only 526 years but as many as xlv kings, is almost too low for probability, so as to have suggested to some the idea that Berosus may have here clubbed together the names of two separate lines which reigned concurrently in Nineveh and Babylon, while the years specified indicate only that chronological duration which was common to them both. But against this suggestion it is to be observed, first, that the groups or dynasties of Berosus vary very greatly in their averages; and if some have their averages very short, others again have them much longer; and, what is remarkable, those dynasties which as consisting of native Chaldæans one would have expected him to favour have the shorter averages, while dynasties of strangers, Medes and Arabs, whom one would have expected him to treat with disfavour, have the longer. Secondly, the short averages of some of the longer dynasties of Berosus are extremely similar to those which occur for some lines of the

early Egyptian kings in the hieratic papyri. And in these Egyptian papyri, too, there is a great inequality between the averages of different lines (irrespective of the Commandant-kings), those of Central and Upper Egypt having their averages much longer than those of Lower. And, lastly, the Babylonian reigns which are exhibited by the Astronomical Canon, from B.C. 747 to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus and his uncle in B.C. 538, show an average *lower* even than that of the xlv kings answering to the Assyrian empire in Berossus. For the xxi Babylonian kings of the Canon alluded to reign in 209 years—even if we reckon to them two interregna of 2 and 8 years—not quite 10 years each. It is not safe then to suppose that Berossus has clubbed together two lines merely because the average length of the reigns seems small, and that he has done so only where this is the case; whereas, if it were part of his plan to do this at all, there were kings reigning in other Chaldaean cities besides Babylon during the 224 years of the Median tyrants, and during all the 245 years of the Arabs, whom he would seem to have omitted for no reason. Further, the reader is reminded of what has already appeared incidentally, that the statement of Ctesias, that all the Assyrian kings, whether xlv or only xxxvi, were descended from Ninus and Semiramis, and followed one another from father to son in an unbroken series, was false. Polyhistor on the contrary, as quoted by Agathias and Syncellus, states expressly from Berossus that the descendants of Ninus came to an end with *Beleoun* the son of *Dercetades* (who was seemingly for Berossus the 20th king); and that after him *Balator* (whose name stands 19th in the list of Ctesias), who had been over the palace gardens, succeeded in taking to himself the crown, and in leaving it to his own family: “Ἐβασίλευσαν Ἀσσύριοι ἀπὸ Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμεως μέχρι Βελεοῦν τοῦ Δερκετάδου. Εἰς τοῦτον γὰρ τοῦ Σεμιράμεως γένους λήξαντος, Βελιταρᾶς κηπουργὸς ἐβασίλευσε καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου γένος ἐξῆς μέχρι Σαρδαναπάλλου, καθὰ Βίωνι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοκεῖ τῷ Πολυύστορι. Σαρδανάπαλλον δὲ ἀνείλεν Ἀρβάκης Μήδος καὶ Βέλεσις ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, καὶ μετήγαγεν εἰς Μήδους τὴν βασιλείαν. Ἐβασίλευσαν οὖν οἱ Ἀσσύριοι ἔτη αἰτς’ οὕτω γὰρ

λέγοντι Κτησία καὶ Διόδωρος ὁ Σικελιώτης συμφθέγγεται.” (*Sync.*, p. 677, ed. Dindl.) One sees here how Syncellus begins with a statement from Berosus which flatly contradicts Ctesias, passes on to particulars derived from Ctesias and not from Berosus, and ends with quoting Ctesias by name. The parallel passage of Agathias has been given above (p. 916). It appears then that the xlv kings of Berosus would naturally have been divided into two groups or dynasties but for this, that they all alike belonged to the period of the Assyrian *empire*; and on this ground it is that they are all reckoned together as only one dynasty. And it is probable that various stories relating to the seclusion and effeminacy of the last king Sardanapalus, and to his “*dethronement*” or death *without* the more usual accompaniments of the capture of Nineveh and the burning of the palace, are to be referred to the last descendant of Ninus, *Beleoun*, who was deprived of his crown, and perhaps of his life, by Balator.

That the names of Ctesias, from Ninus to Sardanapalus, are historical, cannot certainly be affirmed. Of those latest kings of the time of the Assyrian empire who are known to us from the Scriptures, as Pul, Tiglath-pilezer, Shalmanezzer, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, his list exhibits no trace. Nor do the names Dercetades and Beleoun, quoted by Agathias, appear. And the actual loss of the empire by Esarhaddon, in consequence, it may be, of the destruction of his father’s army—according to the Book of Judith Media was in insurrection even before the death of Sennacherib, who was slain only forty-five days after his return—bears no resemblance whatever to the story of Sardanapalus, except in this, that Media—and Babylon, too, perhaps—had something to do with it. But the continuance of Esarhaddon and his successors, as powerful kings warring in Syria, and even conquering Egypt more than once (though without being able to keep it) in the time of the Ethiopian Tirhakah, agrees perfectly with the expressions of Herodotus, while the ruins of the palaces of Nineveh recently excavated show this remarkable distinction, that the more ancient have their alabaster sculptures unharmed,

while the latest palaces—not only at Nineveh but elsewhere too—were manifestly destroyed by fire, so as to hint plainly—what indeed is plain on the very face of his own story—that Ctesias anticipated and confused with the loss of the *empire* the final capture and destruction of the city of Nineveh itself. The last king, then, did not burn himself in his palace, but the palace was burned when the city was taken; and at the same time the king may have been slain and consumed with his palace. However, as the names of Ctesias must have come from some source, and as some of them, as *Ninus* and *Semiramis* themselves, and *Balator* and *Sardanapalus*—though this last name seems to be given to several kings,—are mentioned by Herodotus and Berosus, there is nothing to forbid our taking his xxxvi names to represent, so far as they go, the xlv of Berosus. They may indeed be given in a very corrupt form, and Ctesias perhaps obtained his information not at Babylon—still less at Nineveh itself, which was destroyed—but at the capital of Persia; but the fact that it is possible to recognise in the later of his *Median* names some faint traces of an historical origin makes in favour of the supposition that his Assyrian names also may be similar corruptions. For in the *Art-ynas* of Ctesias there is part, at least, of the name *Phr-aart-es*, in *Astavras* something less distinctly derived from *Cy-axar-es*, and in *Aspadas*, the mutes *p* and *d* are the substitutes for the *t* and the *g* of *Astyages*. Between *Deioces* and *Artæus* an affinity is scarcely to be discovered. But let it be supposed that in some similar way, and with varying degrees of corruption, the names of Ctesias, from *Ninus* downwards, may be connected with the xlv Chaldæan kings of Berosus. Then, though only xxxvi names were given by Ctesias, the full number of the xlv of Berosus may perhaps be still recoverable. For there are five additional names, or six with *Belus* (who, as brought down, may have supplanted another), which Eusebius, in his First Book, gives as ancestors of *Ninus* and kings of Assyria (though without reigns) from *Abydenus*. And these names must have been taken from some source. And *Abydenus*, no less than *Polyhistor*, copied directly and largely from Berosus, though he mixed

up in his own work contradictory statements, taken partly from Berosus and partly from Ctesias, as has been pointed out by Clinton. These five additional names, then, as expressed, or six as indicated, though placed and employed so as to suit himself, were taken probably by Abydenus from Berosus, and they may be six of those which the informants of Ctesias omitted in order to obtain their enormous average of 36 years and over for each king. To what place in the list they may have belonged originally it is useless now to inquire; but they may be allowed for convenience to retain, only in inverse order, the same places below Teutamius and Teutæus (the 26th and 27th names of Ctesias) at which they have been reinserted by Anianus and Syncellus. Again, between the 18th and 19th reigns of Ctesias, Eusebius in his First Book gives one, and in his Second Book a second, additional name, viz. "*Tratres*," and "*Atossa*, or *Semiramis II.*," while Castor, or whoever was the original Barbarus of Scaliger, has in the 8th place the same *Atossa*, with a reign which seems to be a consolidation of the two given separately by Eusebius, viz. 23, instead of $(19 + 7 =) 24$ years. Or, if it be objected that *Tratres* and *Atossa* are probably one and the same person, still the list of Syncellus has in the 11th place (the 9th after Ninus), a name, Sethos, which may perhaps represent a separate king, and not be merely a variant for *Altadas*, in whose place it is substituted. And without either *Tratres*, or *Atossa*, or Sethos, Agathias gives us from Polyhistor and Berosus himself, two names, *Dercetades* and *Beleoun*, as the immediate predecessors of *Balatores*, and these two names, being absent from all the lists of Ctesias, may be restored. And at the end of all, after Sardanapalus, Abydenus and Castor had a *Saracus*, or *Ninus II.* So there are in all nine additional names, which being added to the xxxvi of Ctesias make up xlv. On this view one may make out a conjectural restoration of the different schemes of Berosus (though in the case of Berosus the *sum* only may be his), Ctesias, Abydenus, Castor, Eusebius, Barbarus, and Syncellus, such notices as cannot be placed within the parallel columns being added by the help of references under the name of each author below:—

BEROSUS.			CTESIAS.			ABYDENUS.		
xlv kings, 526 years, from B.C. 1235 to B.C. 709 ?			xxxvi kings, 1306 years, from B.C. 2186 to B.C. 880.			xxxix reigns, 1368 years, from B.C. 2211 to B.C. (776 + 67 =) 843.		
No.		to B.C. yrs.	No.	to B.C.	yrs.	No.	to B.C.	yrs.
i.	Ninus B.C. 1235 to	1213, 22	i.	2134, xxx]xxii		i.	2159, 52	
ii.	Semiramis	1201, 12	ii.	2092, xxx]xii		ii.	2117, 42	
iii.	Ninyas or Zames ?	1193, 8	iii.	2054, xxx]viii		iii.	2079, 38	
iv.	Arius ?	1183, 10	iv.	2024, xx]x		iv.	2049, 30	
v.	Aralius or Amyrus ?	1163, 20	v.	1964, xxxxx]xx		v.	1989, 60	
vi.	Xerxes or Baleus ?	1153, 10	vi.	1934, xx]x		vi.	1959, 30	
vii.	Armamithres ?	1145, 8	vii.	1896, xxx]viii		vii.	1921, 38	
viii.	Belochus ?	1130, 15	viii.	1861, xx]xv		viii.	1886, 35	
ix.	Baleus ?	1108, 22	ix.	1809, xxx]xxii		ix.	1834, 52	
x.	Altadas ? [Sethos, Sync.]	1103, 5	x.	1774, xxx]v		x.	1784, 50 ?	
xi.	Mamythus ?	1093, 10	xi.	1744, xx]x		xi.	1754, 30	
xii.	Macchaleus ?	1083, 10	xii.	1714, xx]x		xii.	1724, 30	
xiii.	Sphærus ?	1071, 12	xiii.	1692, x]xii		xiii.	1702, 22	
xiv.	Mamylus ?	1066, 5	xiv.	1657, xxx]v		xiv.	1667, 35	
xv.	Sparæthus ?	1054, 12	xv.	1615, xxx]xii		xv.	1625, 42	
xvi.	Ascatades ?	1044, 10	xvi.	1575, xxx]x		xvi.	1585, 40	
xvii.	Amyntas ?	1024, 20	xvii.	1525, xxx]xx		xvii.	1535, 50	
xviii.	Belochus ?	1009, 15	xviii.	1480, xxx]xv		xviii.	1490, 45	
xix.	Dercetades [fil. Tratres]	992, 17 ?	...	...	...	xix.	1473, 17	
xx.	Beloun [Atossa Sem. II.]	985, 7 ?	...	...	...	xx.	1466, 7	
xxi.	Balatores	971, 14	xix.	1446, xx]xiv		xxi.	1432, 34	
xxii.	Lamprides ?	959, 12	xx.	1414, xx]xii		xxii.	1400, 32	
xxiii.	Sosares ?	949, 10	xxi.	1394, x]x		xxiii.	1380, 20	
xxiv.	Lampares ?	939, 10	xxii.	1364, xx]x		xxiv.	1350, 30	
xxv.	Panyas ?	924, 15	xxiii.	1319, xxx]xv		xxv.	1305, 45	
xxvi.	Sosarmus ?	912, 12	xxiv.	1297, x]xii		xxvi.	1283, 22	
xxvii.	Mithræus ?	897, 15	xxv.	1262, xx]xv		xxvii.	1248, 35	
xxviii.	Teutamus ?	885, 12	xxvi.	1230, xx]xii		xxviii.	1216, 32	
xxix.	Teutæus ?	875, 10	xxvii.	1190, xxx]x		xxix.	1172, 44	
xxx.	[Belus substituted]	866, 9 ?	...	...	...	α'.	...	0
xxxi.	Babius ?	859, 7	...	...	...	β'.	...	0
xxxii.	Anebus ?	851, 8	...	...	...	γ'.	...	0
xxxiii.	Arabelus ?	846, 5	...	...	...	δ'.	...	0
xxxiv.	Chalaus ?	844, 2	...	...	...	ε'.	...	0
xxxv.	Arabelus ?	838, 6	...	...	...	ς'.	...	0
xxxvi.	Thinaeus ?	829, 9	xxviii.	1161, xx]ix		xxx.	1143, 29	
xxxvii.	Dercylus ?	809, 20	xxix.	1121, xx]xx		xxxi.	1103, 40	
	[Cercillus, Barb.]							
xxxviii.	Eupalmeus ?	793, 16	xxx.	1085, xx]xvi		xxxii.	1067, 36	
	[Eupacmes, Sync.; Eupalus, Barb.]							
xxxix.	Laosthenes	778, 15	xxxi.	1040, xxx]xv		xxxiii.	1022, 45	
xl.	Piritiades	768, 10	xxxii.	1010, xx]x		xxxiv.	992, 30	
xli.	Ophratæus	758, 10	xxxiii.	990, x]x		xxxv.	972, 20	
xlii.	Ophratanes	738, 20	xxxiv.	940, xxx]xx		xxxvi.	922, 50	
	[Ephecheres, Sync.]							
xliii.	Acrazanes	728, 10	xxxv.	900, xxx]x		xxxvii.	882, 40	
	[Acraganes, Sync. Acra- pazus, Barb.]							
xliv.	Sardanapalus	718, 10	xxxvi.	880, x]x		xxxviii.	862, 20	
	[Thonos Concoleros or Sard. Sync. & Barb.]							
xlv.	Saracus [Ninus II. Barb.]	709, 9	...	...	...	xxxix.	843, 19	
526			850 + 456 = "1306"			1306 + 62 ? = 1368 ?		

CASTOR.			EUSEBIUS.			BARBARUS.			ANIANUS & SYNCEL.		
xxxviii reigns, 1280 years, from B.C. 2123 to B.C. (776 +67=) 843.			xxxvi kings, 1238 years, from B.C. 2058 to B.C. 820.			xxxix reigns, 1430 years, from B.C. 2273 to B.C. (776 +67=) 843.			xli reigns, 1460 yrs. from B.C. 2286 to B.C. 826.		
No.	to B.C.	YRS.	No.	to B.C.	YRS.	No.	to B.C.	YRS.	No.	to B.C.	YRS.
i.	2071,	52	i.	2006,	52	ii.	2159,	52	ii.	2179,	52
ii.	2029,	42	ii.	1964,	42	iii.	2117,	42	iii.	2137,	42
iii.	1991,	38	iii.	1926,	38	iv.	2079,	38	iv.	2099,	38
iv.	1961,	30	iv.	1896,	30	v.	2049,	30	v.	2069,	30
v.	1921,	40	v.	1856,	40	vi. 40.	1989,	60?	vi.	2029,	40
vi.	1891,	30	vi.	1826,	30	vii.	1959,	30	vii.	1999,	30
vii.	1853,	38	vii.	1788,	38	viii.	1921,	38	viii.	1961,	38
viii.	1818,	35	viii.	1753,	35	ix.	1886,	35	ix.	1926,	35
ix.	1766,	52	ix.	1701,	52	x.	1834,	52	x.	1874,	52
x.	1734,	32	x.	1669,	32	xi.	1799,	35	xi.	1842,	32
xi.	1704,	30	xi.	1639,	30	xii.	1769,	30	xii.	1812,	30
xii.	1674,	30	xii.	1609,	30	[xiii.	1739,	30]	xiii.	1784,	28
xiii.	1652,	22	xiii.	1589,	20	xiv. 20.	1717,	22?	xiv.	1762,	22
xiv.	1622,	30	xiv.	1559,	30	xv.	1682,	35	xv.	1732,	30
xv.	1582,	40	xv.	1519,	40	xvi. 40.	1640,	42?	xvi.	1690,	42
xvi.	1542,	40	xvi.	1479,	40	xvii.	1600,	40	xvii.	1652,	38
xvii.	1497,	45	xvii.	1434,	45	xviii.	1550,	50	xviii.	1607,	45
xviii.	1452,	45	xviii.	1409,	25	xx. 25.	1482,	45?	xix.	1582,	25
xix.	1435,	17	...	...	...	xix.	1527,	23	...	...	...
...
xx.	1405,	30	xix.	1379,	30	xxi.	1448,	34	xx.	1552,	30
xxi.	1373,	32	xx.	1347,	32	xxii.	1416,	32	xxi.	1522,	30
xxii.	1353,	20	xxi.	1327,	20	xxiii.	1396,	20	xxii.	1502,	20
xxiii.	1323,	30	xxii.	1297,	30	xxiv.	1366,	30	xxiii.	1472,	30
xxiv.	1281,	42	xxiii.	1252,	45	xxv.	1321,	45	xxiv.	1427,	45
xxv.	1262,	19	xxiv.	1233,	19	xxvi. 20.	1299,	22?	xxv.	1405,	22
xxvi.	1235,	27	xxv.	1206,	27	xxvii.	1264,	35	xxvi.	1378,	27
xxvii.	1203,	32	xxvi.	1175,	31	xxviii.	1232,	32	xxvii.	1346,	32
xxviii. 40.	1159,	44?	xxvii.	1135,	40	xxix. 40.	1188,	44?	xxviii.	1302,	44
a'.	...	0	...	...	...	i.	2211,	62	i.	2231,	55
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	xxxii.	1140,	37
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	xxxi.	1177,	38
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	xxix.	1260,	42
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	xxx.	1215,	45
...
xxix.	1129,	30	xxviii.	1105,	30	xxx. 29.	1158,	30?	xxxiii.	1110,	30
xxx.	1089,	40	xxix.	1065,	40	xxxi.	1118,	40	xxxiv.	1070,	40
...
xxxi.	1051,	38	xxx.	1027,	38	xxxii. 36.	1080,	38?	xxxv.	1032,	38
...
xxxii.	1006,	45	xxxi.	982,	45	xxxiii.	1035,	45	xxxvi.	987,	45
xxxiii.	976,	30	xxxii.	952,	30	xxxiv.	1005,	30	xxxvii.	957,	30
xxxiv.	955,	21	xxxiii.	932,	20	xxxv. 20.	984,	21?	xxxviii.	936,	21
xxxv.	905,	50	xxxiv.	882,	50	xxxvi.	934,	50	xxxix.	884,	52
...
xxxvi.	863,	42	xxxv.	840,	42	xxxvii. 40.	892,	42?	xl.	842,	42
...
xxxvii.	843,	20	xxxvi.	820,	20	xxxviii.	862,	30	xli.	826,	16
...
xxxviii.	...	...	...	...	...	xxxix.	843,	19	...	...	...
1306—26=" 1280 "			1280—42=" 1238 "			1368+62=" 1430 "			1368+92=" 1460 "		

In the first of the preceding columns, that of Berosus, the names in italics are the few which are known to be his; one, that of *Belus*, which stands 30th, is certainly *not* his, at least not as the name of a king, but it may have been substituted for another by Abydenus when he prefixed it, with five other names possibly derived from Berosus, before that of the first king. That the whole series of these six names in the order of Abydenus is inserted in our first column so as to be numbered from 30 to 35 inclusively, is owing to the accident that Anianus and Syncellus had chosen this place for four out of the six which they insert, though in the contrary order to that of Abydenus, between Teutæus and Thinæus, one of the six being omitted by them, and Belus being placed, as the first king and father of Ninus, at the head of all. The mark of interrogation affixed generally to the names in the first column means that though they may be taken for convenience, and in the absence of any others, as substitutes to represent the xlv names of Berosus, they are not to be supposed without further proof to be even corruptions of the true historical names. The 19th and 20th names, *Dercetades* and *Beleoun*, are inserted where they stand, because they are quoted from Berosus and Polyhistor as the immediate predecessors of *Balator*. The female name, or possibly the two female names, of "Tratres, daughter" of the preceding king, and "Badossa" or "Semiramis II.," which occur in this same place, the one of them with 17 years in Book I. the other with 7 years in Book II. of Eusebius, are not necessarily dislodged by the insertion of *Dercetades* and *Beleoun* between Belochus and Balator; since it may be supposed that Balator in founding a new line connected himself through these female names with Belochus and the earlier kings. The two names in question, or at least the two reigns of 17 and 7 years, seem to be consolidated in the list of Barbarus, where Atossa or Semiramis II. stands nearly in the same place, only before instead of after Belochus, with 23 years. In spite of the apparent identification of one name, "*Balator*," it makes against the idea that the names of Ctesias are historical, that there is no trace of resemblance between any of the latest among them and those of Pul, Tiglath-pilezer, Shalmanezer,

Sargon, and Sennacherib, which are known to us from the Scriptures and the monuments; while some of Ctesias's names have a very Greek look, as *Sphærus*, *Amyntas*, and *Laosthenes*, and others are Persian, as *Xerxes*, *Arma-mithres*, *Atossa*, and *Mithræus*. It will be perceived that the xlv names placed in the first column are represented in each of the other columns by the first numerals, which show, each in its own column, the place of that one of the names in the first column with which it is parallel.

In the second column, the column of Ctesias, the number of 60 years given conjecturally to its 5th reign is from a variant in Lib. I. of Eusebius. Those of 35 for the 10th and 14th and of 50 for the 17th are from the list of Barbarus. That of 42 for the 15th is from the list of Anianus and Syncellus, which seems in this and some other instances to have preserved the original figures of Abydenus and Barbarus. The figures of the remaining reigns are from the list of Castor as given by Eusebius in his First Book.

Of those reigns in the column of Abydenus which differ from the corresponding reigns of Castor as given by Eusebius one only, the 10th with 50 years, is from a variant of Syncellus, who gives 50 years for "*Sethos*," a name substituted by him for *Altadas*, though in his actual canon or parallel enumeration of reigns he makes out for him only 32. The rest are all from Barbarus, whose list, with the addition only of a reign of 62 years for Belus at the top, seems to have been that of Abydenus.

In the column for Castor, which is from Lib. I. of Eusebius, there is nothing to be noticed beyond this, that 44 years instead of 40 are given from Syncellus to the 29th reign, as seeming to be required by the sum total given by Castor himself; and that Eusebius intending to work up this list, with some slight reduction, in his Canon, appropriates it by anticipation in his First Book, and attaches to some of the reigns, or retains as attached to them by Castor, certain synchronisms, as at the 19th reign that of "*Bacchus and Perseus*;" and at the 23rd he adds, "*Sub hoc Argonautæ et Hercules*;" at the 26th, "*Ilion*," &c.; at the 30th, "*David*," a synchronism which is plainly his own; and at the 36th, "*Lycurgus*."

It may here be remarked in passing that when Clemens of Alexandria writes, as he does in one place, that "the Assyrian nation was older than the Greek; and that it was in the 402nd [302nd] year of the Assyrians, in the 32nd of Belochus the 8th king, when Amosis was reigning in Egypt and Inachus at Argos, that Moses led the Exodus of the Hebrews," this synchronism, which puts Amosis and the Exodus as high as B. C. $(2123 - 302 =)$ 1821, and which is entirely unlike what Clemens himself gives elsewhere, refers in truth only to Inachus. The Exodus having been connected by Ptolemy and others with Amosis, and both the Exodus and Amosis with Inachus, the Exodus and Amosis were liable to be drawn up together, *per consequens*, to whatever date seemed proper to be given to Inachus. In just the same way we have seen above (p. 749) Africanus drawing up the date of the Exodus and Amosis to B. C. 1796, in spite of the manifest contradiction of his own Egyptian list.

In the column for Eusebius the reductions observable in some of the reigns were made by him, no doubt, in order to bring down a little the reign of Ninus, so that it might not be quite out of contact with the years of Abraham. So he adds to Ninus the note "Sub hoc Abraham vixisse constat;" and makes the 43rd year of Ninus to coincide with the 1st of Abraham. Against the 16th reign he marks "Sub hoc fuit Moses legislator."

In the column of Barbarus some variants are introduced as being needed to make out the sum given by him, viz., "60 years," as if from Ctesias and Abydenus, instead of 40 for the 5th reign; and from Anianus and Syncellus 22, 42, 22, 44, 30, 38, 21, and 42, instead of 20, 40, 20, 40, 29, 36, 21, and 40 years for his 14th, 16th, 26th, 29th, 30th, 32nd, 35th, and 37th reigns respectively: and, lastly, 45 instead of 25 from Abydenus and Castor for his 20th reign.

The augmentations made to some reigns in the column of Anianus and Syncellus, whether by returning to the higher figures of Ctesias or Abydenus (which had been curtailed first by Castor, and afterwards again by Eusebius), or by arbitrary variations of their own, need no comment, since their purpose in amplifying, like that of Eusebius in curtail-

ing, is rendered clear by the nature of their chronological scheme.

VI. That the xlv *Chaldæan* kings of Berosus were really contemporary with the Assyrian *empire* is rendered probable both by the close agreement of their whole duration of 526 years with that of 520 specified for the *empire* by Herodotus, and also by the circumstance that Berosus himself distinctly stated that in point of lineal succession they were *not* one dynasty only, but *two*. And if they ended, as has been supposed above, in B.C. 709, when after the disaster of Sennacherib, whether before (as seems to be implied in the book of Judith) or after his death, Media revolted, it will follow that either Sennacherib himself is the 45th king of Berosus (the 25th he is called in an extract from Abydenus), and so enters, as one element at least, into the composition of the fabulous Sardanapalus of Ctesias, or else, if Esarhaddon be the 45th and last king of the empire in Berosus, answering *so far* to Ninus II. or Saracus,—though Ninus II. is no doubt more properly the last king before the destruction of the city,—his *name* only must have been included, while his *reign*, all but some short space at its commencement, must belong to a distinct and later series, that is, to the continuation of the kings of Assyria and Nineveh after their loss of the *empire*. For this continuation as given by Berosus, if we place the *reign* of Esarhaddon at its head, we have only imperfect notices in passages quoted by Josephus and Eusebius from Polyhistor and Abydenus. The principal of these, which is from Polyhistor, is given in the old Armenian version of Eusebius thus :—

“ A Xisuthro et a diluvio donec Medi Babylonem occuparunt summam regum lxxxvi supputat Polyhistor, singulosque nominatim e Berosi libro recenset. Ex horum autem omnium *ætatibus* annos conficit 33,091 [34,080]. Post hos, qui successione inconcussâ regnum obtinuerant, derepente Medos collectis copiis Babylonem cepisse ait, ibique de suis tyrannos constituisse. Hinc nomina quoque tyrannorum Medorum edisserit viii, annosque eorum 224 ; ac rursus xi reges et annos 48 ; tum et Chaldæos reges xlix, annosque 458 ; postea et Arabes ix reges annosque eorum 245. Horum

annorum recensione perscriptâ, de *Semiramide* quoque narrat, quæ imperitavit *Assyriis*: rursumque distinctè admodum nomina regum xlv enumerat, iisque annos tribuit 526. Post hos ait extitisse *Chaldæorum* regem cui nomen Phulus erat, quem Hebræorum quoque historia memorat, quemque item Phulum appellat. Hic Judæam invasisse dicitur. Deinde Polyhistor Senecheribum regno potitum esse ait; quem quidem Hebræorum libri regnantem referunt imperante Hezechiâ et prophetante Isaiâ. Ait autem disertè divinus liber ‘Anno xiv Ezechiae regis ascendisse Senecheribum ad urbes Judææ munitas.’ Et quidem Senecheribum cum ejus filio Asordane necnon Marudacho Baldane Chaldæorum quoque historiographus memorat; cum quibus etiam Nabuchodonosorum, ut mox dicetur. Hæc autem ratione de iis scribit. ‘Postquam regno defunctus est Senecheribi frater, et post Hagisæ in Babylonios dominationem, qui quidem nondum expleto 30° imperii die a Marudacho Baldane interemptus est, Marudachus ipse Baldanes tyrannidem invasit mensibus vi, donec eum sustulit vir quidam nomine Elibus, qui et in regnum successit. Hoc postremo annum jam tertium regnante Senecheribus rex Assyriorum copias adversus Babylonios contrahebat, prælioque cum eis conserto superior evadebat, captumque Elibum cum familiaribus ejus in Assyriam transferri jubebat. Is igitur Babyloniorum potitus filium suum Asordanem eis regem imponebat, ipse autem in Assyriam reditum maturabat. Mox quum ad ejus aures rumor esset perlatus Græcos in Ciliciam coactis copiis bellum transtulisse, eos protenus aggressus est, prælioque inito, multis suorum amissis, hostes nihilominus profligavit; suamque imaginem, ut esset victoriæ monumentum, eo loco erectam reliquit, cui Chaldaicis litteris res a se gestas insculpi mandavit. Tarsum quoque urbem ab eo structam ait ad Babylonis exemplar, eidemque nomen inditum Tharsin. Jam et reliquis Senecherimi gestis perscriptis subdit eum annis vixisse regnantem 18, donec eidem structis a filio Ardumuzane insidiis extinctus est. Hæc Polyhistor. Sane etiam tempora cum narratione divinorum librorum congruunt. Sub Ezechiâ enim Senecherimus regnavit, uti Polyhistor innuit, annis 18; post quem ejusdem filius annis 8; tum annis

21 Sammughes; itemque hujus frater 21; deinde Nabopulasarus annis 20; deinde Nabuchodrosorus 43; ita ut a Senecherimo ad Nabuchodrosorum 88 anni excurrant. Jam si quis Hebræorum libros scrutetur, paria dictis inveniet; namque post Ezechiam residuis Judæis Manasses imperat annis 55; deinde Amosus annis 12 [2]; tum Josias 31; postea Joachimus, sub cujus regni primordiis occupaturus Hierosolyma Nabuchodonosorus supervenit. Atqui ab Ezechia ad Nabuchodonosorum anni excurrunt 88, quotquot nimirum Polyhistor ex historiâ Chaldaicâ supputavit. His omnibus absolutis, pergit denuo Polyhistor res aliquot etiam a Senecheribo gestas exponere, deque hujus filio eâdem planè ratione scribit quâ libri Hebræorum; accuratèque admodum cuncta edisserit. Pythagoras sapiens fertur eâ tempestate sub his regibus extitisse. Jam post Sammughen imperitavit Chaldæis Sardanapallus 21 annis. Is ad Asdahagem, qui erat Medicæ gentis præses et Satrapa, copias auxiliares misit, videlicet ut filio suo Nabucodrossoro desponderet Amuhiam e filiabus Asdahagis unam. Deinde Nabucodrossorus dominatus est annis 43." The parallel and in some respects different passage of Abydenus has already been transcribed above at p. 314.

Those lists, then, which seem to be given as if from Berosus by Polyhistor and by Abydenus respectively "after Semiramis and the xlv kings" of the *empire*, with their "526 years," are as follows:—

Polyhistor.

1. *Pul* - - - Yrs. — ?
2. *Senecherimus*, reduced Babylon, taking Elibus prisoner, whose 3rd year it then was, and set his son *Asordanes* over Babylon. Afterwards he warred, not without some loss, in Cilicia against the Greeks [i. e. on account of Cition?] set up his trophies, and founded Tarsus: was slain by his son *Ardamuzanes* after reigning years - - - 18

Abydenus.

- [1. — - - Yrs. —]
2. *Senecheribus*, the 25th king, who subdued Babylon and defeated a fleet of the Greeks on the coast of Cilicia; set up *brazen* trophies or statues with inscription; and founded Tarsus. [Nergilus, the king who succeeds in this list of Abydenus, is a plain reduplication of this king, as he is said to be slain by his son Adrammelech.]

3. <i>The son of the preceding</i> [who was really not Adrammelech but Esar- haddon] - - -	8	3. <i>Nergilus</i> succeeded, who was slain by his son <i>Adrameles</i> - - -	
4. <i>Sammughes</i> [he seems to be out of place here, like Nergilus in the list of Abydenus] - -	21	4. <i>Adrameles</i> , son of Nergilus; slain by his brother <i>Ax- erdis</i> - - -	
5. <i>The brother of the preceding.</i> [Among the Greek kings of Cyprus, vassals of <i>Esarhaddon</i> , one named <i>Pythagoras</i> is mentioned as king of Idalium] -	21	5. <i>Axerdis</i> , brother of <i>Adra- meles</i> , after slaying him, pursued his mercenaries (among whom was <i>Py- thagoras</i> as far as Byzantium; he also con- quered Egypt - -	
6. "Then <i>Nabopolassar</i> 20" (24 rather). "After Sam- mughes [and "his bro- ther"?] <i>Sardanapallus</i> " [who so is one with Na- bopolassar] "reigned 21 years." <i>He</i> sent to As- tyages to ask one of his daughters for his son <i>Nabuchadnezzar</i> -	21	6. Then <i>Sardanapallus</i> , who was succeeded by Sara- cus. [If <i>Nergilus</i> and <i>Adrameles</i> are both to be suppressed above, <i>Ax- erdis</i> will stand for Esar- haddon, and two reigns will be wanting below him.] - - -	
7. Then <i>Nabuchodrossorus</i> or <i>Nabuchodonosorus</i> [who as succeeding <i>Sar- danapalus</i> is parallel with Saracus of Abydenus] reigned years - -	43	7. <i>Saracus</i> , who sent Busa- lassor to Babylon. But he, having married the daughter of Astyages to his son, attacked Nine- veh, and Saracus burned himself with his palace. Then <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> built the walls of Baby- lon - - -	
[Total sum of years from the accession of Sene- cherimus - -	132]		

These two lists appear to be parallel, having each the same number of five kings from Sennacherib to Sardanapallus, both being included, describing the 3rd successor of Sennacherib as "*brother of the preceding*," and having the same names, Sennacherib and Sardanapallus, for the first and last kings of the five. But Polyhistor confounds Sardanapallus, the last king but one of Nineveh, with Nabopolassar king of Babylon, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, who was really a generation later and contemporary with the Saracus of Abydenus. And he substitutes a daughter of Astyages for a daughter of Cyaxares, and the name of Nebu-

chadnezzar son of Nabopolassar, with his long reign of 43 years, for that of Saracus the last king of Nineveh, which he omits altogether. The reigns, too, not only those of "Nabopolassar" or "Sardanapallus," and his son, of "20" or "21" and "43" years respectively, but also the two preceding these of 21 years each (or 42 if thrown together), though attached to the names of two kings of Nineveh, seem to be really from the Babylonian list; so that the true historical reigns of the last four or five kings of Nineveh (since Abydenus gives no figures) remain unknown, and are to be sought only from the monuments.

If we neglect the confusion of Babylonian names and reigns with Assyrian, and treat the list of Polyhistor as if he had written in the last place "*Saracus* or Nabuchodonosorus," instead of writing "Nabuchodonosorus" only, then the two reigns of his Sardanapalus and Saracus cannot end later than the capture of Nineveh in B.C. 606. And if we go back from that date ($43 + 21 + 21 + 21 + 8 + 18 =$) 132 years, we shall make the accession of the king called Sennacherib, or rather the commencement of the first reign to which years are assigned, to stand at B.C. ($606 + 132 =$) 737, a date which may suit, perhaps, well enough to indicate the accession of Shalmanezzer or Enemessar, of whom Josephus has a relation very similar in some points to what Polyhistor and Abydenus give of their Senecherimus; for he extracts from the Tyrian Chronicle of Menander Tyrius the following:—"One [king], whose name was Elulæus, reigned 36 years. This king, upon the revolt of the *Cilteans*" [of Cyprus, that is, who are the "*Greeks*" in the narrative of Berosus], "sailed against them, and reduced them to submission. Against *these* did the king of Assyria send an army, and he overran all Phœnicia, but soon made peace with them all and returned back. But Sidon, and Ace, and Palætyrus revolted, and many other cities there were which delivered themselves up to the king of Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king returned, and fell upon them again, while the Phœnicians had furnished him with 60 ships, and 800 [8000?] men to row them; and when the Tyrians had come upon them in twelve ships, and the

enemies' ships were dispersed, they took 500 men prisoners" [here one is reminded of the words "multis suorum amissis" in Polyhistor], "and the reputation of all the citizens of Tyre was thereby increased. But the king of Assyria returned, and placed guards at their rivers and aqueducts who should hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years, and still the Tyrians held out under the siege, and drank from the wells they had digged. And this," concludes Josephus, "is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Shalmanezar, the king of Assyria." (*Ant. Jud.* ix. 2.)

But though this passage of Menander certainly seems to refer to much the same acts as are connected by Berosus with the name of Sennacherib, while Menander according to Josephus connected them with the name of Shalmanezar, it is to be observed that the name "Shalmanezar" does not occur in the passage itself; and it is quite possible that Josephus, or some one else whom he here followed, merely concluded for himself that the king of Assyria alluded to *ought to be* Shalmanezar, because the reigns of the kings of Nineveh given by Polyhistor, if reckoned upwards from the capture of the city (with the 43 years really belonging to Nebuchadnezzar included for the last reign of Saracus), seemed to carry up the king named Sennacherib to about the place belonging to Shalmanezar. But now it is said that these same events, or some of them, have been found recorded in Assyrian inscriptions of the 3rd year of a king named Sennacherib, in which the name of "Luliya" (Elulæus) also is identified, and he is called "king of Sidon." But apparently, as has been said, the accession of the Sennacherib of Polyhistor is thrust up to B.C. 737, and the *reign* of 18 years assigned to him, if distinguished from the acts now known to belong to a later Sennacherib, may be taken to indicate the historical reign of the Shalmanezar of Josephus and the Scriptures, the successor of Tiglath-Pilezer to whom Ahaz, about B.C. 741, had submitted himself in order to obtain help against Damascus and Samaria, and the next but one after Pul, who, before B.C. 769, had received tribute from Menahem. And if Shalmanezar died in B.C.

(738 - 18 =) 720, just after the final capture of Samaria, the next *reign* of Polyhistor (considered apart from the *name*) with its 8 years, might seem perhaps to suit for the historical reign of the Sennacherib of Josephus and the Scriptures. So this Sennacherib would reign from B.C. 720 to B.C. 712, and his death would agree with the date assigned for it in the book of Tobit, being within the 15th year of Hezekiah, only 45 days after his return to Nineveh. And at this same point of time, or very early in the reign of Esarhaddon, Josephus, it is plain, understood the Assyrian empire to terminate, for he writes thus: — “At this time it was that the empire of the Assyrians was put an end to by the Medes; but of this I shall treat elsewhere. But the king of Babylon, whose name was Baladan, sent ambassadors to Hezekiah, with presents, and desired he would be his ally and friend.” (*Ant. Jud.* x. 2.) And, again (at the beginning of ch. v.), he writes: — “Now Necho, king of Egypt, raised an army, and marched to the Euphrates, in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians who *had* [at some time *before* the end of the reign of Josiah] overthrown the empire of the Assyrians. For he had an ambition to reign over Asia.” But from the cessation of the empire on or soon after the death of Sennacherib in B.C. 712 — the cessation should be put according to Herodotus 3 years later, in B.C. 709 — we have in the list of Polyhistor only four *Babylonian* reigns, representing in their *collective* sum of $(21 + 21 + 21 + 43 =)$ 106 years, the chronological continuance of the Assyrian kings to the capture of Nineveh in B.C. 606, but not at all likely to represent exactly the historical subdivisions of the reigns, which seem to have been six or seven in number. Dismissing, then, the inquiry as to the reigns, for ascertaining which we have no sufficient data, let us consider the names which are given.

And first, if we look only to written evidence, and to the apparent agreement of the Books of Kings and Chronicles, of the Prophet Isaiah, and of Tobit, with the statements of Herodotus, and with the *indications* of Ctesias and Berosus, we might collect that Shalmanezer or Enemessar (Tobit i., Lat. Vulg., and Greek of LXX.), the king who besieged Samaria in the 4th year of Hezekiah (4 Kings xviii. 9),

either himself took it, and reigned on for some years after the 6th of Hezekiah and was succeeded by a son named Sennacherib (Tob. i. 2, 13, and 18 of Lat., “post multum verò temporis,” &c.), or else that he was succeeded by a king named Sargon, respecting whom Isaiah mentions that his army, under Tartan, took Ashdod (Is. xx. i.). In the latter case Sennacherib must have been really the son not of Shalmanezer but of Sargon, and he may be called in Tobit the son of Shalmanezer only because in that book the name and reign of Shalmanezer are erroneously made to cover the name and reign of his successor Sargon. We may collect then that Sennacherib, whether the son of Shalmanezer or rather of Sargon, was already on the throne, whether only as associated (for in one place, 2 Chron. xxviii. 16, “the kings of Assyria” are spoken of in the plural) or as sole ruler, some short time at least before the 14th year of Hezekiah (B. C. 713—712), Mardoc Empadus or Empalus, who is Mero-dach Baladan, being at the same time king of Babylon and independent of Assyria: that in B. C. 709, when Merodach Baladan had reigned 12 years, Babylon was recovered by the king of Assyria; and that a brother of Sennacherib, named in the Astronomical Canon Archianus, reigned over Babylon after it had been recovered for 5 years, that is, to B. C. 704, when his reign ended either by his death or by an insurrection, and was followed by an interregnum of 2 years, during which Hagisa reigned 30 days, and Merodach Baladan, who slew Hagisa (*sustulit*), 6 months, ending in B. C. 702: that Sennacherib in the 14th of Hezekiah, 3 or 4 years before his brother Archianus became king at Babylon, took the fenced cities of Judah; whereupon Hezekiah submitted, and paid a fine and tribute of 30 talents of gold and 300 of silver, besides giving all the silver which he could find in his own house and in the Temple: that on some later occasion (when Hezekiah had again shown a disposition to revolt), and *seemingly* soon after the reduction of Babylon in B. C. 709, Sennacherib again threatened Jerusalem, which was saved by a miraculous destruction of the Assyrian army then on the frontiers of Egypt: further, that on this event, if not before it, Media revolted, and Babylon too, as we have

seen, 4 or 5 years later : that nevertheless, in B. C. 699, Sennacherib once more reduced Babylon, and slew Belibus, who had reigned there 3 years, making his own son *Asordanes* according to Polyhistor, but according to the Astronomical Canon *Apronadius*, king in his stead : and Apronadius reigned at Babylon till B. C. 693 : lastly, that Sennacherib within 55 or 45 days after an event mentioned in the book of Tobit, but not necessarily within 55 or 45 days of his return after the miraculous destruction of his army, was slain by his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer or Ardamuzanes, who escaped into Armenia, while Sennacherib was succeeded by his son Esarhaddon, whom Polyhistor seems to identify with Apronadius who had reigned from B. C. 699 to B. C. 693 in Babylon. On this view it would be during the reign of Sennacherib that the 520 years of Assyrian empire ended.

If one were to go only on some indications of Greek writers it might also seem that the Pul of Polyhistor and Berosus is to be identified with Esarhaddon, the son and successor of Sennacherib. For Pul is named next after the 526, or, more exactly, the 520 years, of the Assyrian empire. The names *Sarddon* and *Pul* seem to unite in the name of that "Sardanapalus," who was neither effeminate like the later Sardanapalus, the last king but one of Nineveh, nor was burned with his palace like Saracus, the last king, when Nineveh was taken by the Medes and Babylonians ; but who was "energetic and warlike, δραστήριος καὶ γενναῖος" (according to Hellanicus and Callisthenes), who, after his loss of the former Assyrian empire, "μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπτωσιν τῆς Σύρων ἀρχῆς" (according to Cleitarchus), "warred in Cilicia and Syria, and founded the cities of Tarsus and Anchiale," and "died a natural death in his old age, ὁ γῆρα τελευτήσας" (according to the same). His tomb, according to Aristobulus and other writers, was at Anchiale, with a stone statue on it having the fingers of the right hand clenched, and an inscription in these words : "Sardanapalus son of [*S*]enakimperipsus founded Anchiale and Tarsus in one day : Σαρδανάπαλλος Ἀνακυνδαράξου παῖς Ἀγχιάλῃν ἔδειμε καὶ Ταρσὸν ἡμέρη μιῇ." "Near to this tomb Alexander" the Great, it is added, "encamped when on his march into Upper Asia."

The names, however, and the reigns and acts of remote kings are often interchanged and confused by Greek writers. And it would seem that in this case there has been some such confusion; since the war in Cilicia and the foundation of Tarsus and Anchiale are connected by Polyhistor (and so, also, we may suppose, by Berosus) not with the name of Pul, or "Sarddon-Pul son of [S]enakimperipsus," whom he named first after the 526 years of the *empire*, but with that of Sennacherib himself. Yet neither is Polyhistor consistent with himself or with the Astronomical Canon in the names and chronology of his Assyrian reigns. For if we make the 43 years of his Nebuchadnezzar *as being identified by implication with Saracus*, the last king of Nineveh, to end at the capture of Nineveh in B. C. 606, the date required by Herodotus (if only 30 years instead of 29 be allowed to Cyrus) and indicated by the Scriptures (compare 2 Kings xxiii. 19, B. C. 609, and Jerem. xxv. 15—26, B. C. 605), then, as we have seen, the reigns both of the Pul and of the Sennacherib of Polyhistor are thrust up far too high for that synchronism which he attaches to his Sennacherib when he writes that Belibus "in" or after his 3rd year at Babylon was reduced by Sennacherib. For the accession of the Sennacherib of Polyhistor is thus thrust up to B. C. $(606 + 43 + 21 + 21 + 21 + 8 + 18 =)$ 738, while the 3rd year of Belibus ended according to the Astronomical Canon in B. C. 699. But if—without noticing the fact that the 43 years of Nebuchadnezzar are paralleled *by implication* with the reign of Saracus, the last king of Nineveh, since the reign of Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, is *expressly* identified by Polyhistor with that of Sardanapalus the predecessor of Saracus, and the last king but one of Nineveh—we assign to the reign of Nabopolassar its true place, as if its first 19 years had been identified or paralleled with the reign of Saracus, then we obtain B. C. $(604 + (2 + 19) + 21 + 21 + 8 + 18, \text{ or } 736 - 43 =)$ 693 for the accession of that Sennacherib of Polyhistor, who, according to him, conquered Belibus and placed on the throne of Babylon his own son Asordanes. But this, as has been said above, was done according to the Astronomical Canon in B. C. 699. And since other particulars similarly connected by Polyhis-

tor with the same reign and the same name Sennacherib (as that of being slain by his son Ardamuzanes, or, according to Moses Choronensis, by his sons Adrammelech and *Sharezer* or *Agdamuzanes*), certainly belong to the Sennacherib of the Scriptures, we may infer that the process above suggested, of cutting off from Polyhistor's Assyrian series the *reign* of his Nebuchadnezzar, and drawing down the reign of his Nabopolassar so as to make it represent the Assyrian reign of Saracus instead of that of Sardanapalus, was inadmissible; and that, if there was in truth any Ninevite accession in B. C. 693, it was not that of Sennacherib but that of his son Asordanes, who then, upon the death of his father, may have become the king of Assyria.

If Apronadius of the Canon, who was in B. C. 699 made king of Babylon, was in truth, as Polyhistor seems to imply by calling him Asordanes, one and the same person with Esarhaddon, it becomes a question whether the 8 years given to the "son of Sennacherib" by Polyhistor are to be reckoned from his first accession at Babylon, or from the death of his father 6 years later. In the latter case he would have as sole king only 2 years, and would be succeeded in B. C. 691 by a son called Sammughes according to Polyhistor, but according to Abydenus by a brother named Axerdis. Polyhistor and Abydenus both agree in this, that he whom each of them names third after Sennacherib was the brother of him whom each names second. But while Polyhistor after "the son of Sennacherib," that is, after Esarhaddon, whom, however, he does not *name*, has a grandson of Sennacherib whom he calls Sammughes, and Sammughes is succeeded by a "brother," Abydenus after Sennacherib has a son called Nergilus, who must be a reduplication of Sennacherib himself, since he is "slain by his son Adrammelech;" and this Adrammelech, who is made to succeed, and who so represents Esarhaddon, is himself in turn slain and succeeded by a brother, *Axerdis*. But in truth Adrammelech, as we know, escaped; and Esarhaddon, if he "died a natural death in his old age," was not slain by a brother. Yet the short reign of 8, or perhaps of only 2 years, given by Polyhistor to the son and first successor of Sennacherib,

that is to Esarhaddon, certainly rather favours the idea that he may have been slain and succeeded by a brother named Axerdis, and that it may have been Axerdis, not Esarhaddon, "who died a natural death in his old age." If so, the Sammughes of Polyhistor and the Nergilus of Abydenus, if not altogether fictitious, must be taken to be misplaced, and to represent a reign which really was not the second, nor the first, but the third after that of Sennacherib.

In any case the first accession of Sennacherib himself will be carried back from B.C. 693, not perhaps by all those 43 years of Nebuchadnezzar which Polyhistor seems to parallel with the last Ninevite reign, but by something more than 20 years at least, that is, to about B.C. 713—712, if he invaded Judæa in the 14th of Hezekiah. If indeed it is true, as Dr. Hincks seems to assert, that an Assyrian inscription from Khorsabad published by M. Botta shows the predecessor of Sargon, that is, Shalmanezer, to have been still living in the 6th year of that king, then it may be supposed that Sennacherib at some time between the 6th year of Sargon and the 14th of Hezekiah, perhaps on the death of Shalmanezer, was associated with Sargon, and reigned conjointly with him to his death, in like manner as Sargon himself had been associated and had reigned conjointly with Shalmanezer, to the death of the latter. On this supposition it might be intelligible how a general sent by Sargon might take Ashdod, that is before B.C. 714, and how the same Sargon in B.C. 709 might reduce Mardoc Empadus or Empalus, who is Merodach Baladan, after he had held Babylon 12 years, while yet in B.C. 713—712, it was Sennacherib who took the fenced cities of Judah and forced Hezekiah to submission.

In the twentieth chapter of Isaiah it seems to be foretold that from some date not less than 3 years later than the capture of Ashdod by Sargon the king of Assyria should during 3 years lay waste Egypt, and lead away the Egyptians and Ethiopians as captives. But Sevechus or Sabaco II., who reigned 14 years from B.C. 728 to B.C. 714, and to whom Hoshea first and afterwards Hezekiah looked for support when they rebelled or meditated rebelling against Assyria, seems, after suffering perhaps some reverses in

Syria, to have made terms with Sargon or Sennacherib, or with both. This is proved by his seal, once affixed to a treaty, which has been found in the ruins of the palace of Sennacherib at Kouyunjik. Nor had Egypt as yet been conquered when Hezekiah was threatened the second time by Sennacherib, since Tirhakah (whose accession was in B.C. 714) waited not to be attacked, but came up out of Egypt to dispute the possession of Syria with the Assyrians; and Sennacherib, in his letter to Hezekiah, spoke of the power of Egypt as only *bruised* not *broken*. And for that time, as we know, it was saved from being broken by the destruction of Sennacherib's army. It may be then that those three years during which the predicted humiliation of Egypt and Ethiopia was accomplished were in the reign of Esarhaddon, or rather of Esarhaddon and his successor Axerdis, since Abydenus writes of Axerdis that he conquered Egypt as well as the inland parts of Syria. And the fable of the Greek Pythagoras, who was enabled to learn the wisdom of the Chaldæans by serving in the armies of "these kings" according to Polyhistor, or more particularly in those of Axerdis according to Abydenus, is accounted for by an inscription of the time of Esarhaddon in which, among other kings of the Greek cities in Cyprus his vassals, one named *Pythagoras* is mentioned as king of Citium. As regards Egypt, if it were overrun during 3 years by Esarhaddon and Axerdis, and Esarhaddon reigned only 2 years from the death of his father, the humiliation of Egypt and Ethiopia would be during the (B.C. 714 — 693 =) 22nd, 23rd, and 24th, or during the 23rd, 24th, and 25th years of Tirhakah, from B.C. 693 to B.C. 690, or from B.C. 692 to B.C. 689. This however is certain, that the final issue of the contest for the possession of Egypt was in favour of Tirhakah, who seems to have reigned in all 31 years to his death in B.C. 683, though it is possible that he reigned even 51 years. For had the war with the Assyrians ended to the disadvantage of Tirhakah, Megasthenes would never have heard in Asia a story associating him with Sesostriis and Nebuchadnezzar, who were fabled to have carried their arms into Europe, and even to the Pillars of Hercules.

If the *historical* allusions contained at the beginning of the book of Judith are worth attending to, — and this book like that of Tobit was written in the Chaldæan dialect, and so its incidental allusions to local history are less likely to be altogether inaccurate,—it would seem that the king of Nineveh who defeated and slew a king of Media — and this latter king must be Phraortes who was slain in B.C. 634 — was then in the 17th year of his reign, so that his accession must have been in B.C. 650. It is true that in the same book of Judith this king of Nineveh is called Nabuchodonosor by a confusion similar to that of Polyhistor; and he is made to invade Media, whereas in truth the Medes under Phraortes were the assailants; and Phraortes himself is called Arphaxad (i. e. Arbaces), and is confused with Deioces the founder of Ecbatana; and the commander of the Assyrian army has a Persian name, *Holofernes*; and the Temple in Judæa is spoken of as already destroyed; all which particulars are manifestly fabulous, and make against the expectation of accuracy in other points. Still the year of the Assyrian king who slew Phraortes — since this event in Media and the neighbouring countries was one of great notoriety — may have been rightly designated. And if it was, then we may collect that the two reigns of Esarhaddon and his son Sammughes or his brother [Azerdis], if there were only these two, or the three of Esarhaddon, his son Sammughes, and Azerdis the brother of Sammughes, if there were three reigns intervening between the Sennacherib and the Sandanapalus of Polyhistor and Abydenus, lasted together 43 years, from B.C. 693 to B.C. 650. And the last two Ninevite reigns of Sardanapalus and Saracus would seem in that case to have had together 44 years, divisible either into 21 + 23, or 20 + 24, or 25 + 19, and ending in B.C. 606.

In the name of the last king but one of Nineveh, whom both Polyhistor and Abydenus, and so doubtless Berosus also, named Sardanapalus, we have the historical source of that effeminate and luxurious Sardanapalus who in the fable of Ctesias was drawn up to the end of the empire; unless it be more true to say that the end of the empire was drawn down to him, as the last of a whole line of faineants. The strange

misrepresentation by which the effeminacy and luxury of a single king was imputed to all his predecessors is only to be accounted for by considering that Ctesias's informants were not Assyrians nor Babylonians, but Medes or Persians, who would be as little likely to do justice to Assyrian history as the priests of Phthah at Memphis would be likely to descant upon the glories of Thebes. But as regards Sardanapalus himself, though his *wealth* is mentioned by Herodotus, and though the fame of his luxury was known to Aristophanes, the story of his having been the last king of Nineveh, and of his having burned himself with his palace when the Medes took the city, is contradicted by many authors. It is alluded to without being credited by Aristotle; and it is entirely set aside by a fact which acquired great celebrity. For the luxurious and effeminate Sardanapalus left at Nineveh a high mound and a tomb with an Epicurean inscription, translated afterwards into seven Greek hexameter lines by Chœrilus. These lines are quoted by many writers, and they are given at length by Athenæus. (*Clinton, F. H.* i. p. 276). This fact of course implies that Sardanapalus had at least one successor who reigned at Nineveh after his death; and this his successor is distinctly mentioned in connection with the story by Diodorus, even while he is describing that Sardanapalus of Ctesias with whom the monarchy was fabled to have ended: — “Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο προήχθη τρυφῆς ὥστε ἐπικήδειον εἰς αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι, καὶ παραγγεῖλαι τοῖς διαδόχοις τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελευτὴν ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπιγράψαι τὸ συγγραφέν μὲν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου μεθερμηνευθὲν δὲ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τινος Ἑλλήνος” [by Chœrilus according to Amyntas, who is referred to by Athenæus, xii. p. 529]. “Εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι θνητὸς ἔφους,” κ. τ. λ.

The last king of Nineveh, the Saracus of Abydenus or Ninus II. of Castor and Barbarus, is no doubt in this one respect the Sardanapalus of Ctesias, that the capture of Nineveh by the Medes and the Babylonians, the burning of the palaces of the Assyrian kings there and elsewhere, and the destruction of the city of Nineveh itself, are connected with his reign. And he may have been himself slain and burned at the same time in his palace. But it is no more

necessary on this account to suppose that the *name* Sardana-palus belonged to him also, and to make of him a Sardana-palus III., than it is necessary in the parallel case of the fabulous and compound Sesostris of the Egyptians to suppose that the name Sesostris or Sesortasen belonged historically to all the kings who are blended and confused together.

VII. Besides the continuation of the Assyrian kings from the cessation of the *empire* to the destruction of Nineveh, Berosus, no doubt, named the contemporary kings of his own city of Babylon, at least from the era of Nabonassar, if not throughout, and also the kings of Media and Persia from the time that Media became independent of Assyria. The kings of Babylon from Nabonassar (who, according to Berosus, ordered all the records of earlier kings to be destroyed) may be recovered in part from the quotations of Josephus and other authors, and in full from the Astronomical Canon preserved and continued by Hipparchus and by Claudius Ptolemy. They stand as follows:—

King.	Genuine Canon.		Eccl. and Math. edd. of Sync.	
	Years	from in B. c.	Eccl.	Math.
Nabonassar	14	Feb. 26, 747	25	14
Nadius	2	Feb. 23, 733	8	2
Chinzirus et Porus	5	Feb. 23, 731	5	5
Jugæus	5	Feb. 21, 726	5	5
Mardoc-Empadus	12	Feb. 20, 721	12	12
Archianus	5	Feb. 17, 709	5	5
Interregnum [in which Hagisa 30 days and Marudach Baldanes 6 months]	2	Feb. 16, 704	2	2
Belibus	3	Feb. 15, 702	3	3
Apronadius	6	Feb. 15, 699	6	6
Regibalus	1	Feb. 13, 693	1	1
Mesesimordacus	4	Feb. 13, 692	4	4
Interregnum	8	Feb. 12, 688	8	8
Asaridinus	13	Feb. 10, 680	13	13
Saosdûchinus	20	Feb. 7, 667	9	9
Chinaladanus	22	Feb. 2, 647	14	14
Nabopolassar	21	Jan. 27, 625	21	21
Nabocolassarus	43	Jan. 21, 604	43	43
Ilvarodamus	2	Jan. 11, 561	5	3
Nericassolassarus [in- cluding 9 ^m of La- borosoarchod]	4	Jan. 11, 559	3	5
Nabonadius	17	Jan. 10, 555	17	34
Sum for xxi. reigns	209,	to B. C. 538	209	209

Thus the average for the xix. [or rather for the xxi. actual] kings, the two interregna being included, is something less than 10 years for each.

It is probable that what Syncellus gives as the "Ecclesiastical" and the "Mathematical" lists, both of them unfaithful exhibitions of the Astronomical Canon of Hipparchus and Ptolemy, are the lists of Anianus and Panodorus, since elsewhere for the years below his A. M. 5170 Syncellus blames Panodorus as deserting the "Ecclesiastical" reckoning and following "the Mathematicians," by doing which, he says, he is 7 years short in his date for the Nativity. The purpose of Anianus seems to have been to obtain 68 years between the accession of Nebuchadnezzar and that of Cyrus, to whom he gave 31 years instead of the 9 of the genuine Canon, or 51 from the 18th of Nebuchadnezzar to the 21st of Cyrus, that is, to his 1st at Babylon. That of Panodorus seems to have been to obtain 67 or 68 years between the 18th of Nebuchadnezzar and the 1st of Darius and Cyrus at Babylon, Cyrus having from the capture of Babylon only the 9 years of the genuine Canon, 3 of which would be anterior to the death of Darius and to the last accession of Cyrus as sole monarch. Anianus compensates for his suppression of 19 years on the two reigns before Nabopolassar by adding 17 to the first two reigns, of Nabonassar and Nadius, besides the 2 which he adds to the two reigns following that of Nebuchadnezzar. Thus he has between the 1st year of Nabonassar and the last of Nabonadius the same number of 209 years as the genuine Canon; but as he then interpolates 22 years by giving Cyrus 31 instead of 9, his era of Nabonassar would have been thrust up 22 years above B. C. 747, were it not that he suppresses other years below. Panodorus, on the contrary, differs from the genuine Canon only in this, that he transposes 19 years really anterior to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and makes them follow it, so as to increase by 19 the years apparently intervening between the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and that of Cyrus. It is noticeable that Syncellus himself names A. M. 4747, his B. C. 754, as the 1st of Nabonassar, as if he made not 141 like his "Ecclesiastical" list but only 136 years to the accession of

Nebuchadnezzar: then instead of the 68 years of his Ecclesiastical list to the accession of Cyrus, he has 69: and, lastly, he agrees with the same Ecclesiastical list of Anianus in giving 31 years to Cyrus, and in making from the death of Cyrus to that of Alexander 188 years (the true number being $529 - 324 = 206$). Hence it is that the era of Nabonassar is thrust up for Anianus only by $(22 - 18 =) 4$ instead of 22 years. (See *Clinton, F. H.* vol. ii. p. 320.)

VIII. The kings of Media from the time when Media was thought to have become independent may be recoverable from Herodotus and Xenophon thus:—

1. Deioces 53	{ from his first advancement in years, viz. {	B. C. 709,	22
	{ from his actual accession in	B. C. 687,	31
2. Phraortes,	from Feb. 4 in	B. C. 656,	22
3. Cyaxares {	of Scythian dominion from	B. C. 634,	28
40, viz. {	from capture of Nineveh in	B. C. 606,	12
4. Astyages	from Jan. 19 in	B. C. 594,	35
[5. Cyaxares II. (Darius the Mede)	from Jan. 11,	B. C. 559,	24]

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Sum, for the iv kings from the first year reckoned to Deioces to the accession of Cyrus in B. C. 559, 150 years, giving an average of $37\frac{1}{2}$ years to each reign.

Whatever may be the truth respecting Darius the Mede, who was about 62 years old when Cyrus took Babylon, the account given by Xenophon and Josephus seems to agree better with the Scriptures than that of Herodotus, who writes that Astyages had no son. Astyages, it may be supposed, lived 3 years after the victory of Cyrus, which will account for Ctesias and other later writers giving him 38 instead of 35 years. And so the years of Cyaxares II., if they are to be reckoned from the death of Astyages, were in all not 24 but 21, of which 18 would be before and 3 after the conquest of Babylon.

It is true that Æschylus seems to reckon 3 kings only from Cyaxares to Cyrus when he writes:—

Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ,
 Ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς τόδ' ἔργον ἤνυσεν,
 Τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος.

But there is nothing in these lines to oblige us to suppose that Æschylus regarded Cyaxares as the first founder of the Median monarchy; and that the two preceding kings of Herodotus are unhistorical. It is enough that Cyaxares was the first who organised a regular army. (*Herod. lib. i. c. 103.*) And it would certainly be improbable in the last degree that the very first Median king in his first year should be on the point of reducing Nineveh, and be only drawn off by the Scythian invasion. The fact that Nineveh was besieged, and was in great danger, and that it was unexpectedly delivered from its danger once before it was actually taken, is sufficiently proved by the book of Jonah. This may indeed have been earlier, in the time of Iva-lush III.; but it is not probable that the circumstance of Phraortes having been slain in battle while fighting against Nineveh was a mere invention, especially as the same event, though disguised under fabulous details, is plainly alluded to in the book of Judith.

The Median list of Ctesias with its nine reigns instead of four, and its 320 instead of 150 years to Cyrus, beginning from B. C. 880 or 879, is so plainly fabricated from the same four reigns as are given by Herodotus, that it is easy to cut off from it and restore to the Assyrian Empire all those years which Ctesias or his informants have transferred to the Medes. And when this is done the list of Ctesias indicates the same date for the termination of the Assyrian empire as is given by Herodotus. And as the Median list of Abydenus, which is followed by Castor, retains 93 of the fictitious years of Ctesias, which cannot be from Berosus, while yet the intention of Abydenus seems to have been to cover in all the same space with Berosus, it follows that we must restore these 93 years also from the Medes of Abydenus to his Assyrians; and then his list will indicate that Berosus also agreed with Herodotus in the date which he assigned for the end of the 526 years of his xlv Chaldæan kings who reigned at Nineveh, and for the commencement of those later Assyrian kings with whom the kings of Media were for (B. C. 709—606 =) 103 years contemporary.

IX. The kings of Persia, of the race of Achæmenes, whose empire succeeded to that of the Medes, and who may

also be recovered for Berosus from the Astronomical Canon and from other sources, will stand as follows :—

King.	Yrs. Astro. Can. from in B.C.	Anianus.	Panodorus.
1. Cyrus 29 (Herod.) or 30 years in all from B. C. 559, but from B. C. 538 only 9	9 Jan. 5, 538	31	9
2. Cambyses [including 7 ^m of the Magian Smerdis]	8 Jan. 3, 529	8	8
3. Darius Hystaspes	36 Jan. 1, 521	36	36
4. Xerxes [including 7 ^m of Artabanus]	21 Dec. 23, 486	20	21
5. Artaxerxes Long. [including 2 ^m of Xerxes II. and 7 ^m of Sogdianus]	41 Dec. 17, 465	43	41
6. Darius Nothus	19 Dec. 7, 424	19	19
7. Artaxerxes Mnemon	46 Dec. 2, 405	40	46
8. Ochus	21 Nov. 21, 359	5	21
9. Arsēs	2 Nov. 16, 338	4	2
10. Darius Codomannus	4 Nov. 15, 336	6	6
	207 to Nov. 14, 332	212	209

Sum, for the x [or xiv actual] kings, 207 years from B.C. 538 to B. C. 332, or 209 to B. C. 330, or 230 from B. C. 559 to B. C. 330, giving an average of nearly 23 years to x or $16\frac{1}{2}$ to xiv kings. The Astronomical Canon reckons only 4 years to Darius Codomannus, placing the *Egyptian* accession of Alexander in B.C. 332; but Berosus would probably reckon 6 years to Darius, and would place the Babylonian accession of Alexander at his death, in B. C. 330.

At the Babylonian and Persian accession of Alexander Berosus brought his *Xαλδαϊκὰ* or *Βαβυλωνιακὰ* to an end, having made, as it seems, from the Median conquest of Babylon in B. C. 2209 just the same number of 1881 *vague* years of historical kings to B. C. (2209—1881=) 330 as the Old Egyptian Chronicle made from the accession of Menes in B. C. 2224 to the conquest of Ochus and the flight of Nectanebo II. in B. C. (2224—1881=) 345, “15 years before the cosmocracy of Alexander.”

X. Berosus seems also to have brought down his reckonings by incidental allusions to the end of the reign of Anti-

ochus Soter, the 3rd successor of Alexander at Babylon, and the 2nd Macedonian who held Syria as a separate kingdom. The Macedonian reigns will stand thus:—

	King.	Years	from	in B. C.
α' .	Alexander	6	Nov. 14,	330
β' .	Philip Aridæus	7	Nov. 12,	324
γ' .	Alexander Ægi	5	Nov. 11,	317
1.	Seleucus Nicator	31	Nov. 10,	312
2.	Antiochus Soter	19	Nov. 2,	281

68 to Oct. 28, B. C. 262

Sum, from the Babylonian accession of Alexander in B.C. 330 to Thoth 1, Oct. 28, in B. C. 262, some months before the death of Antiochus Soter, 68 years, or 70 from B.C. 332.

In conclusion, since it will be natural to inquire how far recent discoveries have afforded any new light, and it may not be every reader who has at hand Mr. Rawlinson's Herodotus, we shall extract or abridge from that work so much as may suit our purpose, not keeping always to the words of the text, but distinguishing such remarks or additions as are from any other source.

With regard then, first, to those lxxxvi Chaldæan kings of Berosus whose 34,080 years were reckoned in *sari*, *neri*, and *sossi*, they are supposed to be beyond the reach of investigation.

And of the first historical dynasty of viii Median tyrants, whom Mr. Rawlinson supposes to have been really Scyths, and who reigned at Babylon 224 years, no traces, he says, have been discovered.

But of the second historical dynasty of xi kings (if only it may be assumed that they were like their successors, Chal-deans), and of the third of xlix kings, who are expressly called Chaldæans, monumental traces, he thinks, *have* been found, not, indeed, at Babylon, nor—still less—at Nineveh, but in different ruins of Southern Babylonia. And to these two dynasties, following a pamphlet by Dr. Brandis entitled "*Rerum Assyriarum Tempora Emendata*," and published at Bonn in 1853, he supposes that Berosus gave not $(48 + 458 =)$ 506 but $(258 + 458 =)$ 716 years. Dr. Brandis, it seems, fancied that 36,000 (that is, one hundred times

the number of the days in a vague year without the epagomenæ, or ten times the number of a *sarus*) was “a cyclical number.” This, however, was a blunder to begin with. For though 36,500 Canicular or Julian, or 36,525 vague Nabonassarian years *are* cyclical numbers, representing xxv Sothic cycles, 36,000 *is not*. It is merely a great sum obtained by multiplying one number into another. Next, he fancied that Berosus reckoned this “cyclical number” of 36,000 years from *Euechius*, the first of his prehistorical kings after the Flood, to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in B. C. 538. Thirdly, he decided on *very* slender grounds that Berosus ended the 526 years of his xlv Chaldæans at the era of Nabonassar in B. C. 747. And then from these three fancies it followed that the number of 48 years, preserved only by a marginal note in the Armenian version of Eusebius as belonging to the second historical dynasty of Berosus, was to be set aside, and that of 258 years substituted, as being requisite to make up the “cyclical number” 36,000. Owing to his acceptance of this scheme, Mr. Rawlinson places the Median occupation of Babylon ($747 - 709 =$) $38 + (258 - 48 =)$ 210 $=$ 248 years above B. C. 2210 in B. C. 2458, and the commencement of the 258 years given by Dr. Brandis to the second historical dynasty in B. C. 2234. So he has $(258 + 458 =)$ 716 years from B. C. 2234 to B. C. $(2234 - 716 =)$ 1518, instead of $(48 + 458 =)$ 506 from B. C. $(2209 - 224 =)$ 1985 to $(1985 - 506 =)$ 1480, within which to place his earliest group of 26 monumental kings of Southern Babylonia. With reference to our own chronology, however, it may be suggested that, even if it were ascertained that all those kings whom he names as having left traces in Southern Babylonia really constituted only one series in single succession (whereas some of them may have reigned concurrently in their separate cities), still there is nothing to forbid the idea that some of the more ancient of them may have been contemporary with the viii Median kings of Berosus. Nay, it is not impossible that there may exist monumental traces even of kings who reigned before the Median occupation of Babylon, and who, if named at all by Berosus, were named by him among the lxxxvi of his antehistorical period. With these preliminary

remarks and reservations, we now proceed to extract and abridge from Mr. Rawlinson.

“From the excavations which have been made upon the sites of the ruined cities of Babylon and Chaldæa, it is now certain (whatever may have been the condition of Babylonia in the pre-historic ages) that at the first establishment of an empire in that part of Asia the seat of government was fixed in Lower Chaldæa, and that Nineveh did not rise to metropolitan consequence till long afterwards. (Vol. i. p. 433.)

We have direct evidence, resulting from a remarkable sequence of numbers in the inscriptions of Assyria, which enables us to assign a certain Chaldæan king, whose name occurs on the brick legends of Lower Babylonia, to the first half of the 19th century B.C. We are further authorised, by an identity of nomenclature, and by the juxtaposition of the monuments, *to connect in one common dynastic list with this king*, whose name is *Ismi-dagon*, all the other early kings whose brick legends have been discovered in Chaldæa. Thus we obtain a list of above twenty royal names, ranging over a large interval of time both before and after the fixed date of B.C. 1861. (P. 433.)

The sequence in question is the following:—First, an inscription of Sennacherib at Bavian commemorates the recovery, in his 10th year, of certain gods which had been carried to Babylon by *Merodach-adan-akhi*, after his defeat of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, 418 years previously. And, secondly, a record of this same king, Tiglath-Pileser, inscribed on the famous Shergat cylinders, declares him to have rebuilt a temple in the city of Asshur, which had been taken down sixty years previously, after it had lasted for 641 years from the date of its first foundation by *Shamas-iva*, son of *Ismi-dagon*. The calculation, then, by which we obtain the date of *Ismi-dagon's* accession to the throne, may be thus exhibited:—

B. C.

Date of Bavian inscription (10th year of Sennacherib)	692
Defeat of Tiglath-pileser by Merodach-adan-akhi	418 years previously.
Interval between the defeat and the rebuilding of	
the temple (say)	- - - 10 years.
Demolition of the temple	- - - 60 years previously.
Period during which the temple had stood	- - 641 years.
Allow for 2 generations (<i>Shamas-iva</i> and <i>Ismi-dagon</i>)	- - - 40 years.

— — —
Date of *Ismi-dagon's* accession - - - B.C. 1861 years.

Among the earliest, if not actually the earliest, of the royal line of Chaldæa, are two kings, father and son, whose names are doubtfully read upon their monuments, as *Urukh* [Orchamus of Ovid. *Met.* iv. p. 212-3?] and *Iggi*. The former would seem to have been the founder of several of the great Chaldæan capitals; for the basement platforms of all the most ancient buildings at *Mugheir*, at *Warka*, at *Senkereh*, and at *Niffer*, are composed of bricks stamped with his name, while the upper stories,

built or repaired in later times, exhibit, for the most part, legends of other monarchs. The territorial titles assumed by *Urukh* are King of *Hur* and *Kinzi Akkad*, the first of these names referring to the primeval capital, whose site is marked by the ruins of *Mugheir*, and the second being [that of a city the site of which has not yet been identified]. The gods to whom *Urukh* dedicates his temples, are *Belus* and *Beltis*, and the *Sun* and *Moon*. The relics of *Ilgi* are less numerous than those of his father, but he is known, from later inscriptions, to have completed some of the unfinished buildings at *Mugheir*. (Pp. 435, 436.)

The only king who can have any claim, from the position in which the bricks bearing his legends are found, to contest the palm of antiquity with *Urukh* and *Ilgi*, is one whose name appears to have been *Kudur-mapula*; and who, being further distinguished by a title which may be translated "Ravager of the West," has been compared with the *Chedorlaomer* of Scripture. (P. 436.)

[The date for *Chedorlaomer* is about B.C. (2159—75=) 2084—2072, more than (2072—1861=) 211 years before the date indicated by the monuments for *Ismi-dagon*.] Elsewhere Mr. Rawlinson writes that the name of the king whom his brother identifies with *Chedorlaomer* is in the native (Hamitic) Babylonian *Kudur-Mabuk*; and that *Mabuk* in Hamitic is found to be the exact equivalent of *Laomer* in Semitic. (Bampton Lectures for 1859, p. 289, note 79.)

In succession to *Kudur-mapula*, but probably after a considerable interval of time, we must place *Ismi-dagon*, whose approximate age is ascertained, from the inscriptions of Assyria, to be B.C. 1861. In the titles of this king, although Babylon is still unnoticed, there is mention of the neighbouring city of *Niffer* [probably the earliest northern capital, and perhaps the Βίλβη of Ptolemy], showing that, while during the earlier period the seats of Chaldæan empire were exclusively confined to the southern portion of the province, in his age, at least, the cities of *Babylonia* proper had risen to metropolitan consequence. Indeed, from the memorial which has been preserved of the foundation of a temple at *Asshur*, or *Kileh Shergat*, by *Shamas-iva*, a son of *Ismi-dagon*, it seems probable that the latter king extended his power very considerably to the northward, and was, in fact, the first Chaldæan monarch who established a subordinate government in Assyria. (P. 437.)

The names of the son and grandson of *Ismi-dagon* are also found among the Chaldæan ruins.

The relative position of the later kings in the series it is impossible absolutely to determine. As, however, the names must be presented according to some arrangement, they will still be given in that which is thought upon the whole to be the most probable order of succession.

The following table, then, exhibits these kings in their proposed order of succession, with the approximate dates of their reigns:—

1. (α') *Urukh*, about 2200 B.C. On bricks in lowest basements at *Mugheir*, *Warka*, *Senkereh*, *Niffer*, &c., "King of *Hur* [*Mugheir*, *Ur* of the *Chaldees*], and of *Kinzi Akkad*."
2. (β') *Ilgi* (his son), about 2200 B.C. At *Mugheir*, &c.

3. (α') *Sinti-shil-khak*, about 1976 [2114 ?] B.C.
4. (β') *Kudur-mapula* (his son), about 1976 [2084 ?] B.C.
5. (α') *Ismi-dagon*, 1861 B.C. At *Niffer*, &c.
6. (β') *Ibil-anu-duma* (his son), about 1800 B.C. He is styled only "Governor of Hur" (Mugheir). He built the great cemeteries there. Shamas-iva, another son of Ismi-dagon, founded a temple at *Asshur* (Kileh Shergat).
7. (γ') *Gurguna* (his son), about 1800 B.C.
8. (β') *Naram-sin*, about 1750 B.C. Styled only "King of *Kiprat*;" but an alabaster vase from *Babylon* has his name, and he founded a temple at *Sippara*. His father's name is illegible.
9. *Sin-shada*, about 1700 B.C. In the ruins named Bowarieh at *Warka* (Erech).
10. *Merodach-namana*, about 1675 B.C. In pavement of Bowarieh mound at *Warka*. He is the earliest king who styles himself "King of Babylon."
11. *Rim-sin*, about 1650 B.C. On small black tablet in lesser temple at *Hur* (Mugheir).
12. *Zur-sin*, about 1625 B.C. His bricks are also found at *Mugheir*. He founded the city whose ruins are now called *Abu-Sharein*. Some other imperfect names contain the same element, *sin*.
13. (α') *Purna-puriyas*, about 1600 B.C. His legends nearly resemble those of *Durri-galazu*, who follows. His bricks are found in the ruins of the temple of the Sun at *Senkereh*, which was repaired in later times by *Nabonidus*.
14. (β') *Durri-galazu* (his son), about 1575 B.C. In many different quarters. Some ruins to the east of the river Hye, near its confluence with the Euphrates, are still called *Zergul*. He founded, too, the city whose ruins are now called *Akkerkuf*, and repaired temples at *Mugheir* (*Hur*), and at *Sippara*. His signet ring has been found at *Bagdad*, with the name of his father.
15. (α') *Khammurabi*, about 1550 B.C. In many places. At *Senkereh* he repaired the temple of the Sun. At *Kalwadha*, near *Bagdad*, he built a palace. At *Tel Sifr* many clay tablets of his reign have been found. His name and titles are also on a stone tablet found at *Babylon*.
16. (β') *Samshu-iluna* (his son), about 1550 B.C. On clay tablets found at *Tel Sifr*.

In the foregoing sketch sixteen kings have been enumerated, whose names have been read with greater or less certainty. The monuments present perhaps ten other names, the orthography of which is too imperfect or too difficult to admit of their being phonetically rendered in the present state of our knowledge. To this fragmentary list, then, of *twenty-six* monarchs our present information is confined. (P. 440.)

All the kings whose monuments are found in ancient Chaldæa used the same language, and the same form of writing; they professed the same religion, inhabited the same cities, and followed the same traditions.

Temples built in the earliest times receive the veneration of successive generations, and were repaired and adorned by a long series of monarchs, even down to the time of the Semitic Nabonidus, a passage on whose cylinder, discovered at *Mugheir*, seems to signify that he found in the *annals of Uruk and Ilgi* "a notice of the original building of the temple of the Moon-God at that place, which he himself repaired and beautified." According to the chronological scheme here followed the building of this temple must have taken place at least 1500 years previously [at least (B.C. 2210—224=) 1986—540 ?=1446]. With this evidence of the close connection between the earlier and the later kings, we are obliged either to refer the whole series exclusively to the great Chaldæan dynasty of Berosus, the third in his historical list, commencing B.C. [747+1229=] 1976 [but in B.C. 1938, if Berosus ended the 526 years of his xlv Chaldæan kings not in B.C. 747, but in B.C. 709], in which case it is difficult to find room for the predecessors of *Ismi-dagon*, whose date is little more than a century later, viz. B.C. 1861 [only 69 years later]; or else to suppose, which is far more probable, that the two dynasties of Berosus following upon the (so-called) Medes both belonged to the Hamite family, and were equally entitled to the geographical epithet of Chaldæan from the position of their chief cities in the plains of Southern Chaldæa. (P. 442, line 5.)

[Thus, without adopting Dr. Brandis's scheme, there would be (69+48=) 117 years for the predecessors of *Ismi-dagon*, beginning from *Uruk*. But one may suppose that there were kings in Southern Babylonia from still earlier times, without prejudice to the Median or Scythic occupation of Babylon.]

The state of Susiana, on the opposite frontier of Chaldæa, must also be taken into the account in estimating the power of the great Hamite empire on the Lower Euphrates. There we have an extensive collection of legends, both on bricks and slabs, belonging to a series of kings who, judging from their language, must have been also of a Hamite race. The character employed in these inscriptions is almost the same as the hieratic Chaldæan of the early bricks, but the language seems to resemble the Scythic of the Achæmenian trilingual tablets rather than the Babylonian primitive Chaldee.

These Cushites, whose memory would seem to have survived in the Greek traditions of Memnon and his Ethiopian subjects, but who were certainly independent of the monarchs of Chaldæa Proper, have been passed over by Berosus as unworthy of a place in his historical scheme; yet, if we may judge from the works of which the citadel of Susa is an example, or from the extent of country over which the Susian monuments are found, they could hardly have been inferior either in power or civilisation to the Chaldæans who ruled on the Euphrates.

(Note 8.) Bricks belonging to the Susian type, and bearing Scythic legends, have been found amid the ruins of *Rishire* (near *Bushire*) and *Taurie* (*Siráf* of the Arabs); and in all probability the line of mounds which may be traced along the whole extent of the eastern shores of the Persian Gulf contain similar relics. (Pp. 448, 449.)

(Note 9.) It is particularly worthy of remark, that throughout the series of legends which remain to us of the kings of *Hur* and *Akkad*, the name of *Chaldæa* never occurs in a single instance. It would be hazardous to assert, on the strength of this negative evidence, that the Chaldæans had no existence in the country during the age in question; but thus much is certain, that they could not have been the dominant race at the time; and that Berosus, therefore, in naming the dynasty Chaldæan, must have used that term in a geographical rather than an ethnological sense. The name of *Kaldai* for the ruling tribes of the lower Euphrates is first met with in the Assyrian inscriptions, which date from the early part of the 9th century B.C. In deference, however, to the authority of Berosus (which is supported by the Scriptural notices of "Ur of the Chaldees"), the term Chaldæan is applied throughout these notes to the Cushite tribe which is supposed to have emigrated from Susiana to the banks of the Euphrates in the 20th century B.C. (P. 449.)

Respecting the Arabian dynasty, which, according to Berosus, succeeded the Chaldæans on the Euphrates, nothing certain has been ascertained from the monuments. The following are Mr. Rawlinson's remarks on this subject:—

If the revolution of B.C. 1518 [B.C. 1480] was similar in character to that of B.C. 1976 [B.C. 1938], and the introduction of a new dynasty involved no change either in the seats of government, or in the religion of the state, or even in the royal titles, then it may be conceded that some of the names already enumerated might belong to the family in question. But if the transfer of power from the hands of a Chaldæan to those of an Arabian tribe was accompanied, as we should reasonably expect, by the adoption of an Arabian dialect and an Arabian religion, then we must believe the third historical dynasty of Berosus to be entirely, or almost entirely, unrepresented in the inscriptions. The only legend indeed which bears such marks of individuality as may distinguish it from the general Chaldæan series, and may thus favour its attribution to the Arabian dynasty, occurs upon a brick (now in the British Museum) that was found by Ker Porter at *Hymar*, which was in all probability in ancient times a suburb of the city of Babylon. The king, whose name is too imperfect to be read, is there called "king of Babylon," nearly after the titular formula of the old Chaldæan monarchs; but the invocational passage refers to a new deity, and the grammatical structure of the phrases seems to differ from that which is followed in the other legends.

The Arabians, it is highly probable, formed an important element in the population of the Mesopotamian valley from the earliest times. There are at least 30 distinct tribes of this race named in the Assyrian inscriptions among the dwellers on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates; and under the later kings of Nineveh, the *Yabbur* (modern *Jibbur*), and the *Gumbulu* (modern *Jumbulá*), who held the marshy

country to the south, appear to have been scarcely inferior to the Chaldæans themselves in strength and numbers. Offsets of the same race had even passed in the time of Sargon beyond the mountain barrier into Media, where they held a considerable extent of territory, and were known as "the Arabs of the East."

At the close then of the Chaldæan period, or possibly after an interval of Arabian supremacy, the seat of empire was transferred to Assyria, about B.C. 1273 . . . [rather, about B.C. $709 + 526 = 1235$, or 6 years later].

Of the *Chaldæan* kings whose names have been given above Mr. Rawlinson observes that but little is to be learnt from the inscriptions respecting either their foreign or their domestic history. They assume in their brick legends a great variety of territorial titles; but the nomenclature belongs almost exclusively to Chaldæa and Babylonia. Among the names used, the most common are *Kipratarba*, or The Four Races (?), 2. *Hur* (Ur of the Chaldees, or *Mugheir*), 3. *Larsa* (Ellasar, or Senkereh), 4. *Erech*, or *Warka*, 5. *Kinsi Akkad* (Accad of Genesis), 6. *Babil* or Babylon, and 7. *Nipur* or the city of Belus (the Greek Βίβλη, and modern *Niffer*). *Assyria* is not mentioned in one single legend; nor are there any names of cities or districts which can be supposed to belong to that province. Except indeed for the notice preserved on the cylinders of Tiglath-Pileser I., that the temple of *Anu* and *Iva* at *Asshur*, or *Kileh Shergat*, had been originally founded by *Shamas-iva*, son of *Ismi-dagon*, we should have been without any direct evidence that the Chaldæan kings had ever extended their sway over the country which adjoined Babylonia on the north. Such an extension of power may now be assumed; but, so far as our present information reaches, it would seem as if Assyria during the long period of Chaldæan supremacy had occupied a very inferior position in the political system of the East. The country was perhaps governed generally by Babylonian satraps, some of whose legends seem to be still extant; but it was not of sufficient consequence to furnish the Chaldæan monarchs with one of their royal titles.

(Note 7.) Bricks have been found at *Kileh-Shergat* which record the names and titles of four of these tributary satraps. The legends, as might be expected, are of the Babylonian rather than of the Assyrian type; and the titles belong to the most humble class of dignities. (Pp. 447-8.)

On the subject of the great Assyrian empire, which Mr. Rawlinson supposes to have covered a space "of 520 or (more exactly) 526 years, as Herodotus and Berosus testified," and which he so identifies with Berosus's group of "xlv Chaldæan kings," he writes as follows: —

Concerning the origin of Assyrian independence, nothing can be said to be known. We seem to have evidence of the inclusion of Assyria in

the dominions of the early Babylonian kings; but the time when she shook off this yoke and became a free country is quite uncertain, and can only be very roughly conjectured. However this may be, it is at any rate clear that about the year B. C. 1273 [B. C. 1235] Assyria, which had previously been a comparatively unimportant country, became [independent, and very soon after became] one of the leading states of the East, possessing what Herodotus not improperly terms an empire, and exercising a paramount authority over the various tribes upon her borders. The seat of government at this early time appears to have been at *Asshur*, the modern *Kileh-Shergat*, on the right bank of the Tigris, 60 miles south of the later capital, Nineveh. At this place have been found the bricks and fragments of vases bearing the names and titles of (apparently) the earliest known Assyrian kings, as well as bricks and pottery inscribed with the names of satraps, who seem to have ruled the country during the time of Babylonian ascendancy. This too is the city at which *Shamas-iva*, the son of the Babylonian king *Ismi-dagon*, erected (about B. C. 1840) a temple to the gods *Anu* and *Iva*; so that it may with much probability be concluded to have been the capital during the whole period of the Babylonian dominion. (Pp. 455-6.)

With regard to the first kings, the Babylonian historians, as we are told by Abydenus, ignored altogether the existence of any such monarchs as Ninus, the mythic founder of the empire, and his wife Semiramis.

The earliest known king of Assyria is a certain *Bel-lush*, who is the first of a consecutive series of four monarchs, proved by the bricks of *Kileh-Shergat* to have borne sway in Assyria at a time when its connection with Babylonia had not long ceased. These kings, whose names are read very doubtfully as *Bel-lush*, *Pudil*, *Ica-lush*, and *Shalma-bar*, or *Shalma-rish*, and who take the title only assumed by independent princes, may possibly be actually the earliest of the entire series, and in that case would be likely to have covered with their reigns the space between B. C. 1273 and B. C. 1200 [B. C. 1235 and B. C. 1162]. No historical events can be distinctly assigned to this period. [In a note it is here observed that a king called *Shalmanu-bar*, or *Shalmanu-rish* (*query*, *Shalmaneser*?), is mentioned as the founder of Calah (*Nimrud*) in a late inscription. This may perhaps be the 4th monarch of the *Kileh-Shergat* series, whose name is *almost*, though not quite, the same.] The kings are known only by their legends upon bricks and vases, which have been found at but one single place, viz. *Kileh-Shergat*, and which are remarkable for nothing but the archaic type of the writing, and the intermixture of early Babylonian forms with others which are purely Assyrian. It is on this ground especially that they are assigned to the commencement of the empire, when traces of Babylonian influence might be expected to show themselves; but it must be confessed that they may *possibly* belong to a time about 150 years later, when Babylonia once more made her power felt in Assyria, a Chaldaean monarch defeating the Assyrians in their own country, and carrying off in triumph to Babylon the sacred images of their gods. (Pp. 456-7.)

The series of kings which is probably to be placed next to this consists of six monarchs, forming a continuous line, and reigning from about B.C. 1200 to B.C. 1050 [B.C. 1162 to B.C. 1012, or, if the preceding kings are misplaced at the head of all, these would be earlier], the crown during this period descending without a break from father to son. Of these kings the names of the first five are recorded on the famous *Kileh-Shergat* cylinder, the earliest document of a purely historical character which has as yet been recovered by the researches pursued in Mesopotamia.

Tiglath Pileser I., the *fifth* king of this series, records on this cylinder his own annals during the first five years of his reign, concluding his account by a glorification of his ancestors, whom he traces back to the fourth degree. The few particulars which are given in this slight sketch form almost the whole that is known at present of the kings in question, whose names it is proposed to read as *Nin-pala-kura*, *Asshur-dapal-il*, *Mutaggil-nebu*, and *Asshur-rish-ili*. Of the first of these, whose name is even more than ordinarily uncertain, it is related that he was “*the king who first organised the country of Assyria*,” and “*established the troops of Assyria in authority* ;” from which expression, as well as from his being the last monarch in the list, he may perhaps be fairly viewed as the founder of the line, and possibly of the independent kingdom. [In which case he should answer to the *Ninus* of Ctesias, and his accession should be put at B.C. 1235.]

His son, *Asshur-dapal-il*, besides “*holding the sceptre of dominion*,” and “*ruling over the people of Bel*,” is only said to have “*obtained a long and prosperous life*.” Later, however, in the same inscription, it is mentioned that this king took down the great temple of Anu and Phul at *Kileh-Shergat*, which was at the time in an unsound condition. Of the third king, *Mutaggil-nebu*, nothing more appears than that he “*was established in strength in the government of Assyria* ;” but of the fourth, *Asshur-rish-ili*, the father of Tiglath-Pileser I., it is recorded that he was, like his son, a conqueror. *Asshur-rish-ili* is “*the powerful king, the subduer of foreign countries, he who reduced all the lands of the Magian world*” — expressions which are no doubt exaggerated, but which, contrasted with the silence of the inscription with respect to any previous conquests, would seem to indicate that it was this monarch who first began those aggressions upon the neighbouring nations, which gradually raised Assyria from the position of a mere ordinary kingdom to that of a mighty and flourishing empire.

The following is given by Mr. Rawlinson in a note as a translation of the genealogical portion of this important document : —

“*Tiglath-Pileser, the illustrious prince, whom Asshur and Hercules have exalted to the utmost wishes of his heart, who has pursued after the enemies of Asshur, and has subjugated all the earth—*

“*The son of Asshur-rish-ili, the powerful king, the subduer of foreign countries, he who has reduced all the lands of the Magian world—*

“*The grandson of Mutaggil-nebu, whom Asshur the great lord aided*

according to the wishes of his heart, and established in strength in the government of Assyria —

“ The glorious offspring of Asshur-dapal-il, who held the sceptre of dominion, and ruled over the people of Bel, who in all the works of his hands and the deeds of his life placed his reliance on the great gods, and thus obtained a prosperous and long life —

“ The beloved son of Nin-pala-kura, the king who first organised the country of Assyria,” &c. &c. (Pp. 457–8.)

The annals of Tiglath-Pileser I., which furnish this account of his ancestry, extend (as has been already observed) over the space of 5 years. During this period, besides rebuilding the temple which 60 years previously had been taken down by his great-grandfather, he claims to have extended his conquests over a large part of Cappadocia, over Syria, and over the Median and Armenian mountains. In Cappadocia, and the region intervening between that country and Assyria Proper, the enemy against which he has to contend is the people called *Nairi*. This nation was at the time divided into a vast number of petty tribes, each under its own chief, and was conquered in detail by the Assyrian monarch. The Syrians, or Aramæans, whom he subdued, dwelt along the course of the Euphrates from *Tukha* (the Shoa of Scripture), which was on the confines of Babylon, and Carchemish, which was near the site occupied in later times by the city of *Mabog*, or Heliopolis. The Armenian mountains appear, as in the later inscriptions of Sargon, under the name of *Muzr* (Misraim), thereby perhaps corroborating the testimony of Herodotus as to the connection of the Colchians with the Egyptians. The date of these wars is capable of being fixed with an approach to accuracy by the help of a rock-inscription, set up by Sennacherib at Bavian, in which a Tiglath-Pileser, whom there is every reason to regard as the monarch whose acts we are here considering, is said to have occupied the Assyrian throne 418 years before Sennacherib's 10th year. As the reign of Sennacherib falls certainly towards the close of the 8th or beginning of the 7th century, we may confidently assign Tiglath-Pileser I. to the latter part of the 12th century B.C. [B.C. 705 + 418 = 1123?] This date accords satisfactorily with the discovered dynastic lists, and the supposed era of the foundation of the monarchy. For allowing the eight kings anterior to Tiglath-Pileser I. to have reigned 20 years apiece, which is a fair average, and taking B.C. 1273 for the first year of the monarchy, we should have B.C. 1113 for the accession of Tiglath-Pileser I. The inscription of Sennacherib also furnishes us with some additional and very important historical facts belonging to this reign — the invasion, namely, of Assyria at this time by *Merodach-adan-akhi*, king of Babylon, his defeat of Tiglath-Pileser, and his triumphant removal of the images of certain gods from Assyria to his own capital. We learn from this record that Babylon not only continued to the close of the 12th century B.C. independent of Assyria, but was still the stronger power of the two — the power which was able to take the offensive, and to ravage and humiliate its neighbour. (Pp. 458–9.)

Tiglath-Pileser I., was succeeded by his son, *Asshur-bani-pal I.* No particulars are known of the reign of this prince, of whom one single record only has been as yet discovered, which is a dedicatory inscription containing his name, together with that of his father, *Tiglath-Pileser*, and his grandfather, *Asshur-rish-ili*. It is found on a mutilated female statue, probably of the goddess Astarte, which was disinterred at Kouyunjik, and is now in the British Museum. (P. 459.)

At the period which we have now reached a break occurs in the line of kings furnished by the monuments, which it is impossible at present to fill up, but which does not appear to have been of very long duration. *Asshur-adan-akhi*, the next known king to *Asshur-bani-pal I.*, is thought to have ascended the throne about the year B.C. 1050, being thus a contemporary of David. He is known only as the repairer of certain buildings at *Kileh-Shergat*, which continued to receive additions from monarchs who were his successors, and probably his descendants. These monarchs, whose names may be given as *Asshur-danin-il*, *Ira-lush II.*, and *Tiglathi-nin*, form a line of direct descent, which may be traced on without interruption to the accession of *Tiglath-Pileser II.*, the king of that name whose actions are recorded in Scripture. They continued to reside and to repair the buildings at *Kileh-Shergat*, but have left no evidence of conquests or greatness.

Tiglathi-nin, however, Sir H. Rawlinson observes, is mentioned with Tiglath-Pileser I. in the annals of the great Sardanapalus on the Nimrud monolith, among the warlike ancestors of that king who had carried their arms into the Armenian mountains, and there set up stelæ to commemorate their conquests. (P. 460.)

Tiglathi-nin, the last of the *Kileh-Shergat* series, was succeeded by his son, *Asshur-dani-pal*, or *Sardanapalus*, who appears to have transferred the seat of empire from *Kileh-Shergat*, which had been the Assyrian capital hitherto, to Calah, the modern *Nimrud*, a position about 40 miles further to the north, near the junction of the greater Zab with the Tigris, on the opposite or left bank of the stream. *Asshur-dani-pal*, who seems to be the warlike Sardanapalus of the Greeks, was a great conqueror. In his annals, which have come down to us in a very complete condition, it is apparent that he carried his arms far and wide through Western Asia, from Babylonia and Chaldæa on the one side to Syria and the coasts of the Mediterranean on the other. It seems to have been in this latter quarter that his most permanent and important conquests were effected. Sardanapalus styles himself "the conqueror from the upper passage of the Tigris to Lebanon and the Great Sea, who has reduced under his authority all countries from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof." In his Syrian campaign, which is recorded at length, not only in the general inscription, but also on the votive Bull and Lion which he set up at Calah on his return from it, he took tribute from the kings of all the principal Phœnician cities, as Tyre, Sidon, Byblus, and Aradus; among the rest, probably, from Eth-baal, king of the Sidonians, the father of Jezebel, wife of Ahab. (Pp. 460-1.)

This *Sardanapalus*, son of *Tiglathi-nin*, . . . was the founder of the north-west palace at Nimrud, which, next to that of Sennacherib at *Kouyunjik*, is the largest and most magnificent of all the Assyrian edifices. The greater portion of the sculptures now in the British Museum are from this building. It was a structure nearly square, about 360 feet in length, and 300 in breadth, standing on a raised platform, overlooking the Tigris, with a grand façade to the north fronting the town, and another to the west commanding the river. It was built of hewn stone, and consisted of a single central hall, more than 120 feet long by 90 wide, probably open to the sky, round which were grouped a number of ceiled chambers, some larger and some smaller, generally communicating with one another. The ceilings were of cedar, brought apparently from Mount Lebanon; the walls were panelled to a certain distance from the floor with slabs of alabaster, ornamented throughout with bas-reliefs, above which they were coated with plaster. The smaller chambers were frequently dark; the larger ones were lighted either by openings in the roof, or by apertures in the upper part of the wall near the ceiling. The floors were paved with slabs of stone, often covered with inscriptions. A close analogy has been pointed out between this style of building and the great edifices of the Jews, as described in Scripture and by Josephus, the Jewish kings having, in all probability, borrowed their architecture from Assyria. The dimensions, however, of the palace of Solomon fell far short of those of the great Assyrian monarchs.

Besides this palace at Calah, *Sardanapalus* built temples there to Asshur and Merodach, which stood upon the same platform, adjoining the wall of the city. He also built at least one temple at Nineveh itself, which however had not yet reached to the dignity of a metropolitan city. This temple was dedicated to Beltis, a deity worshipped both in Nineveh and Babylon. (Pp. 461-2.)

Sardanapalus was succeeded by his son *Shalmanu-bar*, or *Shalmaneser* (as the name is read by M. Oppert), the great monarch whose deeds are recorded on the black obelisk in the British Museum. This prince, whose annals we have for above thirty-one years, and whose accession must have fallen between B. C. 904 and 900, was engaged, either personally or by a favourite general, in a perpetual series of expeditions, of which a brief account is given upon the obelisk, the details being apparently reserved for the colossal bulls, which seem to have been the usual dedication after a victory. These expeditions do not fall into any regular order, nor do they seem to result in actual conquest. They are repeatedly in the same countries, and terminate either in the submission of the monarch, or in his deposition, and the establishment in his place of a more obsequious ruler. What is most remarkable in them is their extent. At one time they are in Chaldæa, on the very borders of the Southern ocean; at another in Eastern Armenia and the vicinity of the Caspian; frequently they are in Syria, and touch the confines of Palestine; occasionally they are in Cappadocia, in the country of the *Tuplai* (Tibareni). Armenia, Azerbijan, great portions of Media Magna, the

line of Zagros, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Phœnicia, the chain of Amanus and the country beyond it to the north and the north-west, are invaded by the Assyrian armies, which exceed upon occasions 100,000 fighting men. Everywhere tribute is enforced, and in most places images of the king are set up as a sign of his possessing the supremacy. The Assyrian successes are throughout attributed, after the favour of Asshur and Merodach, to their archers. (Pp. 462-3.)

The picture furnished by the inscriptions of the general condition of Western Asia at this period (B. C. 900-860) is perhaps the most interesting feature of all which they present to us. At the extreme west appear the Phœnician cities, Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus, from which Shalmanu-bar takes tribute in his 21st year. Adjoining upon them are the kingdoms of Hamath and Damascus, the latter at first under *Benhadad*, and then under *Hazael*; the former under a king named Sahulena, or Irkhudena. These kingdoms are closely leagued together, and united in the same alliance as their neighbours, the *Khatti*, or Hittites, who form a great confederacy ruled by a number of petty chiefs, and extend continuously from the borders of Damascus to the Euphrates at *Bir* or *Bireh-jik*. The strength of the Hittites, Hamathites, and Syrians of Damascus, is in their chariots. They are sometimes assisted by the "kings of the sea-coast," who are probably the Phœnician princes. The valley of the Orontes, from a little north of Hamath to the great bend which the river makes towards the west, and the country eastward as far as the mountains which separate the tributaries of that stream from those of the Euphrates, is in possession of the *Patena*, a tribe of Hittites, whose name connects them with the *Padan-Aram* of Scripture, and the *Balanœa* of the Greek writers. This people is permanently subject to Assyria, and the Assyrians have access through their territories to the countries of their neighbours. East of the Euphrates, in the country between *Bir* and *Diarbekr*, are the *Naïri* or *Nayari*, adjoining upon the Armenians, who reach from about Diarbekr to the basin of Lake *Urumiyeh*, which belongs to the *Mannai* (who are the Minni of Scripture). Southward, along the line of Zagros, are, first, *Kharkhar*, about lake Van; next *Hupuska*, reaching south to Holwan and the Gates of Zagros; and then the country of the *Namri*, reaching as far as *Susiana*, east of which dwell the *Medes* and (perhaps) the Persians. Below Assyria is Babylonia, the more northern portion of which is the country of the *Accad*, while the more southern, reaching to the coast, is Chaldœa—the land of the *Kaldai*. Above Babylonia, on both sides of the Euphrates, are the *Tsukhi*, perhaps the Shubites of Scripture. Finally, in Cappadocia, above the northern Hittites, and west of the Euphrates, are the *Tuplai*, or Tibereni, a weak people, under a multitude of chiefs, who readily pay tribute to the conqueror. (Pp. 463-4.)

The most interesting of the campaigns of Shalmanu-bar are those which in his 6th, 11th, 14th, and 18th years he conducted against the countries bordering on Palestine. In the first three of these his chief adversary was *Benhadad* of Damascus, the prince whose wars with Baasha, Ahab,

and Jehoram, and whose murder by Hazael, are related at length in the Books of Kings and Chronicles. Benhadad, who had strengthened himself by a close league with the Hamathites, Hittites, and Phœnicians, was defeated in three great battles by the Assyrian monarch, and lost in one of them above 20,000 men. This ill-success appears to have broken up the league; and when *Hazael*, soon after his accession, was attacked in his turn, probably about the year B. C. 884 or 885, he was left to his own resources, and had to take refuge in Anti-Libanus, where Shalmanubar engaged and defeated him, killing (according to his own account) 16,000 of his fighting men, and capturing more than 1100 chariots. It was probably at this time, or perhaps three years later, when the conqueror once more entered Syria and forced Hazael to supply his troops with provisions, that the first direct connection of which we have any record took place between the people of Israel and the Assyrians. One of five epigraphs on the black obelisk records the tribute which *Yahua*, the son of *Khumri* (i.e. Jehu, the son of Omri), brought to the king who set it up, consisting almost entirely of gold and silver, and articles manufactured from gold. It was perhaps this act of submission which provoked the fierce attack of Hazael upon the kingdom of Israel in the reign of Jehu, when he "smote them in all their coasts," and deprived them of the entire country east of Jordan, the ancient possession of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, as far as "Aroer by the river Arnon," which flows into the Dead Sea. (Pp. 464-5.)

Shalmanubar dwelt indifferently at Calah and at Nineveh, and greatly embellished the former of these cities. He was the builder of the great central palace at that place, which has furnished us with so many of the most interesting specimens of Assyrian art. Like his father he appears to have brought timber, probably cedar, from the forests of Syria; and sometimes even to have undertaken expeditions for that special purpose. He probably reigned from about B. C. 900 to B. C. 860 or 850. (P. 465.)

Shalmanubar was succeeded by his son, *Shamas-iva*; whose annals, like his father's, have in part come down to us upon an obelisk set up by him to commemorate his exploits, at Calah, which seems to have been still the Assyrian capital. We learn from this document that during the lifetime of *Shalmanubar Sardanapalus*, his eldest son, had raised a revolt against his authority, which was with difficulty put down by *Shamas-iva*, the younger brother. Twenty-seven strong places, including *Asshur* the old metropolis, *Amida* (the modern Diarbekr), *Telapni* which was near Orfa, and the famous city of *Arbela* — here first commemorated — espoused the cause of the pretender. A bloody struggle followed, resulting in the suppression of the rebellion by the capture of the revolted cities, which were taken by *Shamas-iva*, one after another. *Sardanapalus*, in all probability, lost his life: if not, at any rate he forfeited the succession, which thus fell to the second son of the late monarch. (Pp. 465-6.)

The annals of *Shamas-iva* upon the obelisk extend only over the term of four years, and then end abruptly. It is not likely, however, that he

reigned for so short a time, as the space between *Shalmanubar* and *Tiglath-Pileser II.* (that is, if we connect the accession of Tiglath-Pileser with the era of Nabonassar, B. C. 747) exceeds a century, and is occupied (so far as at present appears) by but two reigns, those of *Shamas-iva* and of his son and successor, *Iva-lúsh*. In these four years *Shamas-iva* undertook expeditions against the tribes of the Naïri on the flanks of Taurus, against the Medes beyond Zagros, and finally against the Babylonians. This last campaign is the most important. In it *Shamas-iva* declares that he took above 200 towns, and defeated a combined army of Chaldæans, Elamites, Namri, and Aramæars or Syrians, which the king of Babylonia had collected against him, slaying 5000, and taking 2000 prisoners, together with 1000 chariots. (P. 466.)

Iva-lúsh, the third prince of that name, was the son and successor of *Shamas-iva*. He is perhaps the Pul of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Phaloch or Phalôs of the Septuagint, and the Belochus of Eusebius and others. He built some chambers in the central palace at Calah, which had been originally erected by his grandfather, and which was afterwards despoiled by Esarhaddon. The records of his time which have been hitherto discovered are scanty, but possess a peculiar interest. One of them is a pavement slab from the upper chambers at *Nimrud* (Calah), wherein is noticed his reception of tribute from the Medes, Partsu, Minni, and Naïri on the north and east, from the country of *Khumri*, or Samaria, from Tyre, Sidon, Damascus, Idumæa, and Palestine on the western sea—a relation which accords with the fact mentioned in the Second Book of Kings, that Pul received a thousand talents as tribute from Menahem, king of Israel. (From *Mariha*, king of Damascus, *Phal-lukha* took at this time 2300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3000 of copper, and 5000 of some other metal, probably iron). Another is a brief inscription on a statue of the god Nebo (now in the British Museum), which shows that *the name of his wife was Semiramis*, and that she reigned conjointly with her husband, thus very remarkably confirming the account given by Herodotus of the real age of that personage, and also explaining in some degree her position in Herodotus as a *Babylonian* rather than an Assyrian princess. *Iva-lúsh III.* certainly seems to have been in an especial way connected with Babylonia. He appears to style himself “the king to whose son Asshur the chief of the gods has granted the kingdom of Babylon;” and he relates that on his return from a campaign in Syria, in which he had taken Damascus, he proceeded to Babylonia, where he received the homage of the Chaldæans, and sacrificed in Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha, to the respective gods of those cities, Bel, Nebo, and Nergal. It is possible that *Semiramis* was a Babylonian princess, and that *Iva-lúsh*, in right of his wife, became sovereign of Babylon, where he may have settled his son Nabonassar. The history of this period is, however, shrouded in an obscurity which we vainly attempt to penetrate; and it can only be said that under this king [or his son?] the first Assyrian dynasty seems to have come to an end, and in its place a new dynasty to have been established. (Pp. 466–7.)

The following is a sketch of the probable chronology of the kings of this period (p. 467-8):—

	ABOUT B. C.
1. <i>Bel-lúsh</i>	1273 [1235]
2. <i>Pudil</i>	} 1200
3. <i>Iva-lúsh I.</i>	
4. <i>Shalma-bar</i> (or <i>Shalma-rish</i>)	
5. (α') <i>Nin-pala-kura</i>	} 1160
6. (β') <i>Asshur-dapal-il</i> (his son)	
7. (γ') <i>Mutaggil-nebu</i> (his son)	} 1130
8. (δ') <i>Asshur-rish-ili</i> (his son)	
9. (ϵ') <i>Tiglath-Pileser I.</i> (his son)	1110
10. (ζ') <i>Asshur-bani-pal I.</i> (his son)	1080
* * * * *	
11. (α') <i>Asshur-adan-akhi</i>	1050
12. (β') <i>Asshur-danin-il</i> (his son)	1025
13. (γ') <i>Iva-lúsh II.</i> (his son)	1000
14. (δ') <i>Tiglathi-Nin</i> (his son)	960
15. (ϵ') <i>Asshur-dani-pal I.</i> (his son)	930
16. (ζ') <i>Shalmanu-bar</i> (his son)	900 to 850
17. (η') <i>Shamas-iva</i> (his son)	850 to 800
18. (θ') <i>Iva-lúsh III.</i> (his son) [the Prophet Jonah?]	800 to 747 ?

[After these, Mr. Rawlinson thinks, a new dynasty succeeded, the founder of which was *Tiglath-Pilezer II.*, whom he identifies with the *Belitaras* of Polyhistor and Berosus, and the *Balutor* of Ctesias. The names are as follows:]

19. <i>Tiglath-Pilezer II.</i>	B. c. 747 to 730 ?
20. <i>Shalmanezar</i>	B. c. 730 to 721
21. <i>Sargina</i>	B. c. 721 to 702
22. <i>Sennacherib</i> (his son) [the 25th king according to Abydenus]	B. c. 702 to 680
23. <i>Asshur-akh-iddina</i> (his son)	B. c. 680 to 660?
24. <i>Asshur-bani-pal II.</i> (his son)	B. c. 660 to 640?
25. <i>Asshur-emit-eli</i> (his son)	} B. c. 640 to 625?
26. Perhaps another, answering to <i>Saracus</i>	

[And he places the destruction of Nineveh in B. c. 625. But there seems to be no good reason for departing from the date B. c. 606; nor for questioning the number of six reigns which both Polyhistor and Abydenus make from Sennacherib to the last king, both being included. And, with the number of 27 known reigns, it is natural to suppose that the break after Mr. Rawlinson's 10th or 6th reign is to be filled up with 3 others; and then Sennacherib will stand as the 25th king, in agreement with the express statement of Abydenus; and there will be 29 or 30 kings in all, so as to account for the occurrence of that number in Diodorus.]

Tiglath-Pilezer II. He does not name his ancestors, nor even his

father ; so perhaps he was an usurper. His annals extend over 17 years ; but the slabs having been first defaced by Sargon or others, and afterwards torn from their places and used as materials by Esarhaddon for his buildings at Nimrud (the ancient Calah), they are very imperfect. They detail his wars in Upper Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Media. In his 1st year he invaded Babylonia and took Sippara (Sepharvaim) and other places, expelling a prince named *Nebo-vasappan*. In his 8th he defeated *Rezin* king of Damascus, which he took and destroyed, and received tribute from "*Menahem*" (probably a misnomer for *Pekah*) king of Samaria, from a Hiram king of Tyre, and from a "Queen of the Arabs."

Of Shalmanezzer there seem to be two inscriptions in the British Museum ; but in neither of them is he named. One seems to mention *Hoshea* king of Samaria ; the other speaks of a son of *Rezin*. Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* ix. 14) says that Menander, who translated the Tyrian annals, named Shalmanezzer as warring in Phœnicia and Cyprus, and reducing a king of Tyre named *Elulæus* ; and he quotes the passage at length. But there is some reason to think that the acts related in it really belong to a later king.

Sargon, or *Sargina*, though he calls the former kings of Assyria "his ancestors," abstains from naming his father ; and so probably he was the founder of a new line. We have his annals for 15 years, and he seems to have reigned in all 19. He relates of himself that in his 1st year he took Samaria ("Samaria I looked at, I captured"), and carried away 27,280 captives. He says also of some that "the survivors of them in Samaria he made to dwell ;" that he "appointed a governor, and fixed a tribute to be paid." In the same year he went against Babylon, where perhaps he placed Mardoc-Empadus on the throne. After this he speaks of Gaza as being then a dependency of Egypt, and says that he defeated its king, *Khanoum*, in a battle at Raphia ; upon which the "Pharaoh" of Egypt (who in B.C. 720—719, was Sevechus) made submission, and paid Sargon a tribute [for his Philistine dependencies?] in gold, horses, *camels*, &c. A seal-impression of the throne-name common to the two Sabacos, joined on the same clay with another of the seal of an Assyrian king, bears testimony to the existence of a treaty to which it was once affixed. This seal-impression, which was found with many more in a record-chamber in the palace of Sennacherib at Kouyunjik, is now in the British Museum. Tribute was also brought to Sargon by the "Chief of Saba," and by the "Queen of the Arabs." After his 2nd year he warred for some time in Upper Syria, Cappadocia, and Armenia. He overran Hamath ; defeated *Ambris* King of *Tubal* (the Tibareni), to whom he had before given *Khilak* (Cilicia), but who had revolted after leaguering himself with the kings of *Meshech* (the Moschi) and *Ararat* (Armenia). Sargon invaded Ararat, and fought several battles with its king *Urza* ; took tribute from the *Nairi* ; and brought back with him to Assyria a host of captives, whom he replaced by colonists from his own country. He next turned eastwards, and warred against the tribes in Mount Zagros, and against Media, in which he

planted cities, peopling them in part with his Israelitish captives. Later in his reign he took Ashdod (which seems to have been assisted by the Egyptians and the Ethiopians), the king flying into Egypt, which is expressly said to be subject to *Mirukha* (that is, to Ethiopia). About the same time he took Tyre. Afterwards, during 4 years at least, he warred in Babylonia and the adjacent districts, expelling Merodach Baladan, "who in defiance of the gods had held Babylon 12 years," and contending with the kings of Susiana, and the chiefs of the Chaldeans. It was during this time that he seems first to have received tribute from the Greeks of Cyprus. But if he ever went thither in person, it must have been after his fifteenth year, as it is not mentioned in his annals. The statue of Sargon brought from Idalium, and now in the Berlin Museum, commemorates the Cyprian expedition. If we may apply to this time the passage of Menander which Josephus refers to Shalmanezer (*Ant. Jud.* ix. 14, § 2), we must suppose that Cyprus had been previously subject to Phœnicia, which did not relinquish her hold without a sharp struggle.

Sargon seems to have removed the seat of empire from Calah further to the north. He repaired the walls of Nineveh; and built in its neighbourhood (at Khorsabad) the magnificent palace from which were taken the valuable series of monuments now in the Louvre. This palace, which seems to have been completed in his 15th year, has furnished the great bulk of the historical documents belonging to his reign. Its ornamentation is said to be in some respects Egyptian.

[It is remarkable that on the Shergat cylinder Sargon speaks of "the 350 kings, from remote antiquity, who ruled over Assyria, and pursued after the people of *Belu-Nipru*," as if he meant to parallel the 360 kings who had reigned in Egypt from Menes to Rameses III.]

Sargon was succeeded by *his son Sennacherib*, whose accession [that is, after the death of his father] seems to have been in B.C. 702, since that year according to the Astronomical Canon was the 1st of Belibus, whom Sennacherib set on the throne of Babylon in the year of his own accession, and deposed 3 years afterwards. His annals break off after his 8th year; but [his 10th year has been named by Mr. Rawlinson, and] his 22nd year has been found marked on a clay tablet. [And 22 years reckoned from B.C. 702 would end in B.C. 680.] He fixed his residence at Nineveh, which he calls "his royal city." He commenced repairing it—for it had gone much to decay—in his 2nd year, using the forced labour of prisoners collected from Chaldæa and Aramæa on the one side, and from Armenia and Cilicia on the other. On the great palace alone he employed 360,000 men. Within two years, it seems, Nineveh was made "as splendid as the sun." Two palaces were repaired. The Tigris was confined within an embankment of bricks; and the ancient aqueducts were renewed. Later in his reign, probably about his 9th or 10th year, Sennacherib erected a new and more magnificent palace at Nineveh, which he adorned with sculptures of his various expeditions. This edifice, which was excavated by Mr. Layard, and which is known

as the great Kouyunjik palace, is the largest of Assyrian buildings. It contained at least three spacious halls, one of them 150 feet by 125, and two long galleries (one of 200, the other of 185 feet), besides innumerable chambers; and the excavated portion of it covers an area of nearly 40,000 square yards, or above 8 acres. Besides this, Sennacherib built a second palace at Nineveh, on the mound now called *Nebbi-Yunus*, and a temple in the city of *Tarbisi* (Shereef-Khan), three miles from the capital.

Immediately after his accession Sennacherib attacked and defeated Merodach-Baladan, who with the aid of the Susianians had recovered Babylon. He entered and plundered Babylon itself (Baladan having fled to the sea), destroyed 79 Chaldæan cities, and 820 villages, and returned to Assyria with a vast booty, leaving Belibus as his viceroy. Berosus seems to have represented Belibus as supplanting Baladan by his own exertions; but Sennacherib's own account is rather to be trusted. On his way back from Babylonia he ravaged the lands of the Aramæan tribes on the Tigris and Euphrates, among whom are named the *Nabatu* and *Hagaranu*, leading away captive above 200,000 persons. In his 2nd year he warred among the mountain tribes to the north and east of Assyria, and took tribute from some Median tribes "who were entirely unknown to the kings before him." In his 3rd he first chastised *Luliya* king of Sidon (apparently the Elulæus of Menander), driving him to take refuge in Cyprus, and giving his throne to another. It was probably then that he set up his tablet at the *Nahr-el-Kelb*. He then received tribute from the rest of the Phœnician cities, and from the kings of Edom and Ashdod, who submitted without a struggle. Ascalon was reduced by force: its king with all his family was taken away to Nineveh, and another placed on the throne. Hazor, Joppa, and other towns dependent upon Ascalon, were also taken and plundered. War followed with Egypt. The *kings* of that country, described as dependent on the king of Meroë, came out against Sennacherib, and engaged him near Lachish, but were defeated with great loss. He then took Lachish and Libnah, and *afterwards* proceeded against Hezekiah. The Ekronites had expelled their king, who was a vassal of Assyria, and had sent him bound to Hezekiah. "And because Hezekiah would not submit to my yoke," Sennacherib says, "I came up against him, and I took 46 of his fenced cities; and of the smaller towns I took and plundered a countless number. And I carried off 200,150 captives, together with horses, asses, and camels, oxen, and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates so as to prevent escape. Then upon this Hezekiah there fell the fear of the power of my arms, and he sent out to me the chiefs and the elders of Jerusalem with *thirty talents of gold*, and 800 talents of silver, and divers treasures, a rich and immense booty. . . . All these things *were brought to me at Nineveh*, . . . Hezekiah having sent them as tribute, and as a token of his submission.'

Sennacherib says further that he mulcted Hezekiah in a portion of his dominions, which was bestowed on the princes of Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza. In his 4th year, B. C. 699, we find Sennacherib again in Babylonia, where the party of Merodach-Baladan was still powerful. After defeating a Chaldean chief who sided with the banished king, and expelling some of the king's brothers, he deposed the viceroy Belibus, and placed his own *eldest son Asshur-nadin-adin*, (the Apronadius of Ptolemy's Canon, but not identical with Asordanes, or Esarhaddon) on the throne. In his 5th year he seems to have warred in Armenia and Media; and from his 6th to his 8th he was engaged with the inhabitants of Lower Babylonia and Susiana, against whom he brought a fleet down the Tigris manned with Phœnician sailors. At his 8th year the annals break off.

It has been already observed that the reign of Sennacherib extended to at least 22 years. This was probably its *exact* length; for the accession of Esar-haddon to the throne of Assyria seems rightly regarded as contemporaneous with his establishment as king of Babylon, which last event is fixed by Ptolemy's Canon to B. C. 680, precisely 22 years after the accession of Belibus, whom Sennacherib placed over Babylon in the year of his own accession. Sennacherib would thus reign for 14 years after the time when his annals cease. It is possible that the second Syrian expedition, ending in the miraculous destruction of his army, occurred during this period [not if Hezekiah died in B. C. 726—29=697]; or it may (as has generally been supposed) have followed rapidly on his first expedition, occurring (for instance) in his fourth or fifth year [that is in B. C. 699—698 or B. C. 698—697], but being purposely omitted from his annals as not redounding to his credit. Sennacherib, on his second invasion, again passed through Palestine and Idumæa, penetrating to the borders of Egypt, where he was brought into contact with Tirhakah, the Ethiopian. (Pp. 478-9.)

The second expedition of Sennacherib into Syria, whenever it took place, offered a strong contrast to the first. The principal object of the attack was, as before, the part of Syria bordering upon Egypt: and the two cities of Lachish and Libnah, which had been taken in the former war, but had again fallen under Egyptian influence, once more attracted the special attention of the Assyrian king. While engaged in person before the former of these two places he seems to have heard of the defection of Hezekiah, who had entered into relations with the king of Egypt, despite the warnings of Isaiah, and had thereby been guilty of rebelling against his liege lord. Hereupon Sennacherib sent a detachment of his forces, under a Tarran or general, against the Jewish king; but this leader, finding himself unable to take the city either by force or by a defection on the part of the inhabitants, returned after a little while to his master. Meantime the siege of Lachish had apparently been raised, and Sennacherib had moved to Libnah, when intelligence reached him that "Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia," had collected an army and was on his way to assist the Egyptians, against whom Sennacherib's attack was in reality directed. Sennacherib therefore contented himself

with sending a threatening letter to Hezekiah, while he pressed forward into Egypt. There [or on the frontier] he seems to have been met . . . ; and probably it was as the two armies lay encamped opposite to each other, that "the angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand; and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses." Sennacherib, with the remnant of his army, immediately fled; and the Egyptians, regarding the miraculous destruction as the work of their own gods, took the credit of it to themselves, and commemorated it after their own fashion.

The comparative chronology of the reigns of Sennacherib and Hezekiah is the chief difficulty which meets the historian who wishes to harmonise the Scriptural narrative with the inscriptions. Scripture places only eight years between the fall of Samaria and the first invasion of Judea by Sennacherib (2 Kings xviii. 9 and 13). The inscriptions, assigning the fall of Samaria to the first year of Sargon, giving Sargon a reign of *at least* 15 years, and assigning the first attack on Hezekiah to Sennacherib's third year, put an interval of at least 18 years between the two events. Further, a comparison of Ptolemy's Canon with the inscriptions (with which it is in perfect and exact agreement) shows Sargon's reign to have been one of 19 years, and thus raises the interval in question to 22 years. If we accept the chronological scheme of the Canon, confirmed as it is by the Assyrian and Babylonian records, and strikingly in agreement as it is in numerous cases with the dates obtainable from Scripture, we must necessarily correct one or more of the Scriptural numbers. The *least* change is to substitute in the 13th verse of 2 Kings xviii. the *twenty-seventh* for the "fourteenth" year of Hezekiah. We may suppose the error to have arisen from a correction made by a transcriber, who regarded the invasion of Sennacherib and the illness of Hezekiah (which last was certainly in his 14th year) as synchronous, whereas the words "in those days" were in fact used with a good deal of latitude by the sacred writers. (See Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 145, note.) If this view be taken, the second expedition must have followed the first within one, or, at most, two years, for Hezekiah reigned in all only 29 years. (Pp. 479-80.)

Upon the murder of Sennacherib by two of his sons at Nineveh the Assyrian inscriptions throw no light. It has been supposed by some that the event was connected with the destruction of his host, and followed it within the space of a few months; just as the deposition of Apries is made by Herodotus to follow closely upon the destruction of his army by the Cyrenæans. But there are no sufficient grounds for this belief, which is contrary to the impression left by the Scriptural narrative; and it is far more probable that Sennacherib outlived his discomfiture several years. During this time he carried on some of the wars mentioned above, and was likewise engaged in the enlargement and embellishment of his palace at Nineveh, as well as in those occasional expeditions which are com-

memorated by the decorated chambers there—additions, as it would seem, to the original structure. (Pp. 480–1.)

As Sennacherib was not succeeded by his eldest son, *Asshur-nadin-udin*, the viceroy of Babylon, that prince must be supposed either to have died before his father, or to have been involved in his destruction. It is perhaps most probable that he died in B. C. 693, when we find by the Canon that he was succeeded on the throne of Babylon by *Regibelus*. His removal made way for *Esar-haddon* (*Asshur-akh-iddina*), most likely the second son, who appears to have experienced no difficulty in establishing himself upon the throne after his father's murder. This prince, like his father and his grandfather, was at once a great conqueror and a builder of magnificent edifices. The events of his reign have not been found in the shape of annals; but it is apparent from his historical inscriptions that he carried his arms over all Asia between the Persian Gulf, the Armenian mountains, and the Mediterranean, penetrating in some directions farther than any previous Assyrian monarch. His Median conquests are said to have been in a land "of which the kings his fathers had never heard the name;" and other hostilities are recorded against tribes "who from days of old had never obeyed any of the kings his ancestors." (Assyrian Texts, pp. 14 and 15.) He warred in *Egypt*, which, together with Ethiopia, he claims to have conquered; and he also made himself master of Sidon, Cilicia, the country of the *Gimri* or *Sacæ*, the land of Tubal, parts of Armenia, Media, and *Bikni*, Chaldæa, Edom, and many other less well-known countries. In Susiana he contended with a son of Merodach-Baladan; and he boasts that, in spite of the assistance which this prince received from the Susianian monarch, he was unable to save his life. On another son, who became a refugee at his court, he bestowed a territory upon the coast of the Persian Gulf, which had previously been under the government of his brother. In Babylon itself *Esar-haddon* appears to have reigned in his own person, without setting up a viceroy. According to some this was but the revival of a policy introduced by his grandfather, Sargon, who is suspected to be the *Arkianus* (*Ἀρκιανός*) of the Canon. But the identification of these two names is very uncertain. No traces have been found that specially connect Sargon with Babylon, whereas *there are many clear proofs of Esar-haddon having reigned there*. The inscriptions show that he repaired temples and built a palace at Babylon, bricks from which, bearing his name, have been discovered among the ruins at Hillah; a Babylonian tablet has also been found, dated in the reign of *Esar-haddon*, by which it appears that he was the acknowledged king of that country. It is probable that he held his court sometimes at the Assyrian, sometimes at the Babylonian capital; and hence it happened that when his captains carried Manasseh away captive from Jerusalem they conducted their prisoner to the latter city. No record has been as yet discovered of this expedition, nor of the peopling of Samaria by colonists drawn chiefly from Babylonia, which was in later times ascribed to this monarch.

The buildings erected by Esar-haddon appear to have equalled, or exceeded, in magnificence those of any former Assyrian king. In one inscription he states that in Assyria and Mesopotamia he built no fewer than thirty temples, "shining with silver and gold, as splendid as the sun." Besides repairing various palaces erected by former kings, he built at least three new ones for his own use, or that of his son. One of these was the edifice known as the south-west palace at Nimrud, which was constructed of materials derived from the palaces of the former monarchs who had reigned at that place, for whom, as not belonging to his own family, Esar-haddon seems to have entertained small respect. The plan of this palace is said to differ from that of all other Assyrian buildings. It consisted of a single hall of the largest dimensions,—220 feet long and 100 broad,—of an ante-chamber through which the hall was approached by two doorways, and of a certain number of chambers on each side of the hall, which were probably sleeping apartments. According to Mr. Layard it "answers in its general plan, more than any building yet discovered, to the descriptions in the Bible of the palace of Solomon." Another of Esar-haddon's palaces was erected at Nineveh, on the spot now marked by the mound at *Nebbi-Yunus*. This is probably the building of which he boasts that it was "a palace such as the kings, his fathers, who went before him, had never made," and which, on its completion, he is said to have called "the palace of the pleasures of all the year." It is described as supported on wooden columns, and as roofed with lofty cedar and other trees. Sculptures in stone and marble, and abundant images in silver, ivory, and bronze; constituted its adornment. Many of these were brought from a distance; some being the idols of the conquered countries, and others images of the Assyrian gods. Its gates were ornamented with the usual mystical bulls; and its extent was so great, that horses and other animals were not only kept, but even bred, within its walls. A third palace was erected by Esar-haddon at *Shereef-Khan* for his son; but this was apparently a very inferior building.

In the construction and ornamentation of his palaces Esar-haddon made use of the services of Syrian, Greek, and Phœnician artists. The princes of Syria, *Manasseh king of Judah*, the Hellenic monarchs of *Idalium*, *Citium*, *Curium*, *Soli*, &c., and the Phœnician king of *Paphos*, furnished him with workmen, to whose skill we are probably indebted for the beautiful and elaborate bas-reliefs which adorn the edifices of his erection.

Esar-haddon must have reigned at least thirteen years; possibly he may have reigned longer. In B.C. 667, thirteen years after his accession, he was succeeded on the throne of Babylon by *Saos-duchinus*; but this prince may have been a rebel, or a viceroy. Esar-haddon may have still continued to fill the throne of Assyria, where his great works seem to indicate a long and prosperous rule. He was succeeded by his son, *Asshur-bani-pal*, the prince for whom he had built a palace at *Shereef-Khan*, perhaps about the year B.C. 660. (Pp. 482-484.)

With *Asshur-bani-pal II.*, the Sardanapalus of Abydenus, appears to

have commenced the decadence of Assyria. His military expeditions had neither the extent nor the importance of the expeditions of former kings, and seem to have occupied him but for a small portion of his reign. He continued the war with Susiana, where he contended against the grandsons of Merodach-Baladan; and he likewise made incursions into Armenia. . . . Hunting appears to have been his passion. A palace which he erected at Nineveh, in the immediate vicinity of that built by Sennacherib, was ornamented throughout with sculptured slabs representing him as engaged in the pursuit and destruction of wild animals. The arts flourished under his patronage. (P. 484.)

[In addition to the preceding notices Sir H. Rawlinson has published in the *Athenæum* for Aug. 18, 1860, an account of certain "fragments of the annals of *Asshur-bani-pal*" from broken clay cylinders found at Nineveh, and now in the British Museum. These fragments were too incomplete to allow of his making out from them a consecutive narrative. But he learns or collects from them, *first*, that a king of Assyria, who was probably Esarhaddon, had overrun Egypt, and after having *driven back* the Ethiopian, had appointed native rulers in at least Lower Egypt, with the title of king in their respective districts. *Secondly*, that these petty kings, vassals of Assyria, had been dispossessed by Tirhakah (*Tarku*), who either upon some change, as upon the death of the king reigning previously in Assyria, or else after no longer delay than was needed to prepare for a fresh contest, had returned and repossessed himself of the Lower Country. Hereupon *Asshur-bani-pal*, immediately after his accession [as associate?], entered Egypt, drove Tirhakah from Memphis, where he found him, to Thebes (*Niya*, i. e. *No*), and re-established the petty kings to be the deputies and vassals of the king of Assyria, as before. *Thirdly*, by putting together different fragments, the complete list, as Sir H. Rawlinson believes, of these petty kings has been made out, and it is given as follows:—

1. *Niku*, king of *Mimpi* and *Tsai* (Memphis and Sais).
2. *Manti-bun-iri*, king of *Tsianu* (Zoan or Tanis).
3. *Pisan-'hur*, king of *Nat-'ku* (isle of Natho).
4. *Pakruru*, king of *Pisabet* (Bubastis).
5. *Pukku-nanni-api*, king of *'Hatterib* (Athribis).
6. *Na'hke*, king of *'Hinins* (Henes?).
7. *Put'hu-basti* [Petsibast], king of *Za* . . .
8. *Hunamuna* [Si-en-amon], king of *Nat* . . .
9. *Hart-si-yesu* [Horsiesis], king of . . . *nu*.
10. *Puhu-aiat*, king of *Bindi* (Mendes).
11. *Tsutsinque* [Shishonk], king of *Pu* . . .
12. *Mini'hti*, king of *Pa* . . .
13. *Pubiku-nanni-api*, king of *A'h* . . .
14. *Ipti-'hart-hesu*, king of *Pizatti-'hurunpi* (?).
15. *Na'hti-'huru-antsiza*, king of *Pisabthinut* (?).
16. *Pusat-ninip*, king of *Pa'hnut* (?).

17. *Zîha*, king of *Siyâ'ut* (Osiout?)
18. *Lamînt*, king of *Hîmun* (Hammonis?)
19. *Ispi-mathu* [Psi-muth?], king of *Tain* (This?)
20. *Muntimi-ankhé* [Amon-mai Piankh?], king of *Niya* (Thebes).

Upon this list, however imperfectly the names may be rendered, it is obvious to remark, that it throws great light on the origin of the fable of the Dodecarchy; and that the occurrence of the name Necho in the first place, before all the rest, with the titles of king of Memphis and Sais, shows plainly enough that there were good grounds for suspecting that Psammitichus I. had a better title than any of his competitors to be regarded as the heir of the last native kings of the Saite Dynasty XXIV. It would also be intelligible enough that the Ethiopian, on finally expelling the Assyrians, if he chose to retain Egypt in direct dependence upon himself, should put Necho, the father of Psammitichus I., to death. For Necho was just that one of the numerous kings who, in revolting against the Assyrians, may have expected to turn the intervention of Tirhakah to his own advantage. It is also highly probable that in the name *Muntimi-ankhé*, which stands last, with the title of king of Thebes, and apparently of all Upper Egypt (for all the other titles seem to be given from cities in the Lower Country), we have, in a somewhat disguised form, the monumental name of *Piankhi*, the husband of *Aminiritis*, who is known to have reigned in the Thebaid, and whose name is identical with that of the Ethiopian prince who succeeded Tirhakah at Napata.

Sir H. Rawlinson collects further that Tirhakah withdrew *to the Upper Country*; that subsequently the petty kings rose against the *Assyrian garrisons* left at Memphis and Thebes; that Tirhakah *came down again* from Ethiopia; and that *eventually* the Assyrians put down the insurrection, and chastised their enemies. But it is clear (as has been observed above) not only from Egyptian inscriptions, but also from Asiatic tradition, that Tirhakah was eventually victorious, and was left, after the three or four (or perhaps more) campaigns alluded to above, in undisputed possession of Lower Egypt.]

Asshur-bani-pal may be supposed to have reigned from about B.C. 660 to B.C. 640. He was succeeded by a son, whose name is read somewhat doubtfully as *Asshur-emit-ili*, the last king of whom any records have been as yet discovered. Under him the decline of Assyria seems to have been rapid. No military expeditions can be assigned to his reign; and the works which he constructed are of a most inferior character. A palace built by him on the great platform at *Ninrud*, or Calah—the chief monument of his reign which has come down to us—indicates in a very marked way the diminution in his time of Assyrian wealth and magnificence. It contained no great hall or gallery, and no sculptured slabs, but merely consisted of a number of rooms of small proportions, panelled with plain slabs of common limestone, roughly hewn, and not more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The upper part of the walls above the panelling was simply plastered. If *Asshur-emit-ili* was reduced to live in this building,

we must suppose that the superb edifices of his ancestors had fallen into ruin, which could scarcely have taken place unless they had been injured by violence. It seems probable that, either through the invasions of the Medes, who were now growing into prominence, or in the course of the Scythic troubles, which belong to about the same period, Assyria had been greatly weakened, her cities being desolated, and her palaces dismantled or destroyed. These disasters preceded the last attack of Cyaxares, and prepared the way for the fall of the mighty power which had so long been dominant in Western Asia. It is uncertain whether the last war with the Medes, and the final destruction of Nineveh, fell into the reign of *Asshur-emit-ili*, or whether he had a successor in the *Saracus* of Berossus, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, under whom the final catastrophe took place. On the one hand, the number of years from the accession of Esar-haddon to the capture of Nineveh, which is but 55 [rather (680—606=) 74 at the least], seems barely to suffice for the three reigns of a father, a son, and a grandson; whence we should conclude that *Asshur-emit-ili* was probably the last king. On the other hand, the difference between the names of *Saracus* and *Asshur-emit-ili* is so wide, and the authority of Berossus (from whom the notices of Saracus seem to come) so great, that we are tempted to suspect that *Asshur-emit-ili* may have been the last king but one, and Saracus may have succeeded him. (Pp. 485, 486.)

It has been already observed [elsewhere] that the circumstances of the siege, as detailed by Ctesias, may very possibly have been correctly stated. It lasted, according to him, above two years, and was brought to a successful issue mainly in consequence of an extraordinary rise of the Tigris, which swept away a portion of the city wall, and so gave admittance to the enemy. Upon this the Assyrian monarch, considering further resistance to be vain, fired his palace, and destroyed himself. The conqueror completed the ruin of the once magnificent capital by razing the walls, and delivering the whole city to the flames. Nineveh ceased to exist; and at the same time, probably, the other royal cities, or at least their palaces, were wasted with fire; the proud structures raised by the Assyrian kings being reduced at once to that condition of ruined heaps which has been the effectual means of preserving a great portion of their contents [to be brought to light in our own time]. (Pp. 487, 488.)

The independent kingdom of Assyria covered a space of six centuries and a half [B.C. 1235—606=629 years]; but the *empire* cannot be considered to have lasted more than (at the utmost) five centuries. It commenced with Tiglath-Pileser I., about B.C. 1110, and it terminated with Asshur-bani-pal, or Sardanapalus, about B.C. 640. The limits of the dominion varied greatly during this period, the empire expanding or contracting according to the circumstances of the time and the personal character of the prince who occupied the throne. The extreme extent appears to have been reached almost immediately before a rapid decline set in; that is to say, during the reigns of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon, three of the most warlike of the Assyrian princes, who held

the throne from B.C. 721 to B.C. 660. During this interval Assyria was paramount over the portion of Western Asia included between the Mediterranean and the Halys on the one hand, and the Caspian and the great Persian desert on the other. Southwards the boundary was formed by Arabia and the Persian Gulf; northwards it seems at no time to have advanced to the Euxine or to the Caucasus, but to have been formed by a fluctuating line which did not in the most flourishing period extend beyond the northern frontier of Armenia.

The countries included in this space and subjected within the period in question to Assyrian influence were chiefly the following:—Susiana, Chaldaea, Babylonia, Media, Matiêné or the country of the *Namri*, Armenia, Mesopotamia, parts of Cappadocia and Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Idumæa, and for a time Lower Egypt. Cyprus also was for some years a dependency. On the other hand Persia Proper, Bactria, and Margiana, and even Hyrcania, were beyond the eastern limit of the Assyrian sway, which towards the north upon this side did not reach farther than about the neighbourhood of Kasvin, and towards the south was confined within the mountain-barrier of Zagros. Similarly on the west, Phrygia, Lydia, Lycia, and even Pamphylia, were independent, the Assyrian arms having never (so far as appears) penetrated beyond Cilicia, or crossed the Halys. (Pp. 489, 490.)

“The history of *Babylon* during the 526 years which Berosus assigned to the upper dynasty of Assyria is, with few exceptions,” to use the words of Mr. Rawlinson, “a blank. Babylonia was during the chief portion of this period eclipsed by Assyria; and the native historian, confessing the absence of materials, passed at this point from the Babylonian to the Assyrian line of kings.”

It cannot, however, be said with truth that the condition of Babylonia was that of a mere subject kingdom. We know that at least on one occasion within the period here spoken of a Babylonian monarch carried his arms deep into Assyria, penetrating even to the capital, and thence bearing away in triumph the images of the Assyrian gods. It is also plain from the Assyrian inscriptions that Babylonia had not only her own monarchs during this interval, but that they were practically independent, only submitting on rare occasions to irresistible force, and again freeing themselves when the danger was past. Although diminished in power by the independence of her former vassal, and even thrown into the shade by that vassal's increasing greatness, she yet maintained an important position, and during the whole time of the upper dynasty in Assyria was clearly the most powerful of all those kingdoms by which the Assyrian Empire was surrounded. (Pp. 500, 501.)

It is to be remarked that the kings of Assyria of the upper dynasty in no case take the title of king of Babylon. The most powerful monarchs

of this line are all engaged in wars with the Babylonian kings, Babylon being in the earlier times the assailant, but in the later suffering invasion. Tiglath-Pileser I. wars with *Merodach-adan-akhi*; Sardanapalus I. (*Asshur-dani-pal*) with *Nebubaladan*; Shalmanubar, in his eighth year, with *Merodach-nadin-adin* and his brother; and Shamas-iva with *Merodach* . . . The Babylonians are in no case spoken of as rebels.

About the middle of the eighth century B.C. it would seem that a change took place at Babylon, the exact character of which it is difficult to determine. The era of Nabonassar (B.C. 747), which has no astronomical importance, must be regarded as belonging to history, and as almost certainly marking the date of a great revolution. The double connection of Semiramis with Pul on the one hand, and with Babylonian greatness on the other, makes it probable that she was personally concerned in the movement, though in what capacity it is difficult to determine. . . . That some connection existed between Nabonassar and Semiramis, as well as between the latter and Pul, seems almost certain. . . . We may hope that future discoveries will throw light upon this point, and restore to a definite place in Babylonian history the great queen now removed from the proud position which she once occupied in the supposed annals of Assyria. (Pp. 501-2.)

Mr. Rawlinson then passes in review the Babylonian reigns of the Canon from Nabonassar downwards, observing that *Nabonassar* was certainly an independent king, and that there are no signs of Babylon having become a dependency of Assyria till its reduction by Sargon in B.C. 709. *Mardoc-Empadus* the 5th king (from Nabonassar), who is now identified beyond a doubt with the Merodach-Baladan of Isaiah, having been attacked by Sargon in his 12th year, after that king's second Syrian expedition, was conquered and driven out; and his crown fell to the Assyrian monarch, who is thought by some to have assumed it himself (the name [*S*]arkianus of the Canon being identified with *Sargon*), but who more probably conferred it upon one of his sons, the *Arkianus* of the Canon [and perhaps "the brother of Sennacherib" in Polyhistor]. The object of his embassy to Hezekiah was no doubt in part political; and it may have been in consequence of his knowledge that a league was projected against him that Sargon in his 12th year turned all his force against Babylon. Merodach-Baladan, however, after a few years of exile found an opportunity of regaining his sovereignty. Towards the close of Sargon's life fresh troubles broke out in Babylonia. Arkianus ceased to reign — probably he died — in B.C. 704, and an interval of 2 years followed, during the last 6 months of which Baladan was again king. Then Sennacherib, in his 1st year, having again expelled him, placed on the throne an Assyrian officer of his own named *Belibus*, a son of the governor of those youths who were educated in the palace. After 3 years the party of Merodach-Baladan, then supported by Susub king of Susiana, being again formidable, Sennacherib returned, and after defeating Susub, and destroying some cities, removed Belibus, and appointed his own son *Asshur-nadin-adin*, the Aparanadius or Assaranadius of the Canon, king over

Babylon, where he reigned from B.C. 699 to B.C. 693. It is uncertain, Mr. Rawlinson continues, whether *Régebélus*, or Irigebelus, and *Mesesemordacus*, who reigned from B.C. 693 to 692, and from B.C. 692 to 688, were also viceroys under Sennacherib, like Belibus and Asshur-nadin-adin, or independent native princes. If a record of the later years of Sennacherib should be found, it will probably throw light on this question. It is doubtful, too, what was the condition of Babylonia during the next 8 years, which the Canon describes as an interregnum. But in B.C. 680 *Esar-haddon*, who had probably mounted the throne of Assyria about that time, took the crown of Babylon to himself, instead of committing it to a viceroy. This prince, as has been already observed, probably held his court, at least occasionally, in Babylon, where many records of his rule have been discovered. He administered the government for 13 years—from B.C. 680 to B.C. 667,—and it must have been within this space that Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah, having been guilty of some political offence, was brought as a prisoner to the Assyrian king at *Babylon*, where he suffered detention for a while, returning, however, by the clemency of his suzerain, to resume the kingdom which he had so nearly forfeited. *Esar-haddon* appears to have been a little disquieted in his administration of the affairs of Babylon by the pretensions of the sons of Merodach-Baladan, who had still the support of the Susianians. Having, however, conquered and slain one, and received the submission of another, whom he established in a government on the shores of the Persian Gulf, he probably found his position so secure that he was emboldened to revert to the ordinary and established practice of the Assyrians—that of governing the provinces by means of subject kings or viceroys. Accordingly, in B.C. 667, 13 years after his accession, he handed over the Babylonians to a certain *Saosduchinus* (*Shamas-dar-oukin* ?), who continued to administer the government for 20 or 21 years, and was succeeded by the last of the subject-kings, *Ciniladanus*, who . . . is said to have reigned 22 years—from B.C. 647 to B.C. 625. Of these two kings scarcely anything is known at present, their continued subjection to the Assyrians being only proved by the authority which Saracus, the last Assyrian monarch, appears to have exercised over their country.

Saracus, threatened on the one hand by the Medes, on the other by an army advancing from the sea-board, which may have consisted chiefly of Susianians, appointed to the government of Babylon, where he was to act against this latter enemy, his general *Nabopolassar* (*Nabu-pal-uzur*), while he himself remained at Nineveh to meet the greater danger. *Nabopolassar*, however, proved unfaithful; and . . . entering into negotiations with Cyaxares of Media, whose daughter Amahia or Amyitis he obtained in marriage for his own son Nebuchadnezzar, he sent or led against his suzerain a body of troops, which took an active part in the great siege whereby the power of Assyria was destroyed. The immediate result of this event was not merely the establishment of Babylonian independence, but the formation of that later Babylonian empire which, short as was its continuance, has always been with reason

regarded as one of the most remarkable in the history of the world. (Pp. 506-7.)

The rise and fall of this empire was comprised within a period considerably short of a century. Six kings only occupied the throne during its continuance; and of these but three had reigns of any duration. Nabopolassar, who founded the empire, Nebuchadnezzar, who raised it to its highest pitch of glory, and Nabonidus, or Labynetus, under whom it was destroyed, are the three great names to which its entire history attaches. (P. 507.)

Of *Nabopolassar*, whose alliance with Cyaxares decided the fall of Nineveh, our historical notices are scanty. By his co-operation with Cyaxares against Assyria he secured not only the independence of his own kingdom, but an important share in the spoils of the mighty empire to whose destruction he had contributed. While the northern and eastern portions of the Assyrian territory were annexed by Cyaxares to his own dominions, the southern and western—the valley of the Euphrates from Hit to Carchemish, Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, and perhaps a portion of Egypt—passed under the sceptre of the king of Babylon. Judæa was at this time governed by Josiah, who probably felt no objection to the change of masters; and as the transfer of allegiance thus took place without a struggle, we do not find any distinct mention of it in Scripture. There is, however, no reason to doubt that the Babylonian dominion was at once extended to the borders of Egypt, where it came in contact with that of Psammetichus I.; and the result is seen in wars which shortly arose between the two powers, wars which were very calamitous to the Jews, and eventually led to their transplantation. (P. 507-8.)

It is not improbable that, besides an augmentation of territory, Babylon gained at this time a great increase in its population. It appears to be certain that Nineveh was not only taken, but destroyed; and the bulk of the inhabitants would thus become the captives of the conquerors. Babylon would undoubtedly receive her full share of the prisoners, and hence would have at her disposal, from the very foundation of the empire, a supply of human labour capable of producing gigantic results. Nabopolassar availed himself of this supply to commence the various works which his son afterwards completed; and its existence is a circumstance to be borne in mind when we come to speak of the immense constructions of that son, Nebuchadnezzar. (P. 508.)

The chief known events of the reign of Nabopolassar (B.C. 625-604) are his co-operation with Cyaxares against Alyattes, and his war with Necho. If the Lydian war has been rightly placed between B.C. 615 and B.C. 610, it must have preceded the attack of Necho, which was in B.C. 609 or 608. No details are known, except that in the great battle which was stopped by the eclipse, said to have been predicted by Thales, a Babylonian prince (whether Nabopolassar himself, his son Nebuchadnezzar, or another son not elsewhere mentioned) was present, and that he acted as one of the mediators through whom the war was brought to a

close, and friendship established between Lydia and Media. The Egyptian war of Nabopolassar seems to have commenced in his 17th year, B. C. 609, by an invasion of his territory on the part of Necho, the son of Psammetichus I. This invasion is described by Berosus (*Jos. contr. Ap. i. 19*) as a revolt of the satrap who was over Syria and Egypt. Josiah, who as a vassal of the king of Babylon opposed the passage of the Egyptian army, having been defeated and slain, Necho extended his own boundary to the Euphrates; and on his return, passing through Jerusalem, he carried away Jehoahaz, and made Jehoiakim king; after which he seems to have taken Cadytis or Gaza. Necho seems to have retained his conquests for three or four years. But in the 4th year of Jehoiakim (B. C. 605 or 604) Nabopolassar, being no longer able to go to war himself, sent his son Nebuchadnezzar, who defeated the army of Necho at Carchemish, and took from him all Syria as far as the river of Egypt, receiving at the same time the submission of Jehoiakim, and confirming him in his kingdom.

The cuneiform remains of Nabopolassar are very scanty, consisting only of a few tablets containing orders on the imperial treasury, which were found at Warka, and are now in the British Museum. Nothing is very remarkable in them, except that he takes the title reserved for lords paramount, thereby showing that he was independent. (P. 510.)

Meanwhile Nabopolassar died (B. C. 604), and *Nebuchadnezzar* (*Nabu-kuduri-uzur*), who was then upon the borders of Egypt, hastily returned to Babylon on hearing of the news, being followed later by the bulk of his army with the captives.

Of all the works of *Nebuchadnezzar* the greatest seem to have been the fortifications of his capital. A space of above 130 square miles (according to Strabo and Aristobulus, but of 200 according to Herodotus), five or six times the area of London, was inclosed within walls above 80 feet broad and between 300 and 400 feet high (200 royal cubits according to Herodotus, 200 ordinary cubits or 300 feet according to Ctesias). This wall alone must have contained — unless the dimensions are exaggerated — above 200,000,000 yards of solid masonry, or nearly twice the cubic contents of the great wall of China, which is 1200 miles long, from 20 to 25 feet high, and from 15 to 20 feet broad. Inside it ran a second, somewhat less thick, but almost as strong, the exact dimensions of which are nowhere given. Nebuchadnezzar appears to have built the latter entirely as a defence for his “inner city;” but the great outer wall was an old work, which he merely repaired. His Standard Inscription gives the circumference of his “inner city” as 16,000 cubits, or about 5 English miles. It speaks also of the great wall as *rebuilt*. At the same time he constructed an entirely new palace, the ruins of which remain in the modern *Kasr*, a magnificent building, which he completed in 15 days! (This fact, if it be a fact, is recorded in the Standard Inscription, and it was also mentioned by Berosus, Fr. 14.) Another construction (probably) of this king’s was the great canal of which Strabo speaks, and which Col. Rawlinson traced from Hit,

the Is of Herodotus, almost to the bay of Graine in the Persian Gulf, a distance of from 400 to 500 miles, large enough to be navigated by ships. He built or rebuilt almost all the cities of Upper Babylonia, Babylon itself, upon the bricks of which scarcely any other name is found, Sippara, Borsippa, Cutha, Teredon, Chilmad, &c., as is proved by the bricks found at each of those places, or by express statements in inscriptions. He formed aqueducts mentioned in the Standard Inscription and in the Armenian Eusebius; and he constructed the wonderful hanging gardens at Babylon, which Berossus says were artificial hills raised on stone substructions within the precincts of the palace, devised to please his wife who had been used to hills in her own native country of Media (*Joseph. Ant. Jud.* x. v. § 1), and which, according to Ctesias and Diodorus, formed a square of 400 feet. Nebuchadnezzar also raised the huge pyramidal temples at Borsippa and Akkerkuf, which still remain in the Birs Nimrud and the Nimrud Tepessé, together with a vast number of other shrines not hitherto identified. These are described in the Standard Inscription referred to above. The Borsippa temple (which was built in stages, like the temple of Belus at Babylon, and the great pyramid at Saccara) covered an area of about two thirds of that of the pyramid of Mycerinus. The present height is rather more than 150 feet; the present circumference is said to be about 2000 feet. Originally the base was a square of 272 feet. The temple at Akkerkuf is far smaller. Its height has been estimated at about 130 feet, and its circumference at 300. Nebuchadnezzar formed the extensive reservoir near Sippara, 140 miles in circumference. He built quays and breakwaters along the shores of the Persian Gulf, as is mentioned by Abydenus (*Euseb. Præp. Ev.* ix. 41): he made embankments of solid masonry at various points of the two great streams; and, finally, he greatly beautified, if he did not actually rebuild, the famous temple of Belus (*Berosus ap. Jos. contr. Ap.* i. 20). The Standard Inscription also mentions this restoration. The remains of the temple of Belus still exist in the mound called the *Mujelibé* by Rich, but now known to the Arabs universally as *Babil*. This is an immense pile of brick, in shape an oblong square facing the four cardinal points, 730 yards in circumference, and from 100 to 140 feet high. Two of the sides, those facing north and south, are almost exactly a stadium in length. The other two are shorter. One is four-fifths the other two-thirds of a stadium. All the inscribed bricks hitherto found there bear the name of Nebuchadnezzar. (P. 513.)

[As regards the prosecution of his military enterprises, Josephus says that the siege of Tyre, which lasted 13 years, was begun by him in the 8th year of his reign, which seems to be an inaccuracy arising from the fact that in the 8th year of his reign Nebuchadnezzar, with his army, was in Syria and Palestine, where Jehoiakim, who, no doubt, had expectations of support from Egypt, was reduced and slain, and Jeconiah his son made king in his room. Shortly afterwards, in consequence of some fresh symptoms of rebellion, Nebuchadnezzar came against Jerusalem

for the third time, and carrying away Jeconiah to Babylon, put Zedekiah, who was his uncle, on the throne. Ten years later (B. C. 588), shortly after the accession of Apries or Pharaoh Hophra, Zedekiah rebelled "by sending ambassadors into Egypt" and seeking assistance. Before, however, Apries could move, Jerusalem was already invested by Nebuchadnezzar. On the news that "Pharaoh's army had come out of Egypt" Nebuchadnezzar raised the siege, and, according to Josephus, completely defeated the Egyptians. But the Scripture rather implies that they retired on the advance of the Babylonians and avoided a battle. The siege of Jerusalem was then renewed; and in the 3rd year from its commencement it was taken: Zedekiah was blinded, and taken to Babylon; the city and temple were burned; the walls razed, and great part of the inhabitants carried away.

In the 5th year, according to Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* x. 9), from the destruction of Jerusalem, which should be B. C. 583 or B. C. 582, Nebuchadnezzar came again into Syria. It may be that Apries had really at this time marched an army into Phœnicia and reduced or gained its chief cities (*Herod.* ii. 161). And if so, it was only the obstinate resistance of Tyre which delayed for 13 years the invasion of Egypt. If Tyre were first besieged in B. C. 583 or B. C. 582, it would be taken in B. C. 570 or 569: and B. C. 569 is the year in which Amasis became king in Egypt: so that the assertion of Josephus that Nebuchadnezzar not only defeated but slew the king of Egypt, which he subdued, and over which he appointed a new ruler, may probably be derived from Berosus; and it may be something like the truth.

The remainder of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, from B. C. 570 to B. C. 561, is not distinguished by any known event of importance. During 7 years, however, out of these 9 he was, as we learn from Scripture, incapacitated for governing personally. And since, after the recovery of his reason, he resumed the government, and that too with increased respect for his personal authority (*Dan.* iv. 36), it may be inferred that he lived on two years, or at least over one year, to his death, which may have occurred at any time later than Thoth 1, Jan. 11, in B. C. 561 but not quite so late as Jan. 11 in B. C. 562. The account given by Mr. Rawlinson differs from the foregoing in this chiefly, that he accepts Josephus's date of the 8th year of Nebuchadnezzar for the commencement of the siege of Tyre, and makes the last 18 years instead of the last 9 of the reign to be without any known event of historical importance.]

After a reign of 43 years Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by *Ilouru-damus*, or *Evil-Merodach*, his son, whose accession is dated or ante-dated technically by the Canon from Thoth 1 in B. C. 561. After 2 years he was followed by Nerigassolassar, or Neriglissar, whom Berosus and Abydenus make to have been the husband of his sister. According to them Neriglissar murdered his brother-in-law, who had provoked his fate by his lawlessness and intemperance. The single act by which he is known to us—his release of Jehoiachin from prison in the

1st year of his reign, and kind treatment of him during the rest of his life—is remarkably in contrast with this unfavourable representation of his character.

Of *Neriglissar* (*Nergal-shar-uzur*), who ascended the throne in B. C. 559, very little is known beyond the fact of his [being the brother-in-law and the murderer of his predecessor]. It is probable, though not certain, that he was the “Nergal-sharezer, the Rab-Mag,” who, nearly 30 years previously, accompanied the army of Nebuchadnezzar to the last siege of Jerusalem, and who was evidently at that time one of the chief officers of the crown. He bears the title of Rab-Mag on the inscriptions, and calls himself the “son of *Bil-zikhar-iskun*, king of Babylon,” who may possibly have been the “chief Chaldæan” said by Berosus to have watched over the kingdom between the death of Nabopolassar and the return of Nebuchadnezzar from Egypt. Considerable remains have been found of a palace which Neriglissar built at Babylon. He was probably advanced in life when he ascended the throne; and hence he held it but four years, or rather three years and a half; dying a natural death in B. C. 556, and leaving the crown to his son Laborosoarchod, or Labossoracus, who, though a mere boy, appears to have been allowed quietly to assume the sceptre. (Pp. 517–18.)

Laborosoarchod, the son of Neriglissar, sat upon his father’s throne but nine months. He is said to have given signs of a vicious disposition, and thereby to have aroused the fears or provoked the resentment of his friends and connections. A conspiracy was formed against him among his courtiers, and he was put to a cruel death. The conspirators then selected one of their number, a man of no very great eminence previously, and placed him upon the vacant throne. This was Nabonidus, or Nabonadius, the last king, the Labynetus II. of Herodotus.

[By the monuments *Nabu-nahit* appears to have been the son of a certain *Nabu- . . -dirba*, who is called “Rab-Mag,” like Neriglissar, and who was therefore a person of considerable official rank. There are two distinct forms of this prince’s name, both in classical writers and in the inscriptions. In the latter his name is ordinarily *Nabu-nit*, or, as it is now read, *Nabu-nahit*, but sometimes the form *Nabu-induk* or *Nabu-induk* is used. The classical writers express the former by Nabonidus, Nabonadius, Nabonnedus, or (as Herodotus) by Labynetus: the latter may be traced in the Nabannidochus of Abydenus (Fr. 9), and the Nabandelus (Naboandechus?) of Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* x. 11, § 2). *Nabu-nahit* is the Semitic or Assyrian, and *Nabu-induk* the Hamite or Babylonian form. The one is a mere translation of the other, and the two forms are used indifferently. The meaning is, “Nebo blesses,” or “makes prosperous.” H. C. R.]

The accession of *Nabonadius* (*Nabu-nit* or *Nabu-nahit*), B. C. 555, nearly synchronises with the commencement of the war between Cyrus and Croesus. It was probably in the very first year of his reign that the ambassadors of the Lydian king arrived with their proposals for a grand confederation [in which Egypt also was included] against the power

which was felt to threaten the independence of all its neighbours. The Babylonian prince entered readily into the scheme. He was, to all appearance, sufficiently awake to his own danger. Already were those remarkable works in course of construction, which being attributed by Herodotus to a queen, Nitocris — the mother, according to him, of the last Babylonian monarch, — have handed her name down to all later ages. These defences, which Herodotus speaks of as constructed against the Medes, were probably made really against Cyrus, who, upon his conquest of the Median empire, appears to have fixed his residence at Agbatana, from which quarter it was that he afterwards marched upon Babylon. They belong, in part at least, to the reign of Nabonadius, as is evident both from a statement of the native historian, and from the testimony of the inscriptions. The river walls, one of the chief defensive works which Herodotus ascribes to his Nitocris, are distinctly assigned by Berosus to Nabu-nahit; and the bricks which compose them, one and all, bear upon them the name of that monarch. Herodotus (Mr. Rawlinson observes in a note) distinctly connects his Nitocris with his second Labynetus, and only indistinctly with any former king. Perhaps he regarded her as at once the wife of his first Labynetus (Nebuchadnezzar?) and the mother of his second (Nabu-nahit); but she can scarcely in truth have filled both these positions.

Of the other defensive works ascribed to Nitocris — the winding channel dug for the Euphrates at some distance above Babylon, and the contrivance for laying under water the whole tract of land towards the north and west of the city — no traces appear to remain; and it seems certain that the description which Herodotus gives of them is at least greatly exaggerated. Still we may gather from his narrative that, besides improving the fortifications of the city itself, Labynetus endeavoured to obstruct the advance of an enemy towards Babylon by hydraulic works resembling those of which so important a use has frequently been made in the Low Countries. . . . (Pp. 520-1.)

The "Median wall" of Xenophon may have been in reality only a portion of the old wall of Babylon itself, which had been broken down in places, and had been suffered to fall into decay by the Persians.

But the rapid movements of Cyrus disconcerted all [the calculations of Cræsus]. Sardis was taken, Cræsus himself was a prisoner, and the Persian empire was extended to the Ægean [before any of his allies could come up]; and nothing then remained for Nabonadius but to set to work with fresh vigour at his defences. It was then perhaps that he began to lay in those stores of provisions "for many years" which are mentioned by Herodotus as accumulated in Babylon when, 8 years after the capture of Sardis (B.C. 547-539=8, or, according to Mr. Rawlinson, B.C. 554-539=15 years after it), its siege took place.

The preservation of the capital seems to have been all that was attempted by the Babylonians. This is evidenced by the nature of the defences constructed at this period, and still more by the care taken to provision the city for the siege. It was probably hoped that the enormous

height and thickness of the walls would baffle the besiegers, and that the corn laid up in store and the extent of arable land within the defences would render a reduction by blockade impracticable. When Cyrus after 8 years (Mr. Rawlinson makes it 15) appeared before the walls, a single battle was fought, and the Babylonians being defeated retired within their defences, and thought to defy their enemy. We are not informed how long the siege lasted, but no second effort seems to have been made to drive away the assailants.

After a time Cyrus put in execution the stratagem which, as it may be inferred from his experiment upon the Gyndes (the Diyála), he had resolved to practise before he left Ecbatana. The exact mode by which he drained the stream of the Euphrates is uncertain; but both Herodotus and Xenophon agree that he entered the city by its channel, and that he waited for a general festival before turning the stream. If the sinking of the water had only been observed, the city water-gates might have been closed, and his army would have been caught as "in a trap."

The city was taken at the extremities long before the inhabitants of the central parts suspected their danger. Then it may well be that "one post ran to meet another, and one messenger ran to meet another, to show the king of Babylon that his city was taken at one end." According to Berosus indeed Nabonadius was not in Babylon, but at Borsippa, at the time when Babylon was taken, having fled [thither] when his army was defeated. . . . He seems, however, to have left in Babylon . . . his son, whom a few years previously he had associated with himself in the government. This prince, whose name is read as *Bil-shur-uzur*, . . . may be identified with the *Belshazzar* of Daniel. . . . Belshazzar, who was probably a mere youth, . . . neglected the duty of watching the enemy, and gave himself up to enjoyment. The feast of which we read in Daniel . . . may have been in part a religious festivity, but it indicates nevertheless the self-indulgent temper of the king, who could give himself so entirely up to merriment at such a time. While the king and his "thousand nobles" drank wine out of the sacred vessels of the Jews, the Persian archers entered the city, and a scene of carnage ensued. "In that night was Belshazzar slain." Amid the confusion and the darkness, the young prince, probably unrecognised by the soldiery, who would have respected his rank had they perceived it, was struck down by an unknown hand, and lost his life with his kingdom.

[A difficulty still stands] in the way of this identification, which (if accepted) solves one of the most intricate problems of ancient history. [It] is the relationship in which the Belshazzar of Scripture stands to Nebuchadnezzar, which is throughout represented as that of *son* (*Dan. v. 2, 11, 13, 18, &c.*). . . . It may be remarked that although Nabonadius was not a descendant, or indeed any relation of Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar may have been, and very probably was. Nabu-nahit, on seizing the supreme power, would naturally seek to strengthen his position by marriage with a daughter of the great king, whose son, son-in-law, and grandson had successively held the throne. He may have taken to wife

Neriglissar's widow, or he may have married some other daughter of Nebuchadnezzar. Belshazzar may thus have been grandson of Nebuchadnezzar *on the mother's side*. It is some confirmation of these probabilities or possibilities to find that the name of Nebuchadnezzar was used as a family name by Nabu-nahit. He must certainly have had a son to whom he gave that appellation, or it would not have been assumed by two pretenders in succession, who sought to personate the legitimate heir of the Babylonian throne.

Cyrus, then, having given orders to ruin the defences of the city, proceeded to the attack of Borsippa, where Nabonadius...at once surrendered himself. Cyrus...assigned [him Carmania for his residence].... Here, according to Berosus, he ended his days in peace. Abydenus, however, states that he gave offence to Darius, who deprived him of his possessions, and forced him to quit Carmania.

It is possible that Nabonadius was involved in one of those revolts of Babylon from Darius, where his name was certainly made use of to stir the people to rebellion....Twice at least in the reign of that monarch a claimant to the Babylonian crown came forward with the declaration, "I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonadius."

With regard to the Median and Persian kings who may have been mentioned by Berosus, there is but little in the way of recent discoveries which needs any special notice:—

Mr. Rawlinson mentions no *Median* inscriptions; and he supposes that of the four royal names given by Herodotus the last, *that of Astyages* (*As-da-hag*), is merely a title, signifying the "*Biting Snake*," so that the true name of the son and successor of Cyaxares is unknown. And he supposes the first name, *Deioces* (*Dahag*), to be identical with the last element in *Astyages*, and so unhistorical. The second, *Phraortes*, he admits is a true Median name, which appears in the form *Phrawartish* in the Behistun inscription of Darius Hystaspes....But he supposes that the Phraortes of whom Herodotus heard was a fabulous person made out of the same Median pretender who is named by Darius: and he observes that this later *Phrawartish*, according to the inscription, rested his claims not on being descended from Deioces, but from Cyaxares; with which he connects some lines of Æschylus, who seems to reckon Cyrus as third from the first Median commander and king. On this view that Median revolt and establishment of independence, or at least that commencement of the rule of Deioces, which Herodotus puts in B. C. 708 or 709, and that commencement of a Median empire, or at least of Median independence, which he puts 22 years later, in B. C. 686 or 687, can have had no existence; and, instead of there being a Scythian inroad and dominion during 28 years, Mr. Rawlinson supposes that Cyaxares and his Medes were themselves rather the immigrant invaders, who warred upon and displaced the remains of an older Scythic population.

In the great Behistun inscription, which is trilingual, in the ancient

Persian, the Babylonian, and the Scythic languages, and the Persian words of which together with an English version are given at the end of vol. ii. of Mr. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Darius Hystaspes has recorded many of the acts of his reign :—

He traces himself up through “Hystaspes, Arsames, Ariaramnes, and Teispes to Achæmenes;” and says that “eight of that race had been kings before him.” He enumerates his provinces, “xxiii in all,” which have come to him by the grace of Ormuzd, viz., Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, the Islands, Saparda, Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Zarangia, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandaria, the Sacæ, Sattagydia, Arachotia, and Mecia; in all xxiii provinces.

Of the false Smerdis Darius relates to the following effect :—“Cambyses, son of Cyrus of our race, reigned before me. He had a brother, named Bardes, born from the same mother and the same father with himself. Cambyses slew him; but the people knew not at the time that Bardes had been slain. Afterwards, when Cambyses had proceeded to Egypt, the state became wicked. Then the lie became abounding in the land, both in Persia and in Media, and in the other provinces. Afterwards there was a certain Magian named Gomates, sprung from Pissia-chada, from the mountain called Aracadres. On the 14th of the month Vayakhna he arose. He spoke thus, lying, to the state: ‘I am Bardes, the son of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses.’ Then the whole state revolted, and went over to him from Cambyses, both Persia, and Media, and the other provinces. He seized the empire. He seized it on the 9th day of the month Garmapada. Afterwards Cambyses . . . died. The empire of which Gomates the Magian dispossessed Cambyses had from olden time been in our family . . . There was not a man, neither Persian nor Median, nor any one of our family, who would dispossess that Gomates the Magian of the crown. The state feared him exceedingly. He slew many people who had known the true Bardes, [saying within himself] ‘lest they should recognise me, that I am not Bardes the son of Cyrus.’ No one dared to say anything concerning Gomates the Magian until I arrived. Then I prayed to Ormuzd. Ormuzd helped me. On the 10th day of the month Bagayadish, with my faithful men, I slew that Gomates the Magian and his chief followers. I slew him in the fortress named Sictachotes in the district of Media called Nisæa. By the grace of Ormuzd I became king. Ormuzd granted me the sceptre. The empire which had been taken away from our family I recovered. As it was before so I re-established it. The temples which Gomates the Magian had destroyed I rebuilt. The sacred offices of the state, both the religious chaunts and the worship, (I restored) to the people, which Gomates the Magian had deprived them of. As things were before so I re-established them, by the grace of Ormuzd, so that Gomates the Magian should not supersede our family.”

Then he proceeds to mention the numerous revolts which he put down, especially the two revolts of Babylon, the first caused by Nidintabelus, a

Babylonian, who called himself Nabochodrossor the son of Nabonidus, the second caused by an Armenian named Aracus, son of Handitis, who was by origin from a district of Babylonia called Dobana, and who, like Nidintabelus, pretended to be Nabochodrossor, son of Nabonidus. On the former occasion Darius himself, after several battles, had taken Babylon and slain Nidintabelus; but against Aracus he sent a commander named Intaphres, a Mede, who took Babylon and (as it seems) slew the pretender.

In the 4th column Darius recapitulates thus: "This is what I have done. By the grace of Ormuzd I have accomplished the whole. After that the kings rebelled against me, I fought 19 battles. By the grace of Ormuzd I smote them, and took 9 kings (prisoners). One was Gomates a Magian. He lied, saying, 'I am Bardes the son of Cyrus.' He caused Persia to revolt. Another was Atrines a Susianian. He lied, saying, 'I am the king of Susiana.' He caused Susiana to revolt from me. Another was Nidintabelus a Babylonian. He lied, saying, 'I am Nabochodrossor the son of Nabonidus.' He caused Babylon to revolt. Another was Martes a Persian. He lied, saying, 'I am Imanes the king of Susiana.' He caused Susiana to revolt. Another was Phraortes a Mede. He lied, saying, 'I am Xathrites of the race of Cyaxares.' He caused Media to revolt. Another was Sitrantachmes a Sagartian. He lied, saying, 'I am the king of Sagartia, of the race of Cyaxares.' He caused Sagartia to revolt. Another was Phraates a Margian. He lied, saying, 'I am king of Margiana.' He caused Margiana to revolt. Another was Veisdates a Persian. He lied, saying, 'I am Bardes the son of Cyrus.' He caused Persia to revolt. Another was Aracus an Armenian. He lied, saying, 'I am Nabochodrossor the son of Nabonidus.' He caused Babylon to revolt. . . . These 9 kings have I taken in these battles.

"These are the provinces which rebelled. The god Ormuzd created lies that they should deceive the people. Afterwards the god Ormuzd gave the people into my hand. As I desired, so the god Ormuzd [did]. Says Darius the king [these words introduce every paragraph]: Thou who mayest be king hereafter, keep thyself entirely from lies. The man who may be a liar, him destroy utterly. If thou shalt thus observe, my country shall remain in its integrity. . . .

"What by the grace of Ormuzd I have done besides (and I have done much) I have not inscribed on this tablet. For this cause I have not inscribed it, lest he who may hereafter peruse this tablet should think the many deeds that have been done by me elsewhere to be falsely recorded." . . . And he warns his successors not to conceal but to publish the contents of this manifesto; nor to deface the inscription itself, adding blessings and imprecations. He says, that "by the grace of Ormuzd I have accomplished everything. Ormuzd helped me, *and the other gods which are.*" Another paragraph is the following:—

"Says Darius the king: These are the men who alone were there when I slew Gomates the Magian, who was called Bardes. These men

alone laboured in my service: Intaphernes the son of Veïspares, a Persian; Otanes the son of Socris, a Persian; Gobryas the son of Mardonius, a Persian; Hydarnes the son of Megabignes, a Persian; Megabyzus the son of Dadoïs, a Persian; Ardomanes the son of Basuses, a Persian."

In Col. v. of the Inscription, which is very imperfect, the king speaks of a revolt in Susiana. "This province revolted against me. The Susianians made a man named *imimus* their chief. Then I sent troops to Susiana. *Gobryas* a Persian, one of my subjects, I appointed to be their leader. Then that Gobryas with the troops went to Susiana. He fought a battle with the rebels seized and brought to me [their chief] . . . there I slew him."

After this he mentions his putting down and slaying one Sacuces in Sacia. What follows is too imperfect to be made out.

Behistun, as Mr. Rawlinson informs his readers, is situated on the western frontier of the ancient Media, upon the road from Babylon to the southern Ecbatana, the great thoroughfare between the eastern and the western provinces of ancient Persia. The precipitous rock, 1700 feet high, on which the writing is inscribed, forms a portion of the great chain of Zagros, which separates the high plateau of Iran from the vast plain watered by the Tigris and Euphrates. The inscription is engraved at the height of 300 feet from the base of the rock, and can only be reached with much difficulty. . . . Col. Rawlinson gathers from the monument itself that it was executed in the 5th year of the reign of Darius, B. C. 516 [517].

Besides this monument of Darius Mr. Rawlinson mentions the tomb of Cyrus, at *Murg-aub* (Pasargadæ), with the inscription, several times repeated, both in Persian and in the so-called Median; "I am Cyrus, the king, the Achæmenian" (Herod. vol. i. p. 351); also an inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon, discovered at Susa; and another of Artaxerxes Ochus. In Egypt inscriptions, mostly on small objects, have been found with the names of Persian kings, as Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, both in the cuneiform and the hieroglyphic characters.

The reader has now before him the means of judging how far light has been thrown by recent discoveries on the dynasties of Berosus. It is, however, to be borne in mind that the study of the old Babylonian, Assyrian, and Persian languages, and of the cuneiform character used in their inscriptions, is as yet only in its infancy, so that much additional information may still be obtainable.

Lastly, as a conclusion to this Appendix, some remarks shall be offered on two points on which the Assyrian inscriptions seem to be at variance either with the received text of the Sacred Scriptures, or with inferences arising naturally

from the consideration of certain statements of Herodotus and Berosus, as well as of other authors, both sacred and profane.

The first of these points is the difficulty created by the annals of Sargon and Sennacherib, in conjunction with the dates of the Astronomical Canon, as to the synchronism of some one year, or of some two separate years, of the reign of Hezekiah with the two attacks made upon him by Sennacherib; for *two* distinct attacks, whether immediately consecutive or separated by an interval of one or more years, are recorded by the sacred narrative in 4 Kings (ch. xviii. v. 13 to 16, and v. 17 of the same to v. 36 of ch. xix.). If there *was* an interval, it is clear that on *both* occasions alike the arms of the Assyrians were directed principally against the power of Egypt, and against Hezekiah only secondarily, in consequence of his open or suspected defection. It is clear, too, that the account given of the first attack *ends* with the mention of the city of *Lachish*, and that the account of the second attack *begins* with another mention of the same place. On the first occasion, after taking the fenced cities of Judah, and beleaguering Jerusalem with mounds and towers, Sennacherib had moved on himself to Lachish, and it was thither that Hezekiah sent to him to make his definitive submission; after the acceptance of which the siege of Lachish, as one must suppose, was no longer pressed. And on the second occasion Sennacherib is either *still* before Lachish, or he has *returned* thither again, and has again invested it, when he sends from thence a detachment of his army under Tartan and Rabshakeh to threaten Jerusalem. On their return he has already, as it seems, taken Lachish, and is besieging Libnah (which he seems also to have taken), from whence, on hearing of the advance of the Ethiopians and Egyptians, he sends a letter full of fresh menaces to Hezekiah. There is something certainly in this relation to favour the idea that the two attacks were immediately consecutive. But, on the other hand, when Hezekiah had only just submitted, or rather was in the very act of submitting himself, consenting to pay the fine and the tribute imposed upon him, and adding large gifts besides, it is highly improbable that

Sennacherib, who was thus set free to prosecute the war towards the frontier of Egypt, should *immediately*—as if his only object was to have an enemy instead of a vassal in his rear—send back part of his army to renew hostilities against Jerusalem; or that Hezekiah should, *immediately* after submitting and exhausting himself, be found to be purposing a fresh revolt. One cannot but think that some short time—a year or two at the least—must have intervened. And when one goes on to read of the embassy of Merodach-Baladan, and the way in which it was received at Jerusalem, it is natural to suspect that this, on becoming known, gave umbrage to Sennacherib, and that it was then in truth that Hezekiah listened to proposals engaging him to a fresh defection, in which he should be assisted at once both by Babylon and by Egypt. If so, it would follow, of course, that so soon as Babylon was reduced, which was in B.C. 709 (unless there was something pressing in other quarters which caused delay), the whole power of the Assyrians would be again directed against Judæa and Egypt. And then it was that Sennacherib once more besieged, and this time *took*, Lachish, while a detachment of his army ineffectually threatened Jerusalem. But now the accession of Sennacherib seems to be fixed by his annals, taken in connection with the Canon, to B.C. 702; so that his 1st year should be the (B.C. 726—702 =) 25th of Hezekiah; and his first attack upon Judæa, after which Hezekiah submitted, and paid “30 talents of gold” besides other tribute, is fixed to the 3rd year of Sennacherib, which should be the 27th of Hezekiah. Mr. Rawlinson, therefore, would read in 4 Kings (xviii. v. 13) “the 27th” instead of “the 14th” year of Hezekiah; and he supposes that the second attack and the miraculous destruction of the Assyrian army may have been only one, or at most two years, later. But against this expedient it seems a sufficient objection, that the sign given by God to Hezekiah and his subjects at the time of their deliverance implies that Hezekiah would live *at least* two years longer. “And this,” it is said, “shall be a sign unto thee: ye shall eat this year such things as grow of themselves, and in the second year that which springeth of the same; and in

the third year sow ye and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruits thereof." (4 Kings, xix. 29.) But if the first attack of Sennacherib was in the 27th year of Hezekiah, and his second even so much as one year later, it would still be in Hezekiah's 28th, and there would remain only one year to his death, for he reigned in all only 29 years. Dr. Hincks, indeed, who was the first author of the suggestion which Sir Henry Rawlinson and his brother have in part adopted, makes the first attack of Sennacherib, in his 3rd year, to have been in the 26th, not the 27th, of Hezekiah; and the second attack, in common with them, he makes to have been one or two years later, so as to leave room, though only barely, for the three years of the sign given by Isaiah. And thus much may, indeed, be admitted, that the *actual* reign of Sennacherib after his father's death may have begun a little *before the end* of B.C. 703, though the *actual* reign of Belibus, whom in his first year, and after his first campaign, he set over Babylon, must have begun at some date *after*—it may be even many months after—Thoth 1 (then at Feb. 15), in B.C. 702. But even if it be allowed that Sennacherib's first attack was *a little before the end* of Hezekiah's 26th year, the objection is rather palliated than fully met. And, besides, the 2nd Book of Chronicles (ch. xxxii. v. 25) seems to tax Hezekiah in respect of his behaviour to the Babylonian embassy, as if this were after his great deliverance, saying that "he rendered not again according to the benefit done to him;" though this, it is true, may *possibly* refer only to his recovery, and to the promise added for the future, that God would defend Jerusalem from the king of Assyria. And the same Book of Chronicles seems to imply that Hezekiah lived on for some time after his deliverance from Sennacherib, and was honoured on account of it (ib. vv. 22, 23). It is not, indeed, easy to see how any *single* change in the text of the Scriptures can either altogether remove the existing difficulty, or avoid creating some fresh difficulty in addition. And, further, as regards the later chronology resulting partly from that expedient which Sir Henry Rawlinson and his brother have followed, and partly from their

identification of Esar-haddon with Asaradinus of the Canon,—even if we set aside the Jewish reigns (which they seem to regard as uncertain), and compare it only with the chronology of the Egyptian lists,—we find the accession of Esar-haddon (*Asshur-akh-hadin* of the inscriptions, *Assarachoddas* in one place of Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 6, where he ought to be following Berosus) set at B. C. 680, three years below the date indicated by the Egyptian lists for the death of Tirhakah. And we find the accession of *Asshur-bani-pal*, the successor of Esar-haddon, set at B. C. 667, only four years above the accession of Psammetichus I.; whereas the annals of *Asshur-bani-pal* show that, during at least the first four years of his reign, he was contending with Tirhakah (“*Tarku*”) for the sovereignty of Lower Egypt. And Tirhakah must have lived on still longer, since he was left at last in undisputed possession, and slew Necho, the father of Psammetichus, after the events related in the Assyrian annals. So it seems that Mr. Rawlinson’s dates are too low, by about the space of one reign, to suit their Egyptian synchronisms. At the same time, it is true that the date B. C. 683 is only *indicated* by the Egyptian Chronicles, not distinctly assigned by them, for the death of Tirhakah. And it is *possible* that Manetho’s date, B. C. 683, may be without any historical meaning, and that Tirhakah may have reigned in all 51 years, to the accession of Psammetichus I., in B. C. 663. If this were so, the reign of 50 years ascribed by Herodotus to the Ethiopian Sabaco would cover an allusion to the real length of the reign of Tirhakah. Whatever be the true solution of the difficulty respecting the synchronisms in the reigns of Hezekiah and Sennacherib, it can scarcely be made out to a certainty without the help of some fresh discoveries. But, in the mean time, that one may suggest something—though it be but a mere guess, and perhaps already open to refutation—it may be conceived that Sennacherib (as has been suggested above at p. 982) was associated in the throne by Sargon, so that he had two accessions, one from his association, perhaps in B. C. 715, the other from the death of his father in B. C. 702; and that while his own annals, inscribed in his palace at Nineveh, began from the death of his father,

and gave him a reign perhaps of only (B.C. 702—693=) 9 full years, that “22nd year” of his reign which, according to Mr. Rawlinson, has been found marked on one clay tablet, may have been reckoned from his earlier accession. Thus he may really have reduced the fenced cities of Judah, and may have taken tribute from Hezekiah, in the 14th year of that king, which was his own 3rd year from his first accession, his father Sargon being then still living, and even, as it seems, being himself in Palestine in the same year. Indeed, in the Book of Chronicles, in relating the precautions taken by Hezekiah at this very time, the *kings* of Assyria are spoken of in the plural: “Why should the *kings* of Assyria come and find much water?” (2 Chron. xxxii. 4.) And then, further, it may be supposed that in the annals inscribed in his palace, built after the death of his father, Sennacherib substituted and placed, as if in the 3rd year from his *last* accession, an account of his earlier successes against Hezekiah, instead of his later ignominious overthrow, which *may* have occurred as late as B.C. 700 (though the narrative in the Scriptures would lead one to suppose it earlier), and which his pride would naturally suppress. On this view there would be a sort of antithetical parallel between the narrative of the Scripture and that of Sennacherib’s inscriptions; the Scripture, according to its own purpose and spirit, hastening to the end, and drawing up and consolidating with the events of Hezekiah’s 14th year what was done later, the inscriptions, on the contrary, drawing down and consolidating with the events of Sennacherib’s 3rd year from his father’s death things which really belonged to the 3rd year from his first accession as associated with his father. It may be to the purpose to observe, that the historical inscriptions of the Assyrian kings and their later successors, though called annals, do not seem to specify with any regularity the exact year of the king in which each event took place. Thus, in the great Behistun inscription of Darius Hystaspes, where so many revolts and battles are enumerated and described, though the day of the month is occasionally mentioned, the year of the king’s reign is in no single instance distinctly named.

Against the hypothesis which has now been suggested Dr. Hincks (to whom, as well as to Mr. Rawlinson, the author's thanks are due for their kindness in replying to his questions), objects that "we have the annals of Sargon during what must have been the 14th year of Hezekiah's reign, and from them it appears that in this very year he was himself in Palestine, *though no conquests from Hezekiah are mentioned*: only he took Ashdod, and visited certain mines, especially Baal-zephon, which may perhaps be identifiable with Sarabeit el Khadim." This objection certainly has weight; but perhaps it is not altogether conclusive. For though Sargon took to himself the conquest of Ashdod, which was reduced by one of his own captains, it may still be possible—if there were at once two associate kings, one residing at Khorsabad, and the other at Nineveh—that the Khorsabad king left it to his colleague to record in his own palace at Nineveh his own personal exploits. Dr Hincks, however, besides making this objection, doubts as yet the truth of the assertion that Sennacherib reigned in all more than 8 or 9 years. And of course, if Sennacherib reigned in all only 8 or 9 years, and those from B.C. 702, there would be no room for our hypothesis, even if it were otherwise admissible.

Dr. Hincks himself would solve the difficulty by supposing that there is a dislocation and transposition in the text of 4 Kings, which originally stood thus:—In ch. xviii. 13, after the words "Now in the 14th year of king Hezekiah" what followed was "Hezekiah was sick unto death," with the rest of what now stands as ch. xx., the promise at ver. 6, alluding not to Sennacherib but to Sargon, who was in Palestine in that same year. Then, after the account of Hezekiah's sickness, and the embassy of Mero-dach-Baladan, that is, after ver. 19 of ch. xx., he supposes that the words "In those days" now standing at the head of ch. xx., were followed by all that now forms the continuation of ch. xviii., beginning (in ver. 13) with the words "did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them," and so on with the narrative of his first and of his second attack, to the end of ch. xix.; after

which would follow what are now the last two verses (20 and 21) of ch. xx., "And the rest of the acts of Hezekiah . . . are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah? And Hezekiah slept with his fathers: and Manasseh his son reigned in his stead."

On this hypothesis—certainly a bold one—we may remark, first, that at any rate, if it is to be available, the two attacks of Sennacherib must be supposed to have been both in one and the same campaign, in B.C. 700—699. And, even then, the inscriptions of Sennacherib will not agree. For in this campaign he puts *first* the reduction of Luliya king of Sidon, and of Phœnicia; Edom also, Ekron, and *Ashdod* submitting without resistance. *Next* he relates the siege and capture of Ascalon; Hazor, Joppa, and other towns depending upon Ascalon being at the same time taken and plundered. *Then* follows a battle with the kings of Egypt the vassals of Ethiopia [and with Tirhakah himself?] who had come out against him. *Then* the capture of *Lachish* and *Libnah*. And it is only after all these things that "he proceeds against Hezekiah; relating how the Ekronites had expelled their king, and had sent him bound to Hezekiah," &c. (see above p. 1010); how, in consequence, he "invaded Judæa, where he took 46 fenced cities, &c., and *besieged* Jerusalem *with mounds* and towers, till Hezekiah submitted. After which the spoils and the tribute paid by Hezekiah were brought to him *to Nineveh*. Now, if the two attacks of Sennacherib were really *both made in one and the same year*, it is clear that the events connected with the two are here confused, and related *in an order the inverse of the true*. But if they were in two *distinct* years, we have the difficulty of *Lachish* having been taken, and not only *Lachish* but *Libnah* too after *Lachish*, *before the invasion of Judæa commences*, when yet the Scripture expressly states that Sennacherib first took the fenced cities, and afterwards, having left his servants to continue the siege of Jerusalem, received the submission of Hezekiah when he himself was besieging *Lachish*. We have also the further difficulty of the Ethiopians having been totally routed in Syria, near *Lachish*, and both *Lachish* and *Libnah taken*, while yet Hezekiah is found

still trusting to Egypt and Ethiopia and engaging in a fresh defection, and the Ethiopians assume the offensive again, and Lachish and Libnah both need to be taken over again in the very next year or in the year next but one afterwards. And, besides these difficulties suggested by Sennacherib's own annals, there are those expressions in the 2nd Book of Chronicles which have been noticed above. And the whole narrative, both in the 2nd Book of Chronicles and in the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, is either word for word the same, or at least parallel throughout, and in the same order, with that in 4 Kings, so as in both to need almost equally Dr. Hincks's transpositions.

The order, however, of the different *prophecies* and of any other matter which may be connected with them in *the Book of Isaiah* need not be supposed to be everywhere consecutive and chronological. What related to *Assyria* and to Sennacherib may *in it* have been purposely placed all together and by itself *first*; and what related to Hezekiah's sickness in connection with the prophecy that Jerusalem, though delivered from the kings of *Assyria*, should be taken by a king of *Babylon*, may have been purposely placed all together and by itself *afterwards*. It is conceivable, too, that an order which was appropriate in the arrangement of the *prophecies* in the prophetic book, may—if that book, as the more ancient, was the source from which the text of the narrative in 4 Kings and in 2 Chronicles was in great part borrowed—have become an occasion of disorder and obscurity in the two *historical* books, in which the sequence ought rather to have been chronological.

The other question which it was proposed to notice relates to the connection of the Assyrian empire with a space of 520 or 526 years, and to the date of its termination.

If, as is generally supposed, the 520 years of Herodotus and the 526 of Berosus are from one and the same source, and mean one and the same thing, it seems to follow that the xlv Chaldeans of Berosus must be the Ninevite kings of the Assyrian empire of Herodotus; and the cessation of their empire is distinctly connected by Herodotus with the date B.C. 708 [or rather 709]. The Medes, according to

him, then revolted; and their example was followed by the other Assyrian dependencies; and 22 years later, in B. C. 687, the Medes themselves, according to him, began to exercise the same rule in Asia which the Assyrians had lost, and they held the empire for 128 years, till B. C. 558 [or rather 559]. But the inscriptions seem to show that so far was the Assyrian empire of Nineveh from coming to an end in B. C. 709, that it was never more powerful than at that time; and that instead of then first casting off the yoke and putting an end to the empire of Assyria, Media had just then, or only six years earlier, been more completely reduced by Sargon. The Assyrian monuments, too, seem quite to preclude the number of xlv kings, whether ending in B. C. 747 (which is Mr. Rawlinson's date), or in B. C. 709 (which is that of Herodotus and our own); though the number of xxx (which is given, though inconsistently, by Diodorus) might suit well enough. These xxx, however, must be reckoned not to any revolt of Media, but to the last siege and destruction of Nineveh.

The monuments then make it necessary to scrutinise with more attention such differences as may be perceptible between the language of Herodotus and that of Berosus. Berosus was a Babylonian, who, from the outset connects his kings and dynasties with his own city of *Babylon*; though, no doubt, as he wrote in a diffuse style like Manetho, and was by no means a mere chronicler like Ptolemy of Mendes, he related at length all that was connected with his subject, and named Assyrian, Median, Persian, and other kings besides those "Chaldæans" who were natives of Babylon, or at least of Babylonia. Further, as regards his xlv kings who followed the ix Arabians, and who reigned 526 years, he calls them not Assyrians but "*Chaldæans*." And the number of xlv kings as compared with 526 years, giving an average length of only 11 years and about 8 months to each reign, though entirely irreconcilable with the *Assyrian* reigns now known from the monuments, agrees so well with the *average length* of those *Babylonian* reigns from Nabonassar which are registered in the Astronomical Canon, that any one on comparing the two averages would be led to suspect

that the list of the Canon was continuous, and perhaps in part identical, with that of Berosus. Lastly, though it is impossible to find any Assyrian epoch in B.C. 747, or any Assyrian and Median epoch in B.C. 709, or indeed at any other date, answering to the conditions required by Herodotus, and capable of being identified with the similar epoch of Berosus, there is no such difficulty in finding an epoch in the *Babylonian* list which may at once suit for Berosus and account for the statements of Herodotus. For it is quite conceivable that the reduction of Merodach-Baladan and the capture of Babylon itself in B.C. 709 by the king of Assyria may have been regarded by the Babylonians as an epoch at which their native (and generally independent) princes ended, after a continuance of 526 years; while those who succeeded (except during some occasional revolts and interregna) were either Assyrians, the sons or officers of the kings of Assyria, or at least only his viceroys and nominees, who had no claim by blood to the succession, till Nabopolassar again made Babylon the seat of an independent dynasty. If Babylon during all the 526 years preceding B.C. 709 had been in truth eclipsed by Assyria, and there was little to relate of the short reigns of most of the xlv Chaldæan kings, while there was much to relate respecting their Assyrian contemporaries, this may at once throw light on Berosus's statement—a statement seemingly explanatory and apologetic—that Nabonassar had destroyed all the records of the earlier Babylonian kings; and it may explain how a Babylonian dynasty of a merely negative character, described by its connection with a period of 526 years during which Assyria was predominant, might come to be mis-represented to Greeks, or misunderstood by them, both before and after the time of Berosus, as if its kings were themselves the Assyrians by whom they were overshadowed; and as if the epoch of its termination, when it was succeeded at Babylon by a new line of Assyrian rulers, was the epoch of the cessation of the Assyrian empire, or even that of the destruction of Nineveh. And this confusion having once arisen, it would be natural too to imagine, however falsely, that the Assyrian empire which

was thought to have ended at the Babylonian epoch of B.C. 709, had begun also *as an empire* from the Babylonian epoch of B.C. 1235.

So far as Media is concerned, it is clear from the inscriptions that the natives of that country, not only from the appointment of Deioces to be a ruler, 22 years before he became a king in the full sense of the word, but *from the first*, had been governed separately, each tribe by its own chief, after the manner which Herodotus calls anarchy; and that some, perhaps most, of their tribes were from time to time attacked by the kings of Assyria, and forced to pay tribute, from the days of Shalmanubar (B.C. 900 to 860?), the king of the black obelisk (for he first mentions the Medes in his inscriptions), down to those of Sargon, who, having in his 7th year (about B.C. 715) more completely reduced the Medes, founded among them cities, which he peopled in part with captives brought from other countries. It is possible that the very progress made by Sargon at this time towards the subjugation of the Medes may have been itself one of the chief causes which led soon afterwards to their concentration and union under a single native ruler, who, however, would not become all at once an independent king. The 150 years of Herodotus, from the first accession of Deioces, may perhaps be reckoned accurately enough from B.C. 708 [709], the same year in which Sargon reduced the last Chaldean king of Babylon; and the only inaccuracy may have been in supposing that this date was also that of the establishment of Median independence. And again, the 128 years of Herodotus, from the commencement of the 23rd year of Deioces in B.C. $(709 - 22 =)$ 687, may really represent the duration of Median independence and empire taken together, though Media did not in B.C. 687 begin to rule the neighbouring peoples, but then only became independent, and began from thenceforth to be a rising and threatening power. So this date, B.C. $(709 - 22 =)$ 687, rather than B.C. 709, will be the true epoch of the cessation of the Assyrian *empire*, so far as *Media* is concerned, though B.C. 709 is at once the epoch at which the *Babylonians* ended *their* 526 years, and that from which the Medes—or Herodotus's

informants for them—began the 150 years of their kings. And it is remarkable that almost at the same date with that which we have now collected from Herodotus for the commencement of Median independence, viz. in B.C. 688, which is only one year earlier, Babylon too had thrown off the yoke, and continued unsubdued during a space of 8 years, till in B.C. 680 it became perhaps again subject to Assyria. And it may have remained subject till Nabopolassar, immediately upon his appointment to be viceroy, in B.C. 625, revolted, and allied himself with Cyaxares, the king of Media.

But when one reflects that in B.C. 625 the Scythians had been (according to Herodotus) for 9 years masters of Asia, and that even before their irruption, in B.C. 634, the Medes had already attacked Nineveh, and at the very time of their irruption were on the point of taking it, it may seem more probable that the rulers of Babylon had become virtually, if not nominally, independent *before* the Scythian irruption; and that the alliance between Nabopolassar and Cyaxares was concluded not with a view to co-operation in any attack then actually commenced by the Medes against Nineveh, but rather, and in the first instance at least, with a view to throwing off the yoke of those Scythians to whom Nineveh was indebted for its respite from danger. And if the occasion for war between the Medes and Lydians was given, as Herodotus relates, by the desertion of some Scythians who were previously *in the service* of the king of Media, this fact would seem to imply that the Lydian war, and the battle in connection with which Herodotus names Cyaxares, Labynetus I. (Nebuchadnezzar), Alyattes, and Syennesis, were between B.C. 604 and B.C. 594; after, that is, the termination of the Scythian dominion, after the destruction of Nineveh, and after the accession of Nebuchadnezzar, but before the death of Cyaxares, which took place in B.C. 594.

Supposing the Median epochs of Herodotus to have been sufficiently accounted for, it remains only to inquire after the origin of that fable of Ctesias and his followers, Abydenus and Castor, which assigned to the Median empire 5 or 4 new kings, and $(880 - 710 =) 170$ or $(843 - 710 =) 133$

years unknown to Herodotus. For even fables may generally be accounted for, if one looks for something which may have been more or less suggestive of them. But as it was from a Medo-Persian point of view that Ctesias wrote, it is nothing wonderful if his informants carried back their fabulous commencement of the Median *empire* to about the earliest date at which the Medes, as inhabitants of Media, had really become known. And Ctesias's epoch of B.C. 880 admits very well of this explanation, as it puts the commencement of Median history in the time of *Shalmanubar*, the earliest king of Assyria, according to Sir H. Rawlinson, in whose inscriptions the Medes are named. And if this is, in fact, the true origin of the fable of a Median empire having commenced in B.C. 880, it will also serve to explain why the 1306 years of the Assyrian empire were fabled to have ended at the same date, from whatever later events the details of the fable may have been borrowed.

Why Abydenus (and Castor after him) should have varied again from this date of Ctesias, cutting off the first 37 of the 330 years of his Medes, and appending one more Assyrian reign after the last of his Assyrian kings, is not so easy to make out. But perhaps in this as in other points he was seeking to engraft upon the scheme of Ctesias something borrowed from Berosus. At any rate it is remarkable that the inscriptions present in the generation next after *Shalmanubar*, and so from 30 to 40 years below B.C. 880, the name *Sardanapalus*, though this Sardanapalus did not wear the crown, but only raised a great rebellion against his father, who was succeeded by another son, *Shamas-iva* (B.C. 850—800?). And in the next generation below this, again, the inscriptions exhibit a king named *Iva-lush* (B.C. 800—747?), whose name Mr. Rawlinson identifies with *Phul* or *Phaloch*, the same name which Berosus is said to have mentioned after his xlv Chaldæan kings. Or it may be that the variation of Abydenus had its source in the fact that, though Sardanapalus had been named by Ctesias as the last king before his earlier and fabulous destruction of Nineveh, it had since become known to the Greeks that Sardanapalus had not in truth been the last king, but the last but one, who

reigned before the later and real destruction of Nineveh. So he added a successor to the early Sardanapalus of Ctesias; and thereby made the two reigns preceding the fabulous capture and destruction of Nineveh to be the counterparts of the two which preceded its real destruction.

The death of Iva-lush III. — supposing him to be the Pul of Scripture and the predecessor of Tiglath-Pileser II., who in his first year attacked Babylon—cannot indeed (*if* Tiglath-Pileser II. took tribute of *Menahem*) be brought down as low as B.C. 747, the date where Mr. Rawlinson would make the 526 years of Berosus, and “his Assyrian kings of the elder series [his xlv Chaldæans] to end, and a new series of the later Assyrian empire to begin.” But though this view, together with Dr. Brandis’s scheme of 36,000 years, may be untenable, there is nothing to forbid the supposition that the story of one line having ended with a king named Beleoun or Belochus, and another new line having been founded by Balator, may really refer to a change in the Ninevite rather than the Babylonian succession, even though it were found by Polyhistor in Berosus, and though the xlv Chaldæans of Berosus who reigned 526 years were kings not of Nineveh but of Babylon. And certainly the identification of the names *Iva-lush*, *Phaloch*, or *Phulus* with *Belochus*, and of Tiglath-Palatsira with *Balator* is, to say the least, extremely plausible, when considered in connection with the fact that Tiglath-Pileser II. appears as the founder of a new line. Pul, however, the husband of Semiramis, who (through her perhaps) reigned at once over Nineveh and Babylon, is far from answering in his acts and character to the faineant king “*Beleoun son of Dercetades*,” who was dethroned by *Balator*.

With respect to the general scheme of Berosus, if we consider those 745 full years which seem to be wanting to his reckoning by *days* after the Flood, being supplanted by the heterogeneous sum of 2840 years expanded into *months*, it may be noticed that 745 is precisely the number by which the 27,096 *months* anterior to the Flood if added to the 2840 *years* after it fall short of a mixed sum of 30,681, equivalent to the first XXI fictitious cycles of the Old Egyp-

tian Chronicle. And again the same number 745 may be identical with the complement needed to bring up Berosus's reckoning, if expressed uniformly in vague years, from $(2258 + 2840 =)$ 5098, to that sum of 5844 which constitutes the last IV Cycles of the Egyptian Chronicle. For the 341 years needed to make human time begin from the Sothic epoch of B.C. 5702 together with 5 more by which the Babylonian reckoning falls short of the Egyptian, and 399 of the current Cycle which had still to run out from Thoth 1 in B.C. 261, to Thoth 1 in A.D. 139, make together 745 years. (And the odd year between the 5098 and the 399, might be taken to indicate the first year of Antiochus Θεός.) So the two sums $(27,096 + 2840 + 745 =)$ 30,681 and $(2258 + 2840 + 1 + 745 =)$ 5844, would equal together the whole mixed sum of 36,525 nominal years, or XXV nominal Cycles, of the Egyptian Chronicle.

XXI nominal Cycles	+	IV real	=	XXV
26,096 months		2258		B.C. 5356 to 3100
2,840 years		2840		B.C. 3100 to 262
[346] years		[346]		B.C. 5702 to 5326
0		1		B.C. 262 to 261
[399] years		399		B.C. 261 to A.D. 139.
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Years 30,681 nominal	+	5844 real	=	36,525.

This is certainly curious. But numbers often present strange coincidences, which like the forms taken by some flints are merely accidental and illusory. And there is no direct evidence for imputing any such arithmetical enigma to Berosus; nor indeed for imputing to him any cyclical fancy at all; seeing that his expansion of Nabonassarian years and months into *sari*, *neri*, and *sossi* of *days* was unsuitable for the indication of cycles of vague years in which the epagomenæ were to be only tacitly understood. The Sothic Cycle itself was perhaps known to him only as a foreign reckoning; and his vast sums (like those of Manetho, which are equally unencyclical), whether consisting uniformly of *days*, or of *months*, or of *mixed* nominal years, are sufficiently accounted for by the pre-existence of Egyptian schemes from which they may have been derived by imitation.

NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

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419, 28, after "months," insert " (though they were really of the value of 1 month and $\frac{1}{23}$ rd of a month each)."

419, 39. It is perhaps unlikely that he continued to assign any years to "Manes," when he restored all the Manes or Ghost-kings of Manetho to their original character of kings after Menes, of which Manetho had deprived them.

420, 14, "by Agathodæmon," &c. There *may have been* something of a similar kind in the Introduction to the Manetho of Ptolemy and Africanus; but the spurious letter of Manetho to Ptolemy, alluded to in this passage, certainly belongs to the much later Manetho of Anianus, and is improperly spoken of in this chapter as if it might have been taken originally from the work of Ptolemy of Mendes.

421, 3, "should not be earlier than the time of Augustus," &c. But there is no real ground for supposing that either the title *Σεβαστὸς*, or the letter containing this title, occurred in the Manetho of Ptolemy and of Africanus. On the other hand, the statements of Diodorus Siculus, as will appear below, contain allusions to this Manetho of Ptolemy, which so must have been extant before B.C. 58; and the age at which Clinton, as it seems, has at length placed Suidas, leads to the inference that it was extant half a century or so earlier still.

421, 21, for "of the first" read "of the second" century.

426, 31. "The word *Ἐρμῆς* seems to connect itself with the epistle quoted from the Book of Sothis," &c. Rather, since he is said to have explained the *origin of all things* in a space of 30,000 years, the Hermes alluded to is the author of the book entitled "*Ἑρμῆς*," which has been already named above at p. 10, l. 24, in a quotation from Syncellus, who names the "*Ἑρμῆς* of Hermes" and the

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"*Κυβαννίδης*" (of some other author) in connection with that idea of a zodiacal *ἀποκατάστασις* to the first point in the sign of Aries which he finds in the Old Chronicle.

427, 15, "only 2075 years," &c. But if Ptolemy had distinguished 900 as full years, and divided by 12 only the remaining 24,000 of Manetho's mythological years which are really months, he would have obtained within 22 that sum of 5844 which he wanted. His reasons for not doing so were perhaps first, that he did not wish to make statements needing further explanation; and secondly, that if he had reduced Manetho's 24,000 years, distinguishing them from the 900, he would not have had, in the remaining years of Manetho's scheme, materials so convenient for his own cyclical design as in those afforded by the Old Chronicle.

427, 32, 34, for "300" and "1318" read "200" and 1218."

429, 5, "to the Sun-god alone;" that is *virtually*, for ostensibly 681 of them are given to the XIII Gods following. It is only on perceiving that these 681 are part of the 21 cycles, and are detached merely to obtain the round number of 30,000 for the Sun, that one can understand and admit the assertion that the whole XXI cycles or 30,681 years belong to the Sun.

429, 16, for "solar," read "full movable years."

430, 4, after "the 14" insert "which he seems to have reckoned."

433, 33, after "Plato" omit "and Eudoxus."

434, 13, omit "and under Augustus."

434, 14, after "four," insert "incomplete."

436, 20, for "between Nectanebo and the year B.C. 329" read "between Manetho's date for Alexander, in B.C. 331, and the taking of a crown by the Lagidæ, in B.C. 305."

437, 21, for "Demigods and Manes" read "and Demigods, probably without Manes."

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| 439, | 20, | for "and Manes" read "with or without Manes." | 481, | 19, | "may have been." The word " <i>may</i> " should be in italics, as there is no particular reason for supposing that it was so. |
| 441, | 12, | after "altered" insert "by the writers just now alluded to." | 481, | 35, 36, | for "43+158 or 159=" 2132 or 2133, 91" read "42+159=" 2132, 92" years after Menes, &c. |
| 444, | 9, | " + 127" should be in red. | 483, | 11, | for "6" read "8." |
| 448, | 12 | from bottom, after "163" insert "(that is 150+8+5)." | 505, | 1, | "had lost one large fragment from its <i>outer</i> part, or commencement," &c. This may well be true, although the outer part or commencement of a papyrus always contains the <i>first</i> , not the last, of its columns of writing. For this Turin Papyrus was written over on both sides, the lists of kings being the earlier, and certain accounts the later writing. All, therefore, that is necessary is to suppose that the original writing, the lists of kings, on the one side, began at one end, and the later writing, the accounts, at the other end of the papyrus; and if so, it would be a matter of course that it should be rolled up so as to have the commencement of the <i>later</i> writing for its outer part, not, as originally was the case (before it became <i>πρωτόγραφον</i>), the earlier. |
| 450, | | last line, for "135 + 218 — = 353," read "135+218 + 3 = 356," all in red; and for "551" read "554." | 508, | 1. | The name "Phthah?" should have been in red, as the fragment exhibits only the following name, "Ra," but with some trace of another line of writing above. That this was another name, and that name Phthah, is only a conjecture. |
| 453, | 37, | after "altering," insert "anything." | 525, | 8, | for "24 $\frac{1}{2}$ " read "24 $\frac{3}{4}$." |
| 455, | 1, | after "July," omit "above." | 551, | 25, | "a <i>seventh</i> Shepherd king," &c. It may be remarked, that the list of Syncellus, i.e. of Anianus, though with only 260 years, gives vii names for the Shepherd kings. |
| 457, | 21, | after "776" omit "(or 777)." | 554, | | In the last two columns, under "Ptolemy of Mendes," "Dynasty X of Her[acleopolites]. with its 3 + 5 + 11 kings, and its 185 years, is printed too high up. The figures, 3, 5, and 11, should be in a line with the same figures i. the columns belonging to the Papyrus and to Manetho. |
| 458, | 29, | for "A.D. 213" read "A.D. 215," and the same in line 36. | 557, | 24, | for "there 15,000" read "there had been 15,000." |
| 459, | 19, | for "short of" read "below." | 559, | 38, | for "ofan" read "of an." |
| 463, | 8, | after "writer," insert "except Justin Martyr." | 560, | 4, | for "3010," read "3012 movable, or 3010 Julian or Canicular" years. |
| 463, | 13, | for "Dyn. XVIII" read "Dynasties XVIII and XIX." | 561, | 8, | "the 9th king of Manetho's Dyn. XII." But Manetho's selection of ix kings to form this dynasty being made nearly 200 years after the time of Herodotus, and above 1000 years after the arrangement of the Hieratic lists, one cannot conclude that Onnos was 9th in generation from Sesostris from this fact that he stands 9th in Manetho's Dyn. XII (V of Africanus). But one may conclude that he was probably 9th from the chronological space of about 184 years which intervened between the death of Sesostris (Sesortasen I.) and the death of the last king of the line represented |
| 463, | 14, | for "the Greek names are only xvii" read "and his Greek names are actually xix." | | | |
| 463, | 25, | for "the average" read "something like the average." | | | |
| 463, | 26, | after "Eratosthenes," insert "viz. 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ instead of 24 $\frac{3}{4}$." | | | |
| 463, | 37, 39, | "B.C. 1208," and "459." Or, with the average of 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ from B.C. 1203, &c. 463 $\frac{3}{4}$ yrs. | | | |
| 464, | 39, | "24 $\frac{1}{2}$," and above. The exact coincidence of Ptolemy with the date of Clemens resting only on the hypothesis that he adopted this average of 24 $\frac{1}{2}$, which is a <i>variation</i> from the 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Chronicle, is not to be so much dwelt upon, though probably the calculation was very nearly what is here assumed. | | | |
| 467, | 10, | "it may be," &c. Herodotus, however, does speak as if the priests had taught him to reckon "341 kings to Sethon," and to give above 11,000 years to the first 330 kings," but <i>he may</i> have written only from memory. | | | |
| 470, | 4, | "Hor-hesou." But Mr. Birch reads this name "Horshesou," <i>shesou</i> being a distinct word. Also, he thinks it clear that it is one and the same Hor-hesou who appears in lines 9 and 10 of Col. III. of the Papyrus, at p. 509, and who is connected with both the two great sums of 13,420 and 23,218 years. In reading all that follows respecting the fragments of the Papyrus it will be convenient to refer, at each step, to the English columns, in which the fragments are numbered, and their dimensions marked, pp. 508—512. | | | |
| 470, | 13, 14, | for "Thoth-Aa-aa," read "Thoth," and omit "i.e. <i>Δισμύσιος</i> ." | | | |
| 470, | 32, | after "And," omit "from an allusion" &c., down to "view," inclusive, in line 35. | | | |
| 475, | 34, | after "are not really" insert "if the author may trust his own memory." This qualification is necessary, as Lepsius's and Sir G. Wilkinson's published fac-simile give no countenance to the denial, and the author, at the time that he wrote this, could not refer to his own. | | | |

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by Manetho's Dyn. XII; and this king is known with certainty, not indeed from Manetho's list taken alone, but from the Turin Papyrus, to have been Onnos.

576, 32, for "B.C. 456," read "B.C. 455."

587, 22, "afterwards completed by Darius," &c. The names both of Rameses II. and of Darius (that of the latter king both in Egyptian hieroglyphics and in Persian cuneiform characters) have been found on the line of this canal.

589, 24, before "Mycerinus," insert "the."

589, 39, "B.C. 609, or 608." Some, as Ideler, reckon the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar mentioned in the Scriptures from his accession after the death of his father in B.C. 604, and so make B.C. 586, instead of B.C. 587, to be the year of the capture of Jerusalem. These in consequence bring down the death of Josiah as low as the summer of B.C. 608. For if they assume the 11th of Zedekiah to have begun from the 5th of the 4th month, or June 21, in the summer of B.C. 587, this date, $+10 \text{ yrs} + 3 \text{ m} 10 \text{ d} + 10 \text{ yrs } 5 \text{ m} ? + 3 \text{ m}$, will indicate for the death of Josiah some time about July 13 in B.C. 608, instead of B.C. 609. The 14th of Hezekiah will for them begin early in B.C. 712, and his 6th early in B.C. 720.

590, 11, "3 after the reduction of Tyre." But, according to Josephus, the reign of Apries should end in the first year after the reduction of Tyre, as if Nebuchadnezzar had immediately invaded Egypt, and, after conquering it, had established Amasis as Governor, and this indirectly led to the death of Apries, whom Josephus therefore makes Nebuchadnezzar to have slain. For if we reckon 4 years complete from the spring of B.C. 587 (the year of the burning of the Temple) the 5th year begins in the spring of B.C. 587 — 4 = 583; and if we again deduct the 13 years of the siege of Tyre we shall find that Nebuchadnezzar may have been free to invade Egypt in the spring of B.C. 570. And the reign of Amasis begins Jan. 13, B.C. 569. Or the 5 years of Josephus may be from the end of the year containing the burning of the Temple, i.e. from the spring of B.C. 586.

301, 1, for "taken before" read "12 years before, and taken only 1 year after"

591, 8, after "18" insert "Nisan 1, B.C. 571," and 1, 15 correct from last note.

593, 9, before "Architects" insert "Chief."

603, 9, Virgil has also the "100 years" from Plato; "Centum errant annos," &c.

605, 5, "in B.C. 362." Certainly, according to the Old Chronicle, the single generation of Dyn. XXX which had 18 years, ending Nov. 1, in B.C. 345, must have begun in B.C. 363. And this generation is that of Nectanebo II. But Clinton observes that "Agesilaus conducted the affairs of Sparta till after the death of Epaminondas in June B.C. 362; that he could not have set out for Egypt till the spring of

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B.C. 361, seven or eight months after the battle of Mantinea; that the war in Egypt must have occupied at least a year; and that he left Egypt in mid-winter, not earlier than Dec. B.C. 361 or Jan. B.C. 360." Hence it results that the generation of Nectanebo II. and of Dyn. XXX of the Chronicle must cover two actual reigns, the first of the two being the short reign of Teos of only 2 years, the other that of Nectanebo II. which had in truth only 16 years, though Manetho, keeping the "18 years" of the Chronicle, and giving them all to Nectanebo II., reduplicates the two of Teos.

607, 8, for "that" read "than."

610, 1, 3, "before the Flood 2263. 6m, and below it 658. 6m," &c. Thus the true interval, or very nearly, is reckoned from the beginning to the epoch of the Flood, which, however, is put 6m, too late, viz. at Apr. 6 (6m. after Thoth 1, which was then at Oct. 8), in B.C. 3099. But if the Egyptian scheme had not of necessity cut off the odd months preceding its first movable Thoth, it would have had to begin 7 months before the end of a year, and to reckon to the Flood about 2263 movable years and 7 months, and below the Flood to the end of the 2922nd movable year of the world 658 years and five months; after which there would have been 7 odd months and 217 complete movable years (beginning from Thoth 1 = Apr. 26 in B.C. 2441) to the accession of Menes.

610, 13, after "Ogygian" read "or from the later Deucalion," or from, &c.

612, 33, 35. The years of the Macedonian kings from Caranus to the death of Alexander are given by Eusebius and S. Jerome as 489, from A. ABR. 1204 to A. ABR. 1692, both incl. And the years of the Persians as 230.

615, 2, for "Egyptians" read "Egyptian."

615, 19, "before B.C. 305." Clinton observes that he was still living and employed on his work *πρὸς βίον Ἑλλάδος* as late as B.C. 289, when he had been flourishing about 40 years. But this also is earlier than the earliest date which can be assigned to the *Αἰροποικία* of Manetho.

620, 11, for "perhaps" read "as it seems," and in line 12, omit "only," and after "on" insert "insufficient."

646, 30, after "17" insert "of kings of Dynasties XVIII, and XIX."

653, 7, for "525," "747," and "1272," read "526," "709," and "1235."

654, 13, "When Antiochus," &c. That is Antiochus Sidetes. Eusebius has Ol. 162 β', which would be in the 7th year of Ant. Sidetes, B.C. 131—130. But Josephus puts the siege 3 years earlier (Eusebius too in the Canon has the 5th of Antiochus). Hence Clinton puts the commencement of this war in Feb. B.C. 134, and its end in Oct. 133 B.C., Ol. 161 α'.

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| 655, | 27, for "write" read "wrote." In line 29 for "which," read "which, as;" and in line 30, before "according" insert "was." | | |
| 656, | 25, after "Rameses II.," insert "on which Heliopolis is named." | 725, | 31, for "two years" read "which in one place of the Septuagint is said to have been in the <i>second</i> year after" the death of Moses. |
| 660, | 15, for "off-hand" read "off-handed." | 734, | 20, 21, for "24 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and "416 $\frac{1}{2}$ " read "24 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and "420 $\frac{1}{2}$;" and for "410" read "414." |
| 678, | 34, omit "probably," and after "Ptolemy," insert "as it seems." | 734, | 28, 29, for "1628 or 1622" r. "1632 or 1626." |
| 679, | 7, These deities of the 365 days of the year are also alluded to by S. Theophilus of Antioch who writes "τὶ Ὁρεῖα ἀφ' ἡλίου-σαν οἱ τρεῖς θεοὶ;" <i>Ad Autol.</i> lib. i. p. 381. | 734, | 31, 32, for "1624 or 1618" read "1630 or 1622." |
| 679, | 15, after "fifth," insert "Mout (Buto) within the first eight," | 734, | 37, for "1620 or 1616" read "1624 or 1620." |
| 683, | 23, "Cancer." Bainbridge is quoted as showing that in B.C. 1322 Sirius rose in Lower Egypt, July 20, when the sun was in the 14th degree of Cancer. | 735, | 3, for "1599 or 1595" read "1603 or 1599." |
| 689, | 7, for Chapter "VII" read "VIII." | 735, | 27, for "24 $\frac{1}{2}$ " read "24 $\frac{1}{2}$." |
| 696, | 6 from the bottom, omit "He was born, as his surname implies, in Africa," | 736, | 21, for "24 $\frac{1}{2}$ " read "24 $\frac{1}{2}$." |
| 697, | 3, "according to the Antiochian reckoning from Sept. 1." This commencement is assumed only for convenience, as thus the old or civil Hebrew and Patriarchal year, the fixed Alexandrian, the year of the Indictions and the civil year of the Greek Church may all be alluded to at once as having nearly one and the same commencement. Else, for the old Hebrew year, the commencement of which really varied within certain limits according to the moon, one might have assumed rather the Autumnal Equinox; while for the fixed year of the Syrians and other Asiatics, after the time of Julius Cæsar, there were a number of different commencements in different parts, as also a number of different eras. | 736, | 23, for "459" read "463 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 464," and for "B.C. 1208 (Ptolemy's last year of Thouris and Castor's date for Troy)," read "B.C. 1203 (the apparent end of the last year of Thouris and of Dyn. XIX in Manetho's lists)," |
| 699, | 28, after "from" insert "S. Theophilus of Antioch or from." | 736, | 31, 33, for "some" read "same," and for "24 $\frac{1}{2}$ " read "24 $\frac{1}{2}$." |
| 701, | 20, 25 and p. 702, l. 8. Here and elsewhere Zedekiah's years are wrongly drawn down; as if, e.g. his 11th ended in Sept. B.C. 577, or even Nisan 1 B.C. 576. It really ended June 21, in B.C. 577, and the Captiv. begins from Nisan 1, not before nor after but <i>in</i> it. See p. 900. | 741, | 34, "Manetho's," that is, as understood by himself and as expected by him to be understood by the learned of the native Egyptians. For on the surface his date would be B.C. 1203. |
| 702, | 1, for "was thus depressed to," &c. read "appeared at the same distance below the death of Solomon as would," &c. | 745, | 4, before "Clemens" insert "Theophilus of Antioch and," and after the same name omit the words "and Hippolytus." |
| 702, | 2, the 11th yr. of Zedekiah is here and elsewhere spoken of incorrectly. | 745, | 12, after "two" insert "other." |
| 702, | 3, for "so depressed into" read "reckoned to." | 752, | 27, 28, for "24 $\frac{1}{2}$ " read "23 $\frac{1}{2}$." For "exceeded," &c. read "fell short of," and after "one year" insert "and a half." |
| 708, | 8, for "3558" read "3555," and after "Manetho" insert "besides other 13 also added but placed below them." | 766, | 22, for "3" read "4," after "Jehoram" insert "Athaliah," and omit from "successors," in l. 24 to the stop in l. 26; and in l. 39 for "27" read "28." |
| 714, | 28, for "came" read "was raised to power." | 768, | 23, for "accession" read "accessions." |
| 717, | 33, "1903 years." But the true Greek text of Simplicius, in the passage which has been quoted from him for this sum, does not really exhibit it. See p. 941. | 768, | 32, for "put" read "puts." |
| 718, | 24, for "at B.C." read "in B.C." | 768, | 33, omit "of 942 years." |
| 718, | 23, for "contain" read "contained" | 770, | 8, "Suppressing in the Assyrian lists . . . four kings," &c. But see respecting this below. It seems rather that Eusebius suppressed <i>years</i> but not <i>names</i> given by Ctesias and Diodorus. Indeed the very same four names which Syncellus accuses him of suppressing, and one more, seem to be given by him in the First Book of his Chronicon from Abydenus, at the head of all, as intervening between <i>Belus</i> and <i>Ninus</i> : "Fuit Ninus, qui <i>Arbeli</i> , qui <i>Chaali</i> , qui <i>Arabeli</i> , qui <i>Anebi</i> , qui <i>Arabeli</i> , qui <i>Beli</i> ," &c. And he adds in the same place that the last reign, of Sardanapalus, was made [by Abydenus] to end 67 years before Ol. 1, that is in B.C. 843. Elsewhere (but this is in speaking of his own scheme) he says "40 [43] years" before Ol. 1. |
| 720, | 8, "as we have shown, though the present reckoning requires of necessity that he should be now still young." This is quoted by Syncellus as if all from Afri- | 789, | 35, for "the Persian dynasty" read "the five Persian generations." |
| | | 791, | 38, 39, omit "1 of Nerigissar," and for "25" read "the last 26." |
| | | 792, | 4, after "be" insert "2 or 3 months after." |

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792, 9, 10, for "1491" and "1428" read "1492" and "1429."
- 792, 23, 24, for "27" read "28," and for "only 24" read "really 26."
- 792, 26, omit "of" and "3," and for "3" in line 27 read "4."
- 792, 28, for "62" and "4" read "63" and "3."
- 794, 23, for "10" read "2."
- 803, 18, "omits 4 kings." But see the preceding note to line 8 of page 770, and below.
- 805, 28, for "[of]" read "[here placed or replaced by Anianus.]"
- 806, 3, after "Ptolemy Lagi" read "and Ptolemy Philadelphus from B.C. 324 (which should have been 323) 40+38=78 years, whereas the two reigns together had only (38+38 or 40+38=) 76 successive years." And omit "20" and what follows in line 3 to "Egypt," in line 4, and continue thus: "and he has" &c.
- 821, 16, from the bottom, for "in the units place" read "in the place for units."
- 822, 28, of col. ii. The sum of 38 years for Dyn. XXX with the 20 years and 4 m. given by Manetho to Dyn. XXIX make together 58 years 4 m., being 1 yr. and 4 m. or 2 yrs. current more than the true interval between the ending of Dyn. XXVII with the 3rd year of Artaxerxes Mnemon in B.C. 402 and the conquest of Ochus in B.C. 345. Probably one year instead of only 4 months should have been reckoned to Nepherites II. and the reigns of Teos and Nectanebo II. divided so that Teos should have 1 year and 8 months, and Nectanebo II. 16 years and 4 months. See above the note to p. 605, l. 5. What is said at p. 259, l. 16, as if only some "odd months" of Teos were included in the 18 years of the *generation* of Nectanebo II. may be hence corrected.
- 823, 36, and p. 829, note at bottom of the page, "of Anianus." Anianus, seeing that the 36 reigns from Ninus to Sardanapalus as given by Ctesias and Diodorus were greatly too long, may have inserted before Teutamus and Teutæus four of those five additional names which Abydenus (in Eusebius's First Book) had named as the ancestors of Ninus, Ninus being through them the sixth in descent from and after Belus Anianus then may have inserted these *names* lower down, giving to them those *years* of Ctesias and Diodorus which had been suppressed by Eusebius; and hence Syncellus and Scaliger, seeing that the four names and the years went together, may have hastily inferred that Eusebius had found the *names* as well as the years in that Assyrian list which he worked up into his Canon.
- 826, "Psammites" "17" not "7" years.
- 827, In the 4th col. before "33 Diocletian." insert "[Continuatio Theophanis]" and let the last "10.10.0" of Constantine be in a line with "Hieronymi."
- 828, 9, &c. in last col. for "1905, 1866, 1836, 1816, 1791," read "1895, 1856, 1826, 1806, 1781."

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829, in the Assyrian column for "v. (24) 7" read "v. (30) 1."
- 831, 2, for B.C. "932" read "923."
- 832, Egypt. col. to "Psammuthes" there is "(7)" for "(17)," though the 17 years are reckoned rightly: and the next name "Vaphres" is set in a line with the 1st of Zedekiah, whereas it should be in a line with his 11th which follows immediately below.
- 834, 3, for "A.U.C. 709" read "A.U.C. 708."
- 834, 14, for "B.C. 48" read "B.C. 49" for the era of the Liberation of Antioch and of Julius Cæsar at Antioch, though some say that the *Syrians* at Antioch adopted this era one year later, and reckoned from B.C. 48.
- 836, 6, after "4852," insert "or A.D. 351."
- 836, 26, for "5774," read "5776."
- 836, 38, "5500." Note that Syncellus does not really differ in his sum of years from Anianus, but we must distinguish between allusions to what may be called his own Ecclesiastical or Paschal reckoning, from March 25 to March 25, and the common reckoning of the early Christian writers from some point in Autumn. According to the first reckoning Syncellus makes exactly 5500 years to the *Incarnation*, viz. to March 25 in B.C. 1 of the vulgar era (his commencement of A.M. 1 being then thrown back from Autumn to Spring); according to the second he makes with Anianus 5500 years to Aug. 29 or Sept. 1, B.C. 1, and 5501 to the same date in A.D. 1 of the vulgar era.
- 837, 5, Syncellus has indeed, and probably from Anianus, 8 years too few between the accessions of Tiberius and Trajan (see note to A.D. 147, at p. 904), the latter being put by him in A.D. 90, instead of A.D. 98. And he appropriates in one place the reckoning of 5904 years to the death of Theophilus, which implies for him the same deficit below the Nativity of 8 years; and again, in giving the date at which he was writing, really A.D. 808, as is shown by his adding that it was the "1st of the Indiction," he is 8 years short, or 9, reckoning it to be only his A.M. 6300, or A.D. 799 complete. But in the intermediate reigns below Trajan, he and his continuator Theophanes do not preserve uniformly the original deficit of 8 years. The accession of Diocletian, for instance, is put by him at the end of his A.M. 5779, or beginning of A.M. 5780, which are his A.D. 279 and 280, whereas it should have been either in A.D. 284, or if he had been consistent in his omission of the 8 years, and in other respects exact, in A.D. (284-8=) 276. He is only 6 short at the death of Probus, but he lost 3 years more in reckoning from that point to his own time.
- 838, 10, after "but" insert "(as Syncellus says)."
- 839, 4, "calculations of a zodiacal ἀποκρίσσις." Here it may be observed that

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no trace of any such calculation has been found in any one of the Egyptian schemes from first to last. An astronomical calculation, however fanciful, would have dealt with real years and real cycles, of whatever denomination. But the fancy in the Egyptian schemes, in the *earliest* as well as the latest, deals only with a mere semblance of Sothic cycles, their cycles being composed partly of months, partly of fictitious years, and of "years" of various kinds and values mixed indiscriminately together. Even the 341 fictitious years inserted in the cyclical schemes are not *prefixed* so as to leave the true years of human time to stand in their true places, but these latter, which really began from April 26, are moved up so as to begin from the cyclical epoch of July 20, 341 years earlier. And in the mixed scheme preserved by Diogenes Laertius so little thought is there of any calculation backwards, that a sum of years equal in duration to xxx cycles, and meant to stand as cycles, is simply prefixed to an uncyclical reckoning of true human time, though by such a junction the xxx cycles are deprived at once of their cyclical character. For if the two sums are to unite, then, since the 5033 years of true human time begin with the 342nd of a Sothic Cycle in B.C. 5361, the last 341 years of the greater or prefixed sum are necessarily the first part of that same cycle, and every one of the xxx cycles which the whole prefixed sum was meant to represent is vitiated up to the first year of all, which will stand as the 342nd below the nearest cyclical epoch.

840, 17, "in the first of Antoninus Pius." So Syncellus indeed and others sometimes speak, meaning by "in" *after*. But Aug. 29 in A.D. 139, and even July 20, is really *in* the beginning of the *second* year of the actual reign of Antoninus. The same is to be borne in mind as often as the expression recurs. See A.D. 147, p. 904.

845, 14, for "his own 1st" read "the Alexandrian 2nd."

850, 13, for "2363," read "2365."

850, 24, "besides omitting somewhere," &c. Syncellus tells us where. For he censures Panodorus for abandoning what he calls the ecclesiastical reckoning to follow that of the astronomers and mathematicians. In consequence, from the commencement of the reign of Philip Aridæus, which Claudius Ptolemy had made his epoch, attaching it to the movable Thoth 1, and which Anianus, Panodorus, and Syncellus all put at A.M. 5170, Panodorus made, he says, with the astronomical canon, to the accession of Augustus 281 years (5170+281=5451), and to the death of Cleopatra (281+13=) 294, to the end of his A.M. (5170+294=) 5464; and thence to the end of the year including the Nativity

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his A.M. 5493, 29 years; and to the death of Augustus in, that is, after his own "A.M. 5506," 13 years more. But as Syncellus repeatedly says that Panodorus was "7 years short," not 8, and that he "followed the astronomical canon," the dates of which were certainly B.C. 324 and 330, and which, as he himself says distinctly, gave 43 years to Augustus from the death of Cleopatra, it is probable that he was thinking of his own reckoning to the *Incarnation*, when he spoke of the 5493 years of Panodorus, and that to the end of the year including the *Nativity*, Panodorus made (5170+294=29+1=) 5494, not 5493 years, and ended the Egyptian reign of Augustus with (30+13=) 43 years, together with his A.M. 5507, not A.M. 5506; unless, indeed, he gave to Augustus only 42 years in Egypt, and anticipated the accession of Tiberius (as being before Aug. 29) by nearly a year. However this was, his reckoning Syncellus thought was contrary to divine truth, and to the ecclesiastical tradition. These, he says, require the *Incarnation* to be put just at the end of A.M. 5500, and at the beginning of A.M. 5501. And so, if the reckoning of Panodorus and the mathematicians were to be allowed, Augustus would die in, that is, at the end of [here again he is thinking of his own reckoning from March 25 to March 25], the 5th year of Christ, whereas he really died "midway between the 14th and 15th." Any one can see, he says, (p. 616), by merely looking at the Paschalion, that Nisan 1, or March 25, commencing A.M. 5534, the 213th year of the eleventh period of 532 years (this is in A.D. 42, the 2nd of Claudius), *must have been* the true date of the Resurrection, the Passover being then on the 23rd of March, the third day before, and these two days being Sunday and Friday respectively. And hence it results, that March 25, thirty-three years before, being the first day of A.M. 5501 (i.e. March 25 in A.D. 9, which is *really* only 5 years and some months before the death of Augustus), *must have been* the date of the Incarnation; which was in the consulship of Sulpicius Camerinus and Caius Poppeus [the right Consuls for A.D. 9]. And this, he says, is not asserted of his own fancy, but from the blessed Apostle and Archbishop of Rome and martyr, Hippolytus, and the most religious monk *Anianus*, who has set forth the XI Paschal Periods with exact notes, and the devout monk Maximus, who name the same Consuls.

Anianus then, representing "the ecclesiastical tradition," and Syncellus for these reasons made from Aug. 28, or from March 24, ending their A.M. 5170, not 281 but (281+7=) 288 years to the accession of Augustus after the com-

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pletion of A.M. 5458, and not (281+13=) 294 years only like Panodorus from the death of Alexander the Great to that of Cleopatra, but (288+13=) 301 to the end of A.M. 2471. Thence they made 29 years of Augustus to the end of the year including the *Incarnation* or (29+1=) 30 to the end of that including the *Nativity*, viz. A.M. (5500+1=) 5501, and lastly 13 years more to the death of Augustus; his death being placed by Anianus as if at Aug. 28, but by Syn-cellus at March 24 ending his A.M. 5514.

- 851, 4, for "in B.C. 339" read "in *his* B.C. 339." By our reckoning it would be in B.C. 340; and in l. 7 in like manner before "A.M." and before "B.C." insert "*his*."
- 858, 16, for "1st year" read "2nd year."
- 858, 21, for "1st" read "2nd (or as he made it by omitting 8 years above the 10th.)"
- 861, 17, for "*αὐτοῦ*" read "*αὐτοῦ*."
- 865, 36, for "go with" read "are fictitious or unchronological like."
- 870, 2, after "in it" insert "for those years."
- 870, 2, for "in it," read "in it for these years."
- 873, 33, after "*Ousimares*," insert "(Gener. xxiv of Eratosthenes?)."
- 891, 31, for "*his* 2nd" read "what should have been *his* 2nd," since it probably stood in fact as his 10th. See A.D. 147 at p. 904.
- 891, 34, for "*for him*" read "according to Alexandrian reckoning."
- 892, 28, for "*his* 2nd year" read "the 2nd Alexandrian year made by *him* the 10th," and the same in l. 31.
- 892, 38, omit "or the end of his 22nd of Antoninus Pius," since he probably dropped 8 years between Augustus and Trajan, and so drew up the accession of Antoninus.
- 896, at Apr. 26, after "Cycle III," insert "b."
- 900, for "A.M. 4815, B.C. 547, 41st, 4818, 23rd," read "4815, 546, 42nd, 4819, 24th."
- 903, at Aug. 21 omit "(2nd for Panodorus)" Panodorus probably *postdated* the 1st of Tiberius (together with the Canon) from Thoth 1, Aug. 21 in A.D. 14, *though* Augustus died two days before.
- 904, opp. A.D. 79, for "Aug. 6," read "Aug. 4," and opp. A.D. 93, for "Aug. 4" read "Aug. 1."
- 904, &c. insert the dates of the Astron. Canon as follows:—After 43 of Augustus, from Aug. 31 in B.C. 30, and 22 of Tiberius, at A.D. 36, Aug. 15, insert "1st of Caligula (4) b." At A.D. 40, Aug. 14, "1st

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- of Claudius (14) b." At A.D. 54, Aug. 11, "1st of Nero (14) b." At A.D. 68, Aug. 7, "1st of Vespasian (10) b." At A.D. 78, Aug. 6, "1st of Titus (3) b." At A.D. 81, Aug. 4, "1st of Domitian (15) b." At A.D. 96, July 31, "1st of Nerva b." At A.D. 97, July 31, "1st of Trajan (19) b." At A.D. 116, July 26, "1st of Hadrian (21) b." At A.D. 137, July 21, "1st of Antoninus P. (23) b." At A.D. 160, July 15, "1st of Marcus and Commodus (32) b." At A.D. 192, July 7, "1st of Severus (25) b." At A.D. 217, July 1, "1st of Antoninus (4) b." At A.D. 221, June 30 "1st of Alexander Mameus (13) b." At A.D. 237, June 26, "1st of Maximin (3) b." At A.D. 240, June 25, "1st of Gordian (6) b." At A.D. 243, June 24, "1st of Philip (6) b." At A.D. 249, June 23, "1st of Decius b." At A.D. 250, June 23, "1st of Gallus (3) b." At A.D. 253, June 22, "1st of Gallienus (15) b." At A.D. 268, June 18, "1st of Claudius b." At A.D. 269, June 18, "1st of Aurelian (6) b." At A.D. 275, June 16, "1st of Probus (7) b." At A.D. 282, June 15, "1st of Carus (2) b," his second ending June 14, A.D. 284. The continuation of the Canon by Ptolemy and Theon does not extend further. The Babylonian accessions of the Canon from Nabonassar are given at p. 986, and the Persian both at p. 990 and at pp. 900, 901. The Egyptian accessions from Alexander to Cleopatra at pp. 901, 902, and 903 are those of the Canon.
- 906, in cols. A.M. and A.D. for "7259" and "1898" read "7258" and "1897."
- 910, 25, after "the 20th" insert "[23rd]."
- 930, 37, for "8th" read "9th."
- 931, 10, for "*παλαιά*" read "*παλαιά*."
- 933, 38, for "*οἱ*" read "*οἱ*."
- 936, 30, for "*ἐτοῦς*" read "*ἐτους*."
- 939, 13, for "72 *sari*, 5 *neri*, and 6 *soffi*, equivalent to 8920 months or 267,840 days," read "74 *sari* and 3 *neri*, which are equivalent to 8940 months or 268,200 days."
- 939, 17, for "B.C. 2952," read "B.C. 2954."
- 941, 7, for "(cxlii—xxx=) lxxxiv," read "(cxlii—xxix) lxxxiv."
- 942, 26, after "440" insert "or 446." And in line 28 after "B.C. 336," insert "or B.C. 330."
- 942, 28, for "And Babylonian" read "And no Babylonian."
- 948, 8, for "11 or 12" read "7 or 8."
- 955, 4, for "2848" read "2840."
- 955, 21, for "monarchs" read "monarchy."

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- 1, 8, for "547" read "546," and for "718" read "717," and in l. 13 for "1220" read "1219."
- [1], 10, for "2009" read "2186."
- 1, 13, for "1903" read "1881"; and in l. 14 for "141" read "103," for "215" read "245," and for "62?" read "48?," and in l. 15 for "2233" read "2209."

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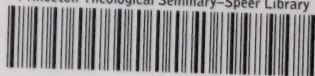
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